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- Understanding medieval society in a global and overarching way, beyond current academic divisions, by publishing unedited research articles covering different fields within Medieval Studies.
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Editor

Flocel Sabaté. Professor of Medieval History. Departament d'Història, Facultat de Lletres. Universitat de Lleida. Plaça Víctor Siurana 1, 25003 Lleida (Spain).

Scientific board

Stefano Asperti. Professor of Philology. Dipartimento di studi romanzi, Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza". Piazzale Aldo Moro 5, 00185 Roma. (Italy).

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Attila Barány. Professor of History. Department of History, University of Debrecen. Egyetem tér 1. P.O. Box 400, 4002 Debrecen (Hungary).

Dominique Barthélemy. Professor of Medieval History. Unité de formation et de recherche (UFR) Sciences Humaines. Histoire, Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris 4). 1, rue Victor Cousin, 75005 Paris (France).

Asnu Bilban Yalçın. Professor of Byzantine Art History. Department of History of Art, Faculty of Letters, Istanbul University. Ordu cad. No. 196 Laleli, 34134 Istanbul (Turkey).

Hugo O. Bizzarri. *Professor titular* of Hispanic Philology. Mediävistisches Institut der Universität Freiburg. Avenue de l'Europe 20, CH-1700 Freiburg (Switzerland).

Nora Berend. Reader in European history and Fellow of St Catharine's College. Faculty of History, University of Cambridge. West Road, CB3 9EF Cambridge (United Kingdom).

Wim Blockmans. Emeritus Professor of Medieval History. Institute for History, Faculty of Arts, Leiden University. Emiel Poetoustraat 25, 9030 Gent (Belgium).

Pietro Corrao. Professor of Medieval History. Dipartimento di Studi Storici e Artistici, Università di Palermo. Via G. Pascoli 6, 90144 Palermo (Italy).

Jean-Pierre Devroey. Professor Emeritus of Medieval History. Département d'Histoire, Arts et Archéologie, Faculté de Philosophie et Sciences Sociales, Université libre de Bruxelles. 50, avenue Roosevelt, B-1050 Brussels (Belgium).

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Patrick J. Geary. Andrew W. Mellon Professor. School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study. 1 Einstein Drive, Princeton, New Jersey 08540 (USA).

Ariel Guiance. Scientific Researcher in Medieval History. Instituto Multidisciplinar de Historia y Ciencias Humanas, Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas. Saavedra 15, C1083ACA Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (Argentina).

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Miljenko Jurkovic. Professor of Medieval Art History. Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb. Ul. Ivana Lučića 3, 10000 Zagreb (Croatia).

Junko Kume. Associate professor of Medieval Art History. Institute of Global Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. 3-11-1, Asahi-cho, Fuchu-shi, 183-8534 Tokyo (Japan).

Igor Filippov. Professor of Medieval History. Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University. 117571 Prospekt Vernadskago, Moscow (Russian Federation).

Nikolas Jaspert. Professor of Medieval History. Historisches Seminar, Zentrum für Europäische Geschichte und Kulturwissenschaften (ZEGK), Universität Heidelberg. Grabengasse, 3-5, D-69117 Heidelberg (Germany).

Harvey J. Hames. Professor of Medieval History. Center for the Study of Conversion and Inter-Religious Encounters, Faculty of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of General History, Ben Gurion University of the Negev. P.O. Box 653, 8499000 Beerseba (Israel).

Adam Kosto. Associate Professor of Medieval History. Department of History, Columbia University. 404 Fayerweather Hall, Mail Code 2504, 1180 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, 10027 (USA).

Anu Mänd. Senior Researcher in Medieval History. Ajaloo, arheoloogia ja kunstiajaloo keskus, Tallinna Ülikool humanitaarteaduste instituut, University of Tallinn. Narva mnt 25, 10120 Tallinn (Estonia).

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Gert Melville. Senior Professor of Medieval History. Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte (FOVOG), Technische Universität Dresden. Zellescher Weg 21, 01217 Dresden (Germany).

James Murray. Professor of History. Department of History, Western Michigan University. 1903 W Michigan Avenue, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008-5334 (USA).

Hajime Ouchi. Professor of Medieval History. Department of Language and Society. School of Foreign Studies. Osaka University. 8-1-1 Aomatani-Higashi, Minoh. Osaka 562-8558 (Japan)

Agostino Paravicini Bagliani. Emeritus Professor of Medieval History. Faculté des lettres, Université de Lausanne. Chavannes-près-Renens, 1015 Lausanne

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Philip D. Rasico. Professor of Spanish and Catalan. Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Vanderbilt University. P.O. Box 35-1617 Station B, Nashville, Tennessee 37235-1617 (USA).

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Kurt Villads Jensen. Professor of Medieval History. Department of History, University of Stockholm. Universitetsvägen 10, D 998, SE-106 91 Stockholm (Sweden).

Przemyslaw Wiszewski. Lecturer in Medieval History. Institute of History, Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences, University of Wrocław. Plac Uniwersytecki 1, 50-137 Wrocław (Poland).

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Amancio Isla. Professor of Medieval History. Departament d'Història i Història de l'Art, Facultat de Lletres, Universitat Rovira i Virgili. Avinguda Catalunya 35, 43002 Tarragona (Spain).

Tariq Madani. Professor of Archaeology and Medieval History. Département de Histoire, Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, Université Mohammed 1. Complexe Universitaire BP 457, 60000 Oujda (Morocco).

Boban Petrovski. Professor of Medieval History. Institute of History, Faculty of Philosophy, Saints Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje. Boulevard Goce Delcev 9A, 1000 Skopje (Macedonia).

Olivier Poisson. Inspector General of Historic Monuments. Direction de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication. 182, rue Saint-Honoré, 75001 Paris (France).

Cosmin Popa Gorjanu. Lecturer in Medieval History. Departamentul de Istorie, Arheologie și Muzeologie. Facultatea de Istorie și Filologie, Universitatea "1 Decembrie 1918" din Alba Iulia. Str. Gabriel Bethlen, 5, 510009 Alba Iulia (Romania).

Martín Rios. *Investigador Titular* of Medieval history. Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Circuito Mario de la Cueva, without number, Zona Cultural, Ciudad Universitaria del Coyoacán, 04510 Ciudad de México (Mexico).

Karen Stöber. Contracted Researcher *Ramón y Cajal* of Medieval History. Departament d'Història, Facultat de Lletres, Universitat de Lleida. Plaça Víctor Siurana 1, 25003 Lleida (Spain).

Xavier Terrado. Professor of Hispanic Philology. Departament de Filologia Clàssica, Francesa i Hispànica, Facultat de Lletres, Universitat de Lleida. Plaça Víctor Siurana 1, 25003 Lleida (Spain).

Jesús R. Velasco. Professor of Hispanic Literature. Department of Spanish and Portuguese, Columbia University. 612 W, 116th Street, New York 10027 (USA).

Nada Zecevic. Professor of Medieval History. History Department, Faculty of Philosophy, University of East Sarajevo. Alekse Šantića, 1, 71420 Pale (Bosnia-Herzegovina).

Authors Volume XII

Jesús Brufal Sucarrat. Professor associat of Medieval History. Departament d'Història, Facultat de Lletres, Universitat de Lleida. Plaça Víctor Siurana, 1, 25003 Lleida (Spain). jbrufal@historia.udl.cat. **Main lines of research:** Al-Andalus, Andalusi Border Society, Islamic Architecture. **Main publications:** "Les almunias du district musulman de Lérida (XIe-XIIe siècles)", *Territoires d'al-Andalus et du Maghreb Médiéval: peuplements, ressources et sainteté*, Elise Voguet, Sophie Gilotte, eds. Paris: Éditions Bouchène, 2014: 150-178; "Identité et pouvoir urbain: les Banú Hud de Lleida et la formation d'un lignage au pouvoir pendant l'étape taifa à Lleida", *Reconnaître et délimiter l'espace localement au Moyen Âge*, Nacima Baron, Stéphane Boissellier, François Clément, Flocel Sabaté, eds. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2016: 147-160; "The Northeast Iberian Peninsula and its Muslim Rules (8th-12th Centuries)", *The Crown of Aragon: an ephemeral Mediterranean Empire*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Leiden: Brill, 2017: 37-69; "La arquitectura del poder en los distritos islámicos de Lleida, Tortosa y Huesca", *El poder entre la ciutat i la regió*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2018: 17-42; "Iglesias y necrópolis entre la Tardo-Antigüedad y la alta Edad Media en el valle de Àger. Expresiones del ciclo de la vida", *El ciclo de la vida comarcal y su transgressión*, Francisco Cardells, ed. Valencia: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad Católica de Valencia, 2018: 19-36.

Alessandra Cioppi. Scientific Researcher in Medieval History. Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. Via Giovanni Battista Tuveri, 128, 09129 Cagliari (Italy). cioppi@isem.cnr.it. **Main lines of research:** Institutions in Sardinia, Mediterranean Late Middle Ages. **Main publications:** *Le strategie dell'invincibilità. Corona d'Aragona e Regnum Sardiniae nella seconda metà del Trecento*, Cagliari: AM&D, 2012; "Cerdeña, entre Europa y el Mediterráneo. Continuidad y memoria a través de cuatrocientos años de historia ibérica", *'El que de la amistad mostró el camino'. Omaggio a Giuseppe Bellini*, Patrizia Spinato Bruschi, ed. Cagliari: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche-Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, 2013: 41-64; "L'ordinamento istituzionale del Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae nei secoli XIV e XV", *Sardegna catalana*, Ana Maria Oliva, Olivetta Schena, eds. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2014: 105-135; "Castell de Càller e il problema della sua difesa tra XIV e XV secolo", *Identità e Frontiere. Politica, economia e società nel Mediterraneo (secc. XIV-XVIII)*, Lluís J. Guàrdia, Maria Grazia Rosaria; Gianfranco Tore, eds. Milan: Franco Angeli, 2014: 119-127; (with Sebastiana Nocco) "Islands to Control Mediterranean Space", *The Crown of Aragon: an Ephemeral Mediterranean Empire*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Leiden: Brill, 2017: 337-360.

Santiago González Sánchez. Researcher in Medieval History. Departamento de Historia, Geografía y Filosofía, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Cádiz. Campus Universitario de Puerto Real, Avenida Universidad de Cádiz, 10, 11519 Cadiz (Spain). santitrifo@gmail.com. **Main lines of research:** Medieval government, Spanish Church Hierarchy, Church in the 15th Century, foreign affairs in Castilla during the minority of John II, Fernando de Antequera. **Main publications:** *Las relaciones exteriores de Castilla a comienzos del siglo XV. La minoría de Juan II (1407-1420).*

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Irene Llop. *Professora titular of Medieval History and Paleography.* Departament de Filologia i Didàctica de la Llengua i la literatura, Facultat d'Educació, Traducció i Ciències Humanes, Universitat de Vic-Universitat Central de Catalunya. Carrer de la Sagrada Família, 7, 08500 Vic (Spain). irene.llop@uvic.cat. **Main lines of research:** Jewish History, Paleography. **Main publications:** *Col·lecció diplomàtica de Sant Pere de Casserres*, 2 vols. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2009; “Els subsidis extraordinaris demanats a les aljames de jueus de la Corona d'Aragó al final del segle XIII (1293-1297)”. *Tamid*, 8 (2012): 77-102; “Noves dades de l'activitat dels jueus de Vic al Cabrerès (1345-1348)”. *Ausa*, 172 (2013): 1-18; (with Núria Sadurní) *Malars: de molí fariner a colònia industrial*. Manlleu-Vic-Gurb: Museu del Ter-Eumo-Ajuntament de Gurb, 2015; (with Imma Ollich) “Espais públics i espais privats del call jueu de Vic: evidències documentals i arqueològiques”. *Ausa*, 177 (2016): 481-506.

Diego Melo. Associate Professor of Medieval History. Departamento de Historia, Facultad de Artes Liberales, Universidad Adolfo Ibáñez. Avenida Diagonal Las Torres 2640, Peñalolen, Santiago (Chile). diego.melo@uai.cl. **Main lines of research:** Classic Islam History, al-Andalus History, Medieval Maghreb History. **Main publications:** (with Fernando Laiseca Asla) eds. *Europa y el Mediterráneo Musulmán. Dinámicas de Encuentro y Desencuentro*. Viña del Mar: Ediciones Altazor, 2010; “Un aspecto de la vida en la frontera castellanogranadina (s.XIII-XV): la acción de rastros y redentores”. *Studi Medievali*, 52/2 (2011): 639-664; “Las treguas entre Granada y Castilla durante los siglos XIII a XV”. *Revista de estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, 34 (2012): 237-275; “En torno al vasallaje y las parias en las treguas entre Granada y Castilla (XIII-XV): una posibilidad de análisis”. *Medievalismo*, 22 (2012): 139-152; *Las alianzas y negociaciones del Sultán*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2016; *Compendio de cartas, tratados y noticias de paces y treguas entre Granada, Castilla y Aragón (siglos XIII-XV)*. Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 2016.

Jose Alberto Morais Moran. Researcher in Medieval Art History. Instituto de Historia, Facultad de Filosofía y Educación, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso. Avenida El Bosque 1290, Viña del Mar, Valparaíso (Chile); *profesor ayudante doctor of Medieval Art History.* Departamento de Patrimonio Artístico y Documental, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de León. Campus de Vegazana, 24071 Leon (Spain). jamorm@unileon.es. **Main lines of research:** Architecture, Sculpture and Decorative Arts in the Middle Ages, Romanesque sculpture, Medieval goldsmith, Reuse of Roman Art in the Middle Ages, The conception of Medieval Art in the 19th century, Neomedievalism, Architectural revival styles in South America. **Main Publications:** “Le problème du style des joues gonflées et de sa diffusion au sein de

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Miguel Ángel Motis. Associate Professor of Medieval History. Facultad de Comunicación y Ciencias Sociales, Universidad San Jorge. Campus Universitario de Villanueva de Gállego, Autovía A-23 Zaragoza-Huesca, Km 299, 50830 Saragossa (Spain). mamotis@usj.es. **Main lines of research:** Jews in Western Europe (11th-16th Centuries), Inquisition, Women in Middle Ages. **Main publications:** *La expulsión de los judíos del reino de Aragón*. Saragossa: Diputación General de Aragón, 1990; *Pecado y Sociedad en Aragón (siglos XV y XVI)*. Saragossa: Departamento de Cultura y Turismo, 2002; *Los judíos de Tarazona en el siglo XIV*, 2 vols. Tarazona: Centro de Estudios Turiasonenses, 2004; *Hebraica Aragonalia. El legado judío en Aragón*, Saragossa: Diputación General de Zaragoza, 2005; *Los judíos de Monzón y la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén (1317-1492)*. Monzon: Centro de Estudios de Monzón y Cinca Medio, 2006; *Los judíos de Uncastillo en la Edad Media (ss. XI-XV)*. Ejea de los Caballeros: Centro de Estudios de las Cinco Villas, 2007.

Íñigo Mugueta. *Profesor contratado doctor* of Medieval History. Departamento de Ciencias Sociales y de la Educación, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales, Universidad Pública de Navarra. Campus de Arrosadía, Edificio de Los Acebos, 31006 Pamplona (Spain). inigo.mugueta@unavarra.es. **Main lines of research:** Economic History of Navarre, Treasury and Taxation in Navarre, History and Videogames. **Main publications:** *El dinero de los Evreux: hacienda y fiscalidad en el reino de Navarra (1328-1349)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2008; “Las demandas del rey de Navarra: conceptos, discurso e identidades fiscales (1300-1425)”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 44/2 (2014): 911-943; “Les territoires de la sidérurgie médiévale au Pays Basque et en Navarre”, *Les industries rurales dans l’Europe médiévale et moderne*, Jean-Michel Monovez, Catherine Verna, Liliane Hilaire-Pérez, eds. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 2013: 63-76; “Mercados locales e industrias rurales en Navarra (1280-1430)”, *Industrias y mercados rurales en los reinos hispánicos (siglos XIII-XV)*, Germán Navarro, Concepción Villanueva, eds. Murcia: Sociedad de Estudios Medievales, 2017: 145-174; “La Historia de los gamers: Representaciones del Medioevo y la Antigüedad en los videojuegos de estrategia multijugador”. *RiMe. Rivista dell’Istituto di Storia dell’Europa Mediterranea*, 2/1 (2018): 15-42.

Diego Mundaca. *Docente Adjunto* of Medieval and Modern History. Departamento de Historia, Facultad de Humanidades y Arte, Universidad de Concepción. Barrio universitario, Concepción (Chile). dmundaca@udec.cl. **Main lines of research:** History of Mentalities, History of American religious Culture, History of Historiography. **Main publications:** “Razón ilustrada y fe en la obra histórica de Juan Ignacio Molina”. *Revista de Filosofía*, 12/2 (2013): 77-92; *Traslados de Saberes y cultura religiosa, tradición europea en la concepción hospitalaria de Vasco de Quiroga, 1389-1565*. Valparaíso: Ediciones

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Oscar Perea. Lecturer in Medieval and Renaissance Hispanic Studies. Department of Languages and Cultures, Bowland North, Lancaster University. Bailrigg, Lancaster LA1 4YW (United Kingdom). **Main lines of research:** Medieval and Early Modern History of Spain (1000-1600), Medieval and Early Modern Literature of Spain (1000-1600), Textual Criticism, Digital Humanities, Codicology, Paleography, Analytical Bibliography, Medieval and Early Modern Cultural Identities, Medieval and Early Modern Iberian Poetry, Interfaith Relationships in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia. **Main publications:** *Estudio biográfico sobre los poetas del Cancionero general*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007; *La época del Cancionero de Baena: los Trastámara y sus poetas*. Baena: Fundación Pública Municipal Centro de Estudios “Juan Alfonso de Baena”, 2009; (with Charles B. Faulhaber) “Esbozos sobre la evolución y el futuro de un pionero de las Humanidades Digitales hispánicas: el proyecto PhiloBiblon”. *Revista Digital Universitaria UNAM*, 18/1 (2017): 1-19; “Este rastro de confeso: Converso Poets and Topics in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish Cancioneros”, *Las ‘Obras de burlas’ del Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo*, Antonio Cortijo, Marcial Rubio, eds. Santa Barbara: University of California-Publications of eHumanista, 2015: 125-172; “Por mi Señora, la Reina Catalina. Las donaciones de Leonor López de Córdoba al monasterio cordobés de San Pablo (1409)”, *Poder, piedad y devoción. Castilla y su entorno (siglos XII-XV)*, Isabel Beceiro Pita, ed. Madrid: Sílex, 2014: 189-226.

Silvia María Pérez González. Profesora titular in Medieval History, Departamento de Geografía, Historia y Filosofía, Universidad Pablo de Olavide. Carretera de Utrera, km 1, 41013 Seville (Spain). spergon@upo.es. **Main lines of research:** History of Medieval Church, History of Medieval Women, History of Medieval Culture. **Main publications:** *La mujer en la Sevilla de finales de la Edad Media. Solteras, casadas y vírgenes consagradas*. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005; *Los laicos en la Sevilla bajomedieval. Sus devociones y cofradías*. Huelva: Universidad de Huelva, 2005; “Mujeres y cofradías en Andalucía a finales de la Edad Media”. *Historia, Instituciones y Documentos*, 39 (2012): 185-211; “Nuevas aportaciones al estudio de las cofradías y hermandades en la Castilla bajomedieval: el ejemplo de Jerez de la Frontera”. *Hispania Sacra*, 68/138 (2016): 503-520; “Las mujeres de las colonias de extranjeros y su participación en la economía urbana a fines de la Edad Media: el Caso de Jerez de la Frontera”. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 10/2 (2017): 257-275.

Francesco Renzi. Postdoctoral researcher in Medieval History. Departamento de História e de Estudos Políticos e Internacionais, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto. Via Panorâmica Edgar Cardoso, without number, 4150-564 Oporto (Portugal). francesco.renzi@gmail.com. **Main lines of research:** Monastic History in

Italy and Spain (12th-13th century), Papal History (11-13th centuries); the relations between the Papacy and the Kingdom of Portugal (12th-13th centuries); History of medieval Galicia and Portugal. **Main publications:** *Nascita di una signoria monastica cistercense. Santa Maria di Chiaravalle di Fiastra tra XII e XIII secolo*. Spoleto: Centro italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo, 2011; "The bone of the contention: Cistercians, bishops and papal exemption. The case of the archdiocese of Santiago de Compostela (1150-1250)". *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 5 (2013): 47-68; *I monaci bianchi in Galizia. Le reti cistercensi (1142-1250)*. Trieste: Centro Europeo di Ricerche Medievali, 2014; "Monks and knights in medieval Galicia. The example of the Benedictines of Toxos Outos in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 9 (2015): 225-252; "Cistercensi, aristocrazie, heredes e milites: reti sociali e conflittualità nella Galizia del XII secolo", *La società monastica nei secoli VI-XII*, Marialuisa Bottazzi, Paolo Buffo, Caterina Ciccopiedi, Luciana Furbetta, Thomas Granier, eds. Roma: Centro Europeo di Ricerche Medievali, 2016: 219-243.

Martin Rios. *Investigador titular* in Medieval History, Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Circuito Mario de la Cueva, without number, Zona Cultural, Ciudad Universitaria, Coyoacán, 04510 Mexico D. F. (Mexico). riosmartin76@gmail.com. **Main lines of research:** Historiography, Late Middle Ages, Atlantic History, "Reconquista", Militar History. **Main publications:** *La Reconquista. Una construcción historiográfica (siglos XVI-XIX)*. México-Madrid: Marcial Pons Ediciones-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México), 2011; "La percepción del mar en la crónica castellana de la Baja Edad Media", *El mar. Percepciones, lecturas y contextos. Una mirada cultural a los entornos marítimos*, Guadalupe Pinzón Ríos, Flor Trejo Rivera, eds. Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2015: 113-130; "La crónica castellana de la baja Edad Media y la legitimación de la guerra contra el Islam. Memoria, discursos, representaciones". *Temas Medievales*, 24 (2016): 141-160; "La culture arabo-islamique sous le regard de l'historiographie chrétienne de la péninsule Ibérique (XIIIe-XVe siècles): notes préliminaires", *Espaces, temps, pratiques et représentations. Formations de la culture-Formation des cultures*, Elsa Carrillo-Blouin, ed. Brest: Université de Bretagne Occidentale, Centre de Recherche Bretonne et Celtique, 2017: 117-132.

Abel Soler. *Professor associat* of Medieval History. Departament de Filologia Catalana, Facultat de Filologia, Traducció i Comunicació, Universitat de València. Avinguda de Blasco Ibáñez, 32, 46010 Valencia (Spain). joasomo@uv.es. **Main lines of research:** History of Medieval Catalan Literature. **Main publications:** *El corsari Jaume de Vilaragut i la donzella Carmesina. El cavaller que inspirà el 'Tirant lo Blanc*, 2 vols. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2013; *Joan Roís de Corella (1435-1497). Síntesi biogràfica i aportació documental*. Valencia: Acadèmia Valenciana de la Llengua, 2014; "Enyego d'Àvalos, autor de Curial e Güelfa?". *Estudis Romànics*, 39 (2017): 137-165; "Curial e Güelfa: a Romance of Humanistic Chivalry, from the Italian Quattrocento, Written in Catalan Language", 'Curial e Güelfa'. *La cavalleria umanistica italiana nel XV secolo*, Anna Maria Babbi, Antoni Ferrando, eds. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: forthcoming; *La cort napolitana d'Alfons el Magnànim: el context de 'Curial e Güelfa'*, 3 vols. Valencia: Universitat de València-Institució Alfons el Magnànim, forthcoming.

Francisco Vidal. Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies, Departamento de Lenguas y Culturas Mediterráneas, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de Jaén. Edificio Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación I (D-2), Campus Las Lagunillas, 23071 Jaén (Spain). **Main lines of research:** Arabic and Islamic studies, History of al-Andalus (Islamic Spain) and the Maghrib, Political history of the Nasrid Emirate of Granada, Islamic law and society. **Main publications:** “El asesinato político en al-Andalus: la muerte violenta del emir en la dinastía nazarí (s. XIV)”, *De muerte violenta. Política, religión y violencia en al-Andalus*, María Isabel Fierro, ed. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 349-397; “Los prisioneros de guerra en manos de musulmanes: doctrina legal islámica y práctica en al-Andalus (s. VIII-XIII)”, *El cuerpo derrotado: cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, María Isabel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 485-506; “Los cautivos en al-Andalus durante el Califato Omeya de Córdoba. Aspectos jurídicos, sociales y económicos”. *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos. Sección Árabe-Islam*, 57 (2008) 359-398; “Emires, príncipes, princesas y arráeces: la casa real nazarí de Jaén (los miembros ŷayyānīs de la familia de los Banū l-Aḥmar y el papel político de las élites locales en la sociedad andalusí)”. *Revista del Instituto Egipcio de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, 41 (2013): 21-60; “El tratamiento de la infancia y los derechos del niño en el sistema legal de al-Andalus y el derecho mālikī”. *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes*, 27 (2016) 201-238.

Mathieu Vivas. *Maitre de conférences* in Medieval History. Faculté des Sciences Historiques, Artistiques et Politiques, Université de Lille. 42 rue Paul Duez, 59000 Lille (France). **Main lines of research:** Medieval justice, treatment of the criminals’ body, judicial power, archeology and written sources, bad death, social exclusion, penal coercion and the right to punish. **Main publications:** (with Isabelle Cartron, Dominique Castex, Patrice Georges, Martine Charageat) eds. *De corps en corps. Traitement et devenir du cadavre, Actes des séminaires de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine (mars-juin 2008)*, Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine, 2010; (with Delphine Boyer-Gardner) eds. *Déplacer les morts au Moyen Âge: voyages, funérailles, manipulations, exhumations et réinhumations, Actes de la journée d’étude de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine, tenue le 18 novembre 2010 à l’Archéopôle de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux: Ausonius Éditions–Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine, 2014; “Prope aut juxta cimiterium: un espace d’inhumation pour les ‘mauvais morts’ (XIe-XVe s.)”, *Le cimetière au village dans l’Europe médiévale et moderne, Actes des 35e Journées Internationales de l’Abbaye de Flaran, Valence-sur-Baïse (Gers), 11-12 octobre 2013*, Cécile Treffort, dir. Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2015: 193-206; “Les fourches patibulaires du Moyen Âge à l’époque Moderne. Approche interdisciplinaire”, *Actes du colloque international tenu à Bordeaux (Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine) les 23-24 janvier 2014*. Martine Charageat, Mathieu Vivas, eds. Paris: Criminocorpus, 2016; “Les fourches patibulaires médiévales et modernes: un lieu d’inhumation pour les condamnés à mort”, *Qu’est-ce qu’une sépulture ? Humanités et systèmes funéraires de la Préhistoire à nos jours, Actes du colloque international tenu les 13-15 octobre 2015 à Antibes*, Michel Lauwers, Aurélie Zémour, eds. Antibes: Éditions APDCA, 2016: 253-271.

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I PART

THE PAST INTERROGATED
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INNOVATING FROM TRADITION. NOTES ON HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PRODUCTION OF JACQUES LE GOFF, FROM THE MENTALITIES TO THE HISTORICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

DIEGO MUNDACA
UNIVERSIDAD DE CONCEPCIÓN
CHILE

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ABSTRACT

The writing and historiographical production of Jacques Le Goff pursued in the present work focuses on the time period when the *Annales* journal changed course, following the essential contributions of Fernand Braudel. This article discusses the work of Le Goff after the cultural shift of the late sixties, when he departed from the Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and created the Groupe d'Anthropologie historique de l'Occident Medieval. Changes and innovations found in *New History* are a reflection and expression of the place from where Le Goff wrote. Within the search for a medieval humanism that transformed alongside historical anthropology, we hold that the logic of Le Goff's writing was a permanent dialogue between, on the one hand, an innovation stemming from its immediate contingency and, on the other hand, the past, and innovations of tradition.¹

KEYWORDS

Jacques Le Goff, Historiography, Revolt of May 68, Mentalities, Innovation.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Jacques Le Goff, Historiographicalis Productio, Rebellio Maii MCMLXVIII, Habitus Mentis, Innovatio.

1. Approaches to cultural and social trends since 1968: 'the discomfort of history'²

Since the end of the 1960s, Fernand Braudel,³ Immanuel Wallerstein⁴ and Latin American historiographer Carlos Aguirre,⁵ have agreed that '68 was a cultural revolution of planetary dimensions, an opinion also shared by one of the most visible revolutionary of that time: Daniel Cohn-Bendit, who said:

1968 was a planetary revolt. If we consider the late 1960s, we see a revolt in the East and West, as well as the North and South. Almost everywhere there are revolts, occupations of universities or colleges, demonstrations. The proof is that, if we write a book today and we simply put two figures on the cover: 6 and 8 —68— and automatically people (in Turkey, in Latin America, in Prague or Warsaw, in Paris or Berlin, in New York or San Francisco, in Sarajevo or Rio) [...] think about 1968 and the revolt in the late 1960s. We cannot reflect on the significance of this revolt or reduce it to a single country, although we can affirm that France was the place where the revolt was more intense.⁶

This generation, which questioned the prevailing order in France governed by Charles de Gaulle, is an example of the Resistance. This period coincided with the decolonization process of Algeria, in which France was not victorious. Racism continued for a long time within the forced coexistence of French people who had lived in Africa for a long time. De Gaulle's biggest opponent was the communist party, with a backdrop represented by Castro's Cuba and the Chinese Cultural Revolution, processes that removed sociocultural structures. Social movements questioned and also sought to transform the dominant power relationships that had

1. This article is a revised and rethought version of the paper "La noción de la mentalidad de Jacques Le Goff: entre tradición e innovación" presented in the Vº *Jornadas de Historia de las mentalidades y la cultura* organized by the Department of Historical Sciences of the Universidad de Concepción during the 28th, 29th and 30th of October 2015. This meeting had as central discussion the historiographical production of Jacques Le Goff.

2. Paraphrasing Sigmund Freud in his work: Freud, Sigmund. *El Malestar en la cultura*. Madrid: Alianza, 2006.

3. Braudel, Fernand. "Renacimiento, Reforma, 1968: revoluciones culturales de larga duración". *La Jornada Semanal*, 226 (1993): 27-32.

4. Wallerstein, Emmanuel. "1968: revolución en el sistema-mundo. Tesis e interrogantes". *Revista de Estudios Sociológicos*, 20 (1989).

5. Rojas, Carlos. *La historiografía en el siglo XX, historia e historiografía entre 1848 y ¿2025?* Barcelona: Montecinos, 2004: 105-131; Rojas, Carlos. "Tesi sull'itinerario della storiografia del XX secolo. Uno sguardo dalla prospettiva della lunga durata". *Rivista Internazionale di Storia della Storiografia*, 45 (2004-2005): 50-70. In both historiographical texts, the author holds the idea, according to Wallerstein, that since May 1968, a definite fracture was formed in all kind of cultural reproduction in modern life, and also confirms the hegemony that was established since *Annales*. The counterpoint of the *Annales* project *d'Histoire Economique et Sociales*, proposes a completely interpretative, problematic, comparative and critical practice. This practice concerned the singularity from common and universal elements, reducing the complex dialectic of the particular and the general. It assumes that the historian cannot be absolutely objective. See Rojas, Carlos. "Tesi sull'itinerario della storiografia...": 64-65.

6. Cohn-Bendit, Daniel. *Forget 68*. Paris: Seuil, 2008.



been established in the fields of knowledge, politics and economics. From there, the youth identified rigid, hierarchical and centralized structures. Criticism not only reached the prevailing capitalist system, but also the socialist system that governed the Eastern territories.

Therefore, the issues of youth and education were vital. In the latter, higher education experienced an impressive growth regarding quantity of students, as it increased in France from 150,000 in 1958 to 500,000 in 1968. As a result of this growth, the maladjustment of university structures became noticeable in the face of the massive entry of students. Problems of infrastructure intensified and it became necessary to form master classes to satisfy the overpopulated student audience.⁷

Agitation seemed universal. China's cultural protest movements in 1966, along with the hot autumn of Italian workers in 1969, the student, popular and workers movements of May 1968 in France, the student revolt and tragic massacre in Mexico, spring in Prague silenced by Soviet occupation, student occupations of New York and Berkeley, the Berlin protest movement, the short popular uprising of the 'Cordobazo' in Argentina, and student protests in Chile.

All these events were forming a movement characterized by political heterogeneity, and its least common multiple was the demand for university space, along with protest of the hierarchical power dynamics inherent within families, school and the church. The general position of the movement was accompanied by elements of hedonistic liberation and freedom of speech. Family tended to lose its space as the fundamental nucleus of society as well as its role in the formation of individuals. Feminist movements disrupted the role of women and their social function within the nuclear family, favouring their economic independence along with the freedom of choice regarding their body, motherhood, and general sexual customs.

On all these fronts, there existed a confrontation between generations. Recurring topics called for the liberation of all kinds of bonds in search of a total autonomy of thought. French slogans propagated during that May reflect this notion: "all the power to the imagination", "be realistic, demand the impossible". In addition, the 'hippie' movement developed, and the Woodstock festival in 1969 brought 500,000 youth from all over the world, to gather in upstate New York for three days.

A certain unity can be noted among these manifestations, comprising a counterculture based on the idea of 'generation' —not class— with an ideological basis not strictly Marxist. A classic example is the case of the 'hippie' counterculture and young students who occupied universities and public spaces, demanding 'liberation' and 'revolution'. They referred to the works of Herbert Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich and Erich Fromm.⁸ Young people and their vehement impatience

7. Le Goff, Jean-Pierre. *Mai 68, l'héritage impossible*. Paris: La Découverte, 2006.

8. According to Patrick Barr-Melej, he sustains that the problem is generational and refers to an essential discourse and practices: of sexual liberation, the reconceptualization of gender and the relationships between man and woman (and man and man), consumption (and contribution to) a peculiar material culture, the experimentation with drugs, demand for political and cultural democratization and opposition to all forms of war. Such youths declared their alienation and strongly expressed a revolutionary and anti-hegemonic sensibility based on the desire for liberation, various forms of collectivism and the direct challenge to the "old" system. See: Barr-Melej, Patrick. "Siloismo and the Self in Allende's Chile: Youth,



occupied the floor and various spaces across society. In this way, the generational gap became more evident; in fact, the generational gap that separated children from their parents was more pronounced than it had been since the French Revolution.⁹

From the historical sciences there arose a malaise, coming from at least three scholars who considered history as their matter of reflexion and manifested their discomfort with traditional academicism: Michel Foucault, Paul Veyne and François Furet. These figures influenced many, including Le Goff, Michel Foucault, who praised them at an unconventional conference in Royaumont in 1971: *Nietzsche, Freud, Marx*.¹⁰ The interpretation and traditional views of writing are deeply questioned, making that interpretation goes on itself, at the same time that the word of marginal men and women is taking protagonism.

This point is clarified in another of Foucault's works, *Les mots et les choses*¹¹, which increased his popularity for some, while others have deeply criticized the construction of knowledge established in the XVIII and XIX centuries, known as outstanding periods for the progression of French thought. In this work, Foucault indirectly enabled an approach to the Old Regime and as well as Middle Ages, however from a more positive perspective.

Finally, in his work, *L'archéologie du savoir*,¹² Foucault placed an even deeper relevance on this period of historical discontent, discontinuity, ruptures, and the power of science. He asserts that historians were concerned about *grandes continuidades*, while a more contemporary ideology refers to *detectar la incidencia de las interrupciones*.¹³ Consequently, his archaeology considers discontinuities and incoherencies that can be inferred. Genealogy is not satisfied by the smooth curves of evolution as provided by historians who dispute the sharpness of the purely transcendental, however seeks to repair the edges and bring to light events in all their singularity.¹⁴ These discourses heavily influenced the writing of Jacques Le Goff, as he himself stated in an interview which will be discussed later.

However, not all the contributions of those philosophers were assumed by *Annales*. For example, the reflections of Paul Veyne were criticized by two valued friends of the journal, Raymond Aron and Michel de Certeau.¹⁵ The latter recognized

'Total Revolution', and the Roots of the humanist Movement". *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 86 (2006): 750.

9. Judt, Tony. *Algo va mal*. Madrid: Taurus, 2010: 89, quoted by: López, Vladimir, "Malestar en la historia. Tres respuestas al desafío historiográfico de los setenta". *Historia* 396, 1 (2013): 136.

10. Foucault, Michel. *Nietzsche, Freud, Marx*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1970: 32-41.

11. Foucault, Michel. *Les mots et les choses : une archéologie des sciences humaines*. Paris: Gallimard, 1966.

12. Foucault, Michel. *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Gallimard, 1969.

13. "great continuities"; "detecting the incidence of disruptions". Foucault, Michel. *La arqueología del saber*. Mexico: Siglo XXI, 2007: 3-7.

14. Foucault, Michel. *Dits et écrits I, 1954-1975*. Paris: Gallimard, 2001: 1004-1024, quoted by López, Vladimir. "Malestar en la historia...": 135.

15. Aron, Raymond. "Comment l'historien écrit l'épistémologie: à propos du livre de Paul Veyne". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 26/6 (1971): 1319-1354. De Certeau, Michel. "Une épistémologie de transition: Paul Veyne". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 27/6 (1972): 1317-1327.



that history is a story, however relies on the real and actual, while moving away from the often brutal perspective of Veyne, which contests that *la historia no tiene método [...] los hechos no existen; sólo existen intrigas*.¹⁶ About this, the judgment is very critical by both parts, and should not be confused as a condescending gesture, but more accurately as a criticism of the vision of this recognized Marxist Romanist and archaeologist. However, this does not mean that *Annales* and our author were not upset or discontented by a scientific history and the asepsis installed in university teaching; that is, the writing and historiographical production of our author, although it does not reach the categorical affirmation as that of Veyne, which is in concurrence with many other approaches.

This accumulation of changes in historical knowledge allowed the search of new pedagogical models, for example, the questioning of authority. Special mention is made to the creation of ‘anti-psychiatry’ and reinterpretation; the “Return to Freud” by Jacques Lacan, who revolutionized his perspective and led a discourse within the Parisian setting and university world over the period of two decades.¹⁷ Lacan was a revolutionary of thought, a position that led to his expulsion from the hegemonic psychoanalytic society founded by Anna Freud in the United Kingdom. He proposed a total reinterpretation of mental reality by focusing on three points: the imaginary,¹⁸ the symbolic, and the real.¹⁹ In fact he influenced Michel de Certeau, especially in regard to the category of imaginary, which Le Goff referred to in some of his works.

The imaginary is an essential component to comprehend the work of Jacques Le Goff, particularly when defining *New History*. This category led to a deeper conception of history, taking the unconscious and fusing the material with mental profundities. At the same time, this influenced the structural anthropology of Levi-Strauss, and it is possible to say that history became increasingly ethnographic, and therefore the topics of temporality and permanence were emphasized more and more in the context of a humanity whose compulsions are usually reduced to biological or familiar manifestations of existence: birth, christening, marriage and death.²⁰

16. “history has no method [...] facts do not exist; there are only intrigues”. Veyne, Paul. *Cómo se escribe la historia. Ensayo de epistemología*. Madrid: Fragua, 1972: 5.

17. Caruso, Paolo. *Conversaciones con Lévi-Strauss, Foucault y Lacan*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1969: 110.

18. The imaginary, symbolic and real concepts are well explained in the dictionary of the French historian and psychoanalyst: Roudinesco, Élizabéth; Plon, Michel. *Diccionario de Psicoanálisis*. Madrid: Paidós, 2008: 521-523. Since 1953 Lacan defines the imaginary as the place of the self, par excellence with its places of illusion, capture and decoy, linked to the experience of a cleavage between *moi* and *je* (the subject). The imaginary is as the illusion of the self, alienation and fusion with the mother’s body. Symbolic as the signifier’s place and paternal fusion. Real, as a remnant impossible to be symbolized.

19. See the inaugural conference for 1953 in the Société Française de Psychanalyse (SFP): Lacan, Jacques. “El simbólico, el imaginario y el real (1953)”. *Clínica y psicoanálisis*. 25 April 2015. Facultad de Psicología Universidad de Buenos Aires. 26 April 2018 <<https://clinicaypsicoanalisis1.webnode.es/news/el-simbolico-el-imaginario-y-el-real-1953-jacques-lacan/>>.

20. Dosse, Franjaís. “Mayo del 68: los efectos de la historia sobre historia”. *Sociológica*, 38 (1998): 172.



According to Fernand Braudel, the changes and triumphs of May 68 were not political, but related to culture.²¹ In fact, these can be understood as a rupture within the *long duration* that comes from the middle of XIX century until the date indicated. It then can be referred to the beginning of a predominant tendency to make history, which came from the French academy, wherein Jacques Le Goff was a prominent leader. Even in this general historiographical context we believe that, at that time, there was no hegemonic predominance of one school of thought over another, however it was decidedly the most productive and multifaceted period of the *Annales* group. The lowest common denominator was the production of a polysemous movement deeply marked by interdisciplinary. From that moment on, the movement was no longer centered only in Europe, but extended beyond with a fluid exchange of ideas and knowledge among the American academy and Eastern Europe.

Regarding the relationship with Eastern Europe, it is important to note that Jacques Le Goff maintained frequent contact with these areas. It is well expressed by the Italian historian Daniela Romagnoli, who was very close to our author,²² and emphasized his presence in Poland, for family and political reasons. In addition, this dialogue involved outstanding Polish historian, Bronislaw Geremek, specialist in marginality and work.

On the contrary, the reception of his work was delayed in Spain due to the Franco dictatorship. It was only in the late 1980s that his texts became the subject of intense translation. And lastly, it is important to emphasize the impact of its production in Eastern countries and distant areas such as Japan, where its presence in 1976 generated, according to Shuichi Ikegami, many adherents and also developed antipathy. This seems to indicate the existence of a before and after in the discussion of some typical topics of the historical discipline, and especially the reinterpretation of social history and the consolidation of anthropological and historical thought, which began to intensify until the 80' in that country.

In short, after the long process of decolonization, the European scientific production field ends its absolute predominance and consolidates a fluid exchange with Latin America, India and Africa. In addition, diverse projects simultaneously arose, in consideration of the mentalities —and the historical anthropology of our author— microhistory, history of gender, the linguistic turn, representations of Roger Chartier, and the conceptual history and history of emotions. The movement opened and questioned, at the same time, the

21. *Che la rivoluzione europea, occidentale, quasi mondiale del 1968 sia fallita politicamente, lo sappiamo tutti, a quasi quindici anni distanza. Ma essa ha trionfato e non retrocederà per ciò che concerne le abitudini, la relazione fra i sessi, la crisi acuta della famiglia* ("That the European, Western, word-wide revolution of 68 is a political failure, we all know, almost fifteen years away. She has triumphed and will not retreat in what concerns the habits, the relations between the sexes, the acute crisis of the family"). Braudel, Fernand. "Domina la parola 'cambiando'". *Corriere della Sera*, 7 May 1982: 53; Carlos, Aguirre, "Tesi sull'itinerario della storiografia del XX secolo. Uno sguardo dalla prospettiva della lunga durata". *Rivista Internazionale di Storia de la Storiografia*, 45 (2004-2005): 50-70.

22. Romagnoli, Daniela. "Il giro del mondo di Jacques Le Goff". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 8 (2014): 404.



typical forms wherein historiographical production had developed, leading to a greater number of minorities represented in historical discourse: children, witches, heretics, impoverished people, and those generally marginalized. Combining powerful epistemic reflection and acute criticism, the most prominent exponents of this movement were Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau,²³ Paul Ricoeur²⁴ (as critic), Norbert Elias,²⁵ and Roger Chartier.²⁶ This movement raised epistemological questions underlying existing structures of knowledge.²⁷ In this context, social scientists were forced to explain the absence of studies regarding forgotten “minorities”, including indigenous populations, groups with identities or alternative sexual practices. And, for example, the creation of analytical units never before mentioned link world-system were given light.

In this way, the consequences of cultural production were forever changed, and consequently altered the perception of history, through writing and thinking. The speed of communication is accelerated by increasing amounts of available information. Culture is ‘mediatized’, enhancing the possibilities of its circulation and dissemination in a planetary dimension.

From a history of ‘mentalities’, our author was perhaps one of the most well-known members of the third generation of *Annales* (1968-1989).²⁸ Jacques Le Goff was a pioneer and very receptive to the influences of the socio-cultural present that he lived, marked by intellectual changes, theoretical debates of his models and paradigms, and regarding all concepts²⁹ constructed with respect to the historical discipline until that moment.

For this reason, the historiography of our author consciously and unconsciously takes some cultural tendencies created within an agitated and demanding time of new perspectives, especially concerning how to face new problems: the concerns of common women and men are more relevant in history, their sexuality, daily life, mythical beliefs. All this was given a historical moment unlike ever before.

23. Certeau, Michel. *La escritura de la Historia*. Mexico: Iberoamericana, 1998.

24. Ricoeur, Paul. *La memoria, la historia, el olvido*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010: 237-258.

25. Elias, Norbert. *El proceso de civilización, investigación, sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987.

26. Chartier, Roger. *Escribir las prácticas: Foucault, de Certeau, Marin*. Buenos Aires: Manantial, 1996; Chartier, Roger. *El Mundo como representación, estudios sobre historia cultural*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2002.

27. Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Análisis de Sistemas-Mundo*. Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2006: 35.

28. Burke, Peter. *La revolución historiográfica francesa, la escuela de los Annales: 1929-1989*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2006; Barros, Carlos. “La contribución de los terceros Annales y la historia de las mentalidades 1969-1989”. *Iztapalapa*, 36 (1995): 73-75.

29. Mostrogregori, Masimo. “I problema della storia della storiografia”. *Revista di storia della storiografia moderna*, 8 (1987): 2-3; Mostrogregori, Masimo. “Storiografia e tradizione storica”. *Pasato e presente*, 12 (1994): 32.



2. 'New history' and the role of Jacques Le Goff: his historical anthropology

By the end of the sixties *New History* became independent from the structuralist paradigm of Levi-Strauss. A generational relay was produced in *Annales* journal, when the group of André Burguière, Marc Ferro, Jacques Le Goff, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jacques Revel became responsible for its publication until the late 1980s. The approach of the journal considered historical anthropology, as promoted by Le Goff from the start.

Annales was not the only protagonist during the era. In 1971, a journal of popular history was created in response to the teachings of the school manuals: *Le Peuple Français* that reached an audience of 7,500 subscribers. A similar case was *Forum-History*,³⁰ a journal which in May 1975 brought together a hundred professors and students at the institute Charles V of the University of Paris VII, and as a result, produced *Cuadernos del Foro-Historia*, with 4,000 copies. These initiatives coincided in part with the assessment of *New History* in criticizing at least three pillars of traditional history: the connection between past and present, study and social practice and, finally, the subjects of history.

Directly linked to Jacques Le Goff's mediatic work and *Annales*, the phenomenon of the diffusion of knowledge arises, that is, the idea of forming history by writing it, thereby 'constructing' a history different from that which had been recognized prior to that moment. It was imperative to involve the media —press, radio and television— and increase circulation. One of the most important features exemplified by this type of production was a *problem-history*, with no chronological limitations, and focused on the urgency and questioning of the present.

The publishing house Plon launched a collection directed by Phillipe Ariès and Robert Mandrou, called *Civilisations et Mentalités*. In Gallimard, Pierre Nora created the collection *Library of Stories* in 1971. The following year, Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie was in charge of the History section at *Le Monde*. As can be seen, this explosion of production shows that historians were changing their practices, since work on the archives would not suffice, and it became necessary to diffuse discoveries.

Attempting to understand the so-called *New History*, and our author, in the peak of the discussion, the book by Georges Duby³¹ *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*³² is employed. This book emphasizes the close relation between the mental and the material, searching for their harmonization and profiling a history that tends toward globalism and the imaginary. Later, these categories will be

30. Dosse, Franjáis. "Mayo 1968: los efectos de la historia sobre la historia". *Sociológica*, 38 (1998): 165-201.

31. Le Goff, Jacques. "Georges Duby (1919-1996)". *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 40 (1997): 199-209. Our author has always been more than attentive to the Duby's writing, since he was one of the earliest theorists of mentalities along with Robert Mandrou in *A history of French civilization*. Nevertheless, it is necessary to make an exception in the text *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*. Perhaps Jacques Lacan should not be referred, but Castoriadis, who wrote the book *The imaginary institution of society*.

32. Duby, Georges. *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*. Paris: Gallimard, 1978.



intensively reviewed in the context of several articles and books by Le Goff³³ along with his disciples Jean Claude Schmitt, Jean-Claude Bonne and Jerome Baschet, informing about his knowledge of the psychoanalysis of Lacanian order that was so decisive at that time. Even the *slogans* of the revolts and pretended revolutions prompted a greater preponderance of the imaginary and the imagination in general, at the expense of the concrete, material, and measurable. This emphasis was a claim and exaltation to present an unconscious dimension of the human being.

Le Goff comments about the book by his colleague Georges Duby:

Quel est le rôle des concepts, quel est le rôle de l'idéologie, quel est le rôle de l'imaginaire dans l'histoire? Non pas du tout qu'il l'oppose ou qu'il le sépare du matériel, il montre comment il y a entre l'économie et la société et ces schémas intellectuels un constant dialogue, une imbrication, comment tout ceci se structure au sein de ce qu'il appelle la révolution féodale, mais une histoire, une époque, un système historique est fait autant d'idées et de concepts qu'il est fait de techniques, d'économie, de classes sociales. D'autre part, dans le titre même de l'ouvrage apparaît un de ces nouveaux objets de l'histoire. Car une des caractéristiques de ce qu'on appelle encore une fois —mettons peut-être des guillemets— la Nouvelle Histoire, C'est d'avoir fait entrer dans le champ de l'histoire, et c'est ce que nous avons déjà essayé de montrer, Pierre Nora et moi, quand nous avons suscité ce rassemblement d'historiens autour de "Faire de l'Histoire", qui a fait entrer de nouveaux objets de l'histoire. Que les historiens ne considéraient pas jusqu'alors, soit parce qu'ils les laissaient aux sociologues, aux ethnologues, parce que c'était tout simplement en dehors de leur champ habituel. Et l'un de ces principaux objets c'est l'imaginaire. Il s'agit de donner à l'imaginaire un statut de témoins et de force agissante de l'histoire. Cette histoire aussi, elle se veut mais non pas d'une façon brouillonne, d'une façon structurée, explicative, une histoire totale. Une histoire justement qui ne prenne pas seulement la surface des événements, qui ne prenne pas seulement les grands hommes et chez ces hommes leurs vies officielles, leurs vies extérieures, Mais qui prenne les sociétés et les hommes tout entiers, depuis leurs vies matérielles, la façon dont ils s'habillent, la façon dont ils mangent, la façon dont ils pensent. Et là encore comment, derrière leurs idées et leurs concepts, ils ont ces façons de penser presque automatiques, quotidiennes que l'on appelle des mentalités. Eh ! bien, il faut dans cette intégration à l'explication du passé d'hommes, de groupes sociaux, de sociétés toutes entières, intégrer, je dirais presque au premier chef, l'imaginaire.³⁴

33. Berlioz, Jacques; Le Goff, Jacques; Guerreau-Jalabert, Anita. "Anthropologie et histoire", *L'histoire médiévale en France. Bilan et perspectives*, Michel Balard, ed. Paris : Le Seuil, 1991 : 269-304; Le Goff, Jacques. *L'imaginaire médiéval*. Paris: Gallimard, 1985.

34. "What are the role of concepts? What is the role of ideology? What is the role of the imaginary in history? It does not oppose or separate from the material, it shows how there is an interdependence between economy and society and these intellectual schemes create a constant dialogue, showing how all this is structured in what he calls the feudal revolution. However, a history, a period, a historical system is made by ideas and concepts as well as techniques, economics, social classes. Moreover, in the same title of the work appeared one of these new objects of history. One of the characteristics of what we once called —maybe in quotation marks— *New History*, is having integrated new objects into the field of history, and this is what Pierre Nora and I tried to show when we convoked that meeting of historians focused on *Faire de l'Histoire*, that is, to incorporate new objects in history that historians had not considered until now, either because they were left to sociologists, ethnologists or because they were simply out of their usual field. One of these main objects is the imaginary. It is about giving to the imaginary a status of witness and active force of history. This story also pretends to be a complete history, but not in a disorderly way, but in a structured and explanatory way. A history that precisely does not consider only the surface of the facts, which considers not only the great men and their official



In relation to the book by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Carnaval de Romans*,³⁵ his appreciation is more suggestive, since, on the one hand, he is more emphatic in equating the historical work with the ethnographic and, on the other hand, exalting an event, such as the carnival, as an event capable of revealing an entire society. From that moment, there were intense central interdisciplinary dialogues in which anthropology prevailed. This not only brought progress, but also a constant criticism of the work of the *New History* in general, based on the argument that it was losing and thereby blurring history itself through its very close connection to the social sciences. Le Goff commented:

*Mais elle voit dans l'événement l'objet non pas dans lequel s'enfermer, non pas dans lequel voir un facteur essentiel de l'histoire, Mais un révélateur de l'histoire profonde. [...] Et alors là, il [d'Emmanuel Le Roy-Ladurie] appartient aussi si je peux le dire à la nouvelle histoire plus spécialement parce qu'il a uni profondément, et c'est une des tendances importantes de la nouvelle histoire aujourd'hui en tout cas, l'ethnologie, l'anthropologie et l'histoire. Il a montré comment la fête, le carnaval —encore des objets qu'on laissait auparavant à l'imaginaire, qu'on laissait à l'ethnologue— en fait, ont leur place dans l'histoire, dans la vraie histoire, dans la grande histoire.*³⁶

It should not be forgotten that the criticism of the movement began in the 70s and still endures today, arising in the most diverse university spaces. We think that this criticism is created as a reason to consider that the interdependence between production and disclosure is flawed; and diversities of history, never before considered within disciplines, were consolidated. In addition, we can say that the *Annales* movement, more than an organic and directed school, was and is a “space of experimentation”, which was produced through methodological innovation and cooperation with social sciences which allowed for the diversity of subjects discussed. Here, a very sharp critic wrote:

...los espectros recorren los campos —critica Hervé Martin—, Satán multiplica sus maleficios, la bruja es la señora del pueblo, la llegada del Anticristo es inminente (...) la historia

lives, their external lives, but fully considers societies and men, from their material lives, the way they dress, the way they eat, the way they think. Behind their ideas and their concepts there are almost automatic, routine forms of thinking that we call mentalities. Within this integration to the explanation of the past of the man, of social groups, of all societies, I would say, the imaginary must be integrated almost in a primordial way”. Translation of an interview performed: “La ‘nouvelle histoire’ présentée par Jacques Le Goff”. *Apostrophes*. 2 February 1979. Jalons version Découverte. 15 November 2016 <<https://fresques.ina.fr/jalons/fiche-media/InaEdu04625/la-nouvelle-histoire-presentee-par-jacques-le-goff.html>> (translation adapted from the version made by Maritza Nieto at the Universidad de Concepción).

35. Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Le carnaval de Romans : de la Chandeleur au mercredi des Cendres*. Paris: Gallimard, 1986.

36. “But this history sees in the event the object in which it cannot be enclosed, in which one does not see the essential factor of history, but an indicator of deep history (...) so now, he [Le Roy Ladurie] also belongs to, if I may say so, ‘New History’, especially because he united, and that is one of the most important trends of the New History today, ethnology, anthropology and history. He showed how celebration, carnival and objects that once we left to the imaginary, which we left to the ethnologist, by positioning them in history, in the true story, in the great history”. “La ‘nouvelle histoire’ présentée...”.



*francesa se ha convertido en un 'show' permanente. A partir de aquí, la historia queda sometida a la ley del mercado y corre en riesgo de ser víctima de una rápida obsolescencia de los protagonistas y de los conceptos. Los herederos de Dom Mabillon a veces dan la impresión de haber optado, no sin peligro, por el "show business".*³⁷

This reference does not invite many interpretations. The allusions are clear, although we believe that it is somewhat distempered, because it does not comprehend that the groups of this era were taking advantage of, as reasonably as possible, all the possibilities at hand. Another less severe criticism is the one that indicates that this kind of history has lost its global and structural intensity, which was spread so thin that it was reduced to crumbs.³⁸ François Dosse, in his book *L'histoire en miettes*,³⁹ criticizes this generation for losing the original objective. In addition to this, it can be said that *Annales*, in the 70s and 80s, disassociated from the economic and social history of Braudelian and Marxist matrix, and were shaping a practice and study object more "individualistic". For detractors of *Annales* it was a history marked by the interests of the market, nevertheless, we can declare it would be better to say that history returns to questions about the present man, giving answers with a historical connotation.

In this context, it is important to remember the success of the book *Montaillou, village occitan, from 1294 to 1324*⁴⁰ by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, with almost 300,000 copies. This work responds to the scrutinization of daily customs and marital relationships, giving the subject value and a place in history. Therefore, the historian was responding to social discussions of the moment in which debates were sparked and changes were made in the formation of the family, the rights of husbands and wives, contraception and abortion. There is an ethnologization of historical discourse, the small stories of children, young people, the humble, the study of material culture is widely covered. So much so, that in *Annales*, cultural history was given greater significance, increasing from 22.4% between 1957-1969 to 32.8% between 1969 and 1976. Examples of this are sexuality (Jean-Louis Flandrin, Jean-Paul Aron), death (Michel Vovelle, Phillipe Aries) and fear (Jean Delumeau). These great works were heavily criticized by detractors of the 'school', as those mentalities could not be subject to the social substratum. The *long duration* relieves social tensions and integrates them into an immutable permanence of human nature; the man reduced to the mental is the object of his own history, more than the subject of history itself.

37. "... spectres traverse the fields —Hervé Martin criticizes—, Satan multiplies his spells, the witch is the lady of the town, the arrival of the Antichrist is imminent (...) French history has become a permanent show. From here, history is subject to the law of the market and runs the risk of being the victim of a rapid obsolescence of the protagonists and concepts. The heirs of Dom Mabillon sometimes give the impression of having opted, not without danger, for the show business". Bourd , Guy; Martin, Herve. *Las Escuelas Hist ricas*. Madrid: Akal, 1992: 185.

38. Barros, Carlos. "El 'tournant critique' de Annales". *Revista de Hist ria Medieval*, 2 (1991): 193-197.

39. Dosse, Fran ois. *L'histoire en miettes: des 'Annales'   la 'nouvelle Histoire'*. Paris: Pocket, 1997.

40. Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou, village occitan : de 1294   1324*. Paris: Gallimard, 1975.



He is also blamed for a sort of postmodernism for his disaggregation and concern for the hegemony of history. In any case, it is important to emphasize that *Annales*, when covering the Middle Ages and the Old Regime, was free from the exaggerated attraction of scientism and the concepts of modernization which characterize a large part of social scientific thought.⁴¹

At the end of the 1980s, the school accepted criticism and subsequently was able to strengthen its interdisciplinary character, abandoning definitively the centralization of history. So history became one more element within the interdisciplinary dialogue: no single discipline can pretend to position intellectual or institutional hegemony over social sciences. In the publication of *Annales* from January-February 1990,⁴² André Burguière, made a critical appeal, remembering a vision he had, that the pillars of *New History* had been of its foundation on the preference of the collective, over the individual, the structural over the eventful, the socio-economic over the political, and so on. But he also emphasized that mental conception is not an invention of Lucien Febvre, but of Bloch in *Les Rois thaumaturges* and in *La société féodale*.⁴³ Le Goff at no time succumbed to any kind of scientism, and we could even say his work not only seeks the collective, but the collective or global according to an object: man and his life, the biography.

Such is the case of Le Goff in his biographical articles⁴⁴ and books about saints, wherein he disagrees with the collective vision of *Annales*. Remember the examples of Saint Louis and Saint Francis, notoriously criticized even by their close colleagues, responded indirectly through interviews and conferences, emphasizing the subject of emergence; and furthermore, the historical work of biography is the most faithful representation of a total history and a historical anthropology: *creo que la biografía está en vías de transformarse en uno de los medios de hacer una historia total del hombre y de los hombres, uno de los más importantes dominios de la antropología histórica*.⁴⁵

Following that, Giovanni Levi, one of the greatest exponents of Italian microhistory,⁴⁶ suggested regarding biographical work, this allows us to make

41. Iggers, Georg. *La historiografía del siglo XXI, desde la objetividad científica al desafío posmoderno*. Santiago de Chile: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012: 107.

42. Burguière André. "De la compréhension en histoire". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 1 (1990): 123-136 <http://www.persee.fr/doc/AsPDF/ahess_0395-2649_1990_num_45_1_278826.pdf> (Consulted 16th November 2016).

43. Bloch, Marc. *Les Rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*. Paris-Strasbourg: Librairie Istra, 1924; Bloch, Marc. *La société féodale*, Paris: Éditions Albin Michel, 1968.

44. Le Goff, Jacques. "Mon ami le saint roi: Joinville et Saint Louis (réponse)". *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2 (2001): 469-477; Le Goff, Jacques. "La sainteté de Saint Louis: sa place dans la typologie et l'évolution chronologique des rois saints". *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e-XIII^e siècle) Actes du colloque de Rome (27-29 octobre 1988)*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991: 285-293; Le Goff, Jacques, "Saint Louis". *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 71/3 (1997): 338-344.

45. "I believe the biography is becoming in one of the means of making a total history of the man and of men, one of the most important domains of historical anthropology". Le Goff, Jacques. "Los retornos de la historiografía francesa actual". *Prohistoria*, 1 (1997): 35-44.

46. Giovanni, Levi. "Les usages de la biographie". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 6 (1989): 1325-1336.



practices that help us to see the closest connections among the interstices of society, assuming their freedom from existing regulatory systems, the magnitude of information sources within a life, the importance of literature, the dimension of the body within social coordinates and, finally, the interpretation assisted by a hermeneutic that comes from historical anthropology.

Historiography was questioned and intellectuals participated in this process. Voices responded with innovation from tradition, such as Jacques Le Goff, leader of a generation. These views are in alignment with a study performed in the United States, wherein the work and intellectual practice of Le Goff is qualified as compromised. Therefore Le Goff was a type of historian, or *historien engagé*, as his compatriots would say,⁴⁷ considering his actions were linked to very serious studies, almost strictly academic, along with radio and television broadcasting.

The nuclear intellectual practice was the associated work that materialized among historians, economists, psychoanalysts,⁴⁸ anthropologists, linguists, semiologists⁴⁹ and geographers, shaping what was called *New History*, which intended to open a range of possibilities in relation to method, theories and historical subjects. Also, it is important to remember a dictionary of *New History* was made, to determine all the concepts and ideas related to the project.

Over time, the former led over time to a change in practices and historiographical production, and in fact placing an importance on knowledge from the peripheries of Latin America, Africa and India. The most obvious example was the emergence of subaltern and culturalist studies, in which new centers of knowledge were opened, and consequently Europe stopped being the definitive center. A much closer contact with the Anglo-Saxon world was established and universities of the United States, United Kingdom, and Scandinavia began to welcome historians who were not necessarily linked to *Annales*, including Michel de Certeau, Carlo Ginzburg, Roger Chartier, Giovanni Levi and the direct disciples of Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, Jérôme Bachet, and even Daniela Romanogli from Italy.

3. The value of the singular in its historical Anthropology

Since when does Le Goff have this hobby and curiosity about being in permanent communication with the social, the dialogue with other colleagues and his concern

47. Joëlle-Rollo, Koster. "Jacques Le Goff (1924)", *New Historial Whinting in Twentieth- Century France, French Historians 1900-2000*, Philip Daileader, Philip Whalen, eds. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010: 372-373.

48. Although Michel de Certeau, a Jesuit priest, was not a psychoanalyst, he was very close to the figure of Jacques Lacan. He always made that approach between Freud's theory and history. And in this same time he writes: Certeau, Michel de. "Ce que Freud fait de L'histoire, apropos de: 'une névrose démoniaque au XVII^e siècle'". *Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 25/3 (1970): 654-667.

49. Kristeva, Julia. "La mutation sémiotique". *Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations*, 25/6 (1969): 1497-1522.



for subjects not so typically medieval? We subscribe to the idea of Alain Boureau,⁵⁰ the one who elucidated that Jacques Le Goff, from the beginning, had presented in his first books what he calls a “methodological anachronism”: *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Age*, *Marchands et banquiers du moyen age* and finally the wonderful book *La civilisation de l'Occident medieval*⁵¹ about historical anthropology, although the concept had not yet been coined. Within the cultural and social context, medievalists and social scientists in general were trying to understand feudal institutions, origins of capitalism and mechanisms of the power of monarchies. Furthermore, Le Goff, in the preface of the 1984 edition, said of the intellectuals, the “interest consist on moving the attention of institutions towards men, of ideas towards social structures, of practices and mentalities”.⁵²

Indeed, the intuition of the fifties redefined it from concepts developed in Jacques Le Goff work from intense dialogue with Social Sciences and especially, as Boureau also mentioned, with an intellectual practice of ‘dis-medievalizing’ the Middle Ages. For him, this was a search maintained by contact with contemporary, modern and antiquated historians. In fact, the concept of intellectuality was taken from the Italian intellectual world and especially from Gramsci, and his idea of organic intellectual:

*en el extremo final de esta evolución profesional, social e institucional hay un objetivo: el poder. Los intelectuales medievales no escapan del esquema de Gramsci, a decir verdad muy general, pero operante (...) los intelectuales de la Edad Media son ante todo intelectuales “orgánicos”, fieles servidores de la Iglesia y el Estado.*⁵³

Perhaps this statement bothers historians who think it is a form of anachronism to use current concepts for such distant processes. Thus, the interest in these intense dialogues and the development of his insatiable historical curiosity led him to accept, from Braudel, the direction of the V Section, he was a chief of work, assistant and head of studies (1960-1962).

The other book referred to, *La civilización del occidente medieval*,⁵⁴ is the result of this intensity and presents a systematic work of images, and life in all its various manifestations. In the introduction he states: *revalorizar toda una civilización (...) esclarecer todas sus estructuras en la disposición de la vida material, de la vida biológica y*

50. Sales, Veronique. *Los historiadores*. Granada: Universidad de Granada-Universidad de Valencia, 2007: 267-281.

51. Le Goff, Jacques. *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Age*. Paris: Seuil, 1957; Le Goff, Jacques. *Marchands et banquiers du moyen age*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1956; Le Goff, Jacques. *La civilisation de l'Occident medieval*. Paris: Arthaud, 1964.

52. Le Goff, Jacques. *Los intelectuales de la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2008: 11.

53. “at the end of this professional, social and institutional evolution there is an objective: the power. The medieval intellectuals do not escape from the scheme of Gramsci and, truthfully and very general, but operant (...) intellectuals of the Middle Ages are primarily ‘organic’ intellectuals, faithful servants of Church and State”. Le Goff, Jacques. *Los intelectuales...*: 14.

54. Le Goff, Jacques. *La civilización del occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Juventud, 1965.



mental.⁵⁵ It is also possible to find here a dialogue with the founders of *Annales*. From that time, there is a distance from the serial and a return to the first generation which had a more productive dialogue with social psychology, anthropology and the growing psychoanalysis; as well as an almost integrative perception prioritizing the unity of the human, that is why, this was, in no way, a view of medieval civilization in fragments and estates (history of art, religious history, history of institutions, etc.).

From that point of view, it is also possible to emphasize of the sources and questions posed. Notably, some sources often taken as peripheral and unreliable, such as *exempla* and hagiographic narratives, were utilized in exemplary works: *La Bourse et la vie*; *San Luis*; *Saint Françoise*.⁵⁶ This influence seems to come from post-structuralist anthropologists, who, with little information, drew conclusions from the structural point of view. As we will see in the subsequent years, using a range of sources previously not valued by many historians, he was able to formulate broad hypotheses; this exercise characterized him over his years as he distanced from fragmentary observations of medieval society.

This influence on anthropology was consolidating and maturing since the mid-sixties in the way of the studies of the VI section of the École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE), later in the Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS). This allows an understanding of how certain thinking and practices can be consolidated. Historical anthropology helps to study history from the *long duration* and to renew and pose new questions and answers.⁵⁷ Superficially, we can indicate the most important milestones of his trajectory: in 1972, in a miscellany to Braudel, he writes “L’historien et l’homme quotidien”; in 1977, in *Pour un autre Moyen Age*, “Vers une anthropologie historique appears”.⁵⁸ In 1978, André Burguière embodies the study of historical anthropology in *La Nouvelle Histoire*⁵⁹ and later in a dictionary he directed;⁶⁰ his exposition in Spoleto in 1975, regarding the symbols of the vassalage rituals;⁶¹ the remarkable number of *Annales* of 1974, dedicated to *Pour une histoire anthropologique*, in which an outstanding group of historians from

55. “to revalue an entire civilization (...) to clarify all its structures in material life, of the biological and mental life”. Le Goff, Jacques. *La civilización...*: 19.

56. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Bourse et la vie. Économie et religion au Moyen Age*. Paris: Hachette, 1986 ; Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint Louis*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996 ; Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint Françoise d’Assise*. Paris: Gallimard, 1998.

57. Berlioz, Jacques; Le Goff, Jacques; Guerreau-Jalabert, Anita. “Anthropologie et histoire...”: 269.

58. Le Goff, Jacques. “L’historien et l’homme quotidien”, *L’historien entre l’ethnologie et la futurologie*, Paris-The Hague: Mouton, 1972: 238-250; Le Goff, Jacques. “Vers une anthropologie historique”, *Pour un autre moyen âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais*. Paris: Gallimard, 1977: 335-349.

59. Burguière, André. “L’anthropologie historique”, *La Nouvelle Histoire*, Jacques Le Goff, ed. Paris: Retz-CEPL, 1988: 137-165.

60. Burguière, André, dir. *Dictionnaire des sciences historiques*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1986: 54.

61. Le Goff, Jacques. “Simboli e Simbologia nell’ alto Medioevo”. *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo*, 23 (1976): 679-788.



the most diverse areas discussed reciprocity,⁶² and especially to the reflections by Nathan Wachtel in his “Réciprocité et l’État Inca: de Karl Polanyi à John V. Murra”.⁶³ Another remarkable fact is that, in 1978, an issue dedicated to the Andean world was elaborated under the guidance of Jacques Revel, John Murra and Nathan Wachtel.

The historical anthropology of our author was gradually defined by groups of studies formed between 1962-1963 as: “History of religious ideas and social groups (XI-XV centuries)”; from 1963 to 1973 it was “history and sociology of the medieval west” in 1973-1974 the program indicates: “cultural anthropology of the medieval west”, before establishing and consolidating the definitive name: *Groupe d’Anthropologie historique de l’Occident Medieval* (GAHOM) (Historical Anthropology of the Medieval West).

It is clear that the theme of psychology and the distancing from most orthodox Marxist currents led to the creation of a conference on heresies in 1962, called “Heresies and societies”. It was inaugurated by Marie-Dominique Chenu, Dominican theologian, who later became Jacques Le Goff’s friend.⁶⁴ At the conference, Chenu

62. Veyne, Paul; Augé, Marc; Godelier, Maurice; Duby, Georges; Meillassoux, Claude; Murra, John V. “Fioravanti-Moliní Antoinette. Débat (sur la réciprocité)”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 29/6 (1974): 1358-1380.

63. Wachtel, Nathan. “La réciprocité et l’État inca: de Karl Polanyi à John V. Murra”, *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 29/6 (1974): 1346-1357.

64. *Al padre Chenu le conocí en unas condiciones muy particulares. En la Escuela Francesa de Roma inicié un estudio sobre las actitudes ante el trabajo extraídas del contenido de los manuales de los confesores. Me pareció tan esclarecedor un trabajo suyo que pedí entrevistarme con él. Acababa de ser condenado por Roma con una sanción suave que le obligó a exiliarse en un convento de Ruán de donde sólo podía salir la última semana de cada mes. Me respondió con mucho humor, diciéndome que sólo podría recibirme una de esas semanas que el Vaticano había considerado que eran las más apropiadas para proseguir sus estudios... Cuando murió, tuve una gran sorpresa: el prior de los dominicos me telefonó para solicitarme un favor especial. Pues él quería enterrarle modestamente, pero el cardenal había decidido celebrar sus funerales solemnemente en Nôtre Dame de París, siguiendo la estrategia habitual de la Iglesia: la recuperación de alguien condenado varias veces. El prior me dijo que únicamente aceptarían la ceremonia con la condición de que se permitiera tan solo un discurso durante la misa y que fuera yo el orador. La cláusula resultaba hábil, y podría decir que casi perversa, pues era una manera de impedir que hablara el cardenal. Éste aceptó, y me encontré dirigiéndome a un público religioso y desconocido que llenaba la iglesia. Redacté un texto muy medido, de ocho minutos exactos, que resultó ser uno de los más difíciles que haya escrito en mi vida. Todo me hizo pensar en los condicionantes históricos: ¿qué ha ocurrido para que en las exequias solemnes de un teólogo dominico, uno de los grandes teólogos del Concilio, haya intervenido un laico? Yo fui la solución en una situación extraña (“I met priest Chenu under very particular circumstances. In the École française of Rome, I began a study on attitudes towards work drawn from the content of confessors’ manuals. One of his works seemed to me very enlightening, so that I asked to hold a meeting with him. He had just been condemned by Rome with a light sanction that forced him into exile in a convent in Rouen from which he could only leave the last week of each month. He answered me with a lot of humor, telling me that he could only receive me one of those weeks considered by the Vatican to be the most appropriate for continuing his studies... When he passed away, I was shocked: the Dominican prior phoned me to ask me a special favor, because he wanted a modest burial; however, the cardinal had decided to hold his funeral solemnly at Notre-Dame Cathedral, following what the Church habitually did: the recovery of someone condemned many times. The prior told me that he would only accept the ceremony provided that just one speech was permitted at mass and that I was the speaker. The clause was clever, I could say that it was almost evil, since it was a way of preventing the cardinal from talking. He accepted and I found myself talking to the religious and unknown public that crowded the church. I wrote a very measured text, of exactly eight minutes, which turned out to be one of the most difficult texts I have written in my life. Everything made me think of the historical conditionings: What has happened for a layman to have taken action in the solemn funerals*



defined heresy as a choice. Therein, he broadened all the theoretical instrumentation of a concept projected onto upcoming processes. This concept indirectly alluded to conflicts that were beginning to be observed in that bipolar world, typical of the cold war, in which the ideological theme was a priority. Orthodox or non-Orthodox, in relation to the ideological tendency in vogue, was often decisive.

The problem of heresy does not only start from ideas in the abstract. Its concern is also focused on the social body to which the character belongs. There is an interest in the group, ideas and their impact on society.⁶⁵ If we pay attention to the questions, we see that he observes the problem influenced by sociology: Is the heretic a class product? What does the heretic maintain in this collective mentality? There are also questions that allude to the psychological theme in vogue in Europe, for example: Does the heretic fall within a certain psychology, even within a certain mental pathology? Is it someone abnormal or neurotic? In short, we think that through the defining connection with Priest Chenu, the 13th century theme and mendicants followed him from that moment, to when he defined the “beautiful 13th century”. He was unveiling it through every social actor, such as merchants, intellectuals, heretics, urban life, technological development,⁶⁶ mendicants and money.⁶⁷

At the time, Michel Foucault⁶⁸ was one of the main thinkers. Le Goff⁶⁹ recognizes his influence, especially regarding questions that arose from reading his work, and conversations they had together.⁷⁰ In the late 60’s, in a well-known interview, the

of a Dominican theologian, one of the greatest historical theologians?”) Lasége, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff”. *Salud mental y cultura, Revista de la Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatría*, 20/74 (2000): 271-282 <<http://docplayer.es/233734-Salud-mental-y-cultura.html>> (Consulted 20th December 2016).

65. Le Goff, Jacques. *Herejías y sociedades en la Europa preindustrial, siglo XI-XVIII*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1987.

66. Le Goff, Jacques. *Héros du Moyen Âge, le Saint et le Roi*. Paris, Gallimard, 2005: 1207-1220.

67. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Edad Media y el dinero: ensayo de antropología histórica*. Madrid: Akal, 2012.

68. Foucault, Michel. *Las palabras y las cosas: una arqueología de las ciencias humanas*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 2003; Foucault, Michel. *La arqueología del saber*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 2002; Foucault, Michel. *El orden del discurso*. Buenos Aires: Tusques Editores, 1999. These works clarify the relationship between scientific discourse and power. Basically, we think the critique against modern thinking, its practices and methods is the most useful and necessary tool for a historian as Le Goff.

69. Le Goff, Jacques. *L’imaginaire medieval*. Paris: Gallimard, 1985; Patlagean, Evelyne. “L’histoire de l’imaginaire”, *La nouvelle histoire*, Jacques Le Goff, ed. Brussels: Editions Complexe, 1988: 307-334.

70. Although no friendship existed between Le Goff and Michel Foucault, they met in Paris in the library of Dominican friars. He mentioned: *La historia es una forma de poder, y en este aspecto me he valido de ideas de Foucault... Sin poder decir que fuera especialmente un amigo suyo, conocí bien a Foucault y le admiré. El trato con su persona era extremadamente difícil; pero yo hablaba mucho con él, discutimos en emisiones de la radio; y me influyó. Entre los filósofos era el único historiador propiamente dicho, y fue quizá el único que poseía un criterio sobre las ciencias humanas y sociales, que las enjuiciaba en una relativa unidad. Parte de su obra es estrictamente la de un historiador, y no la de un filósofo de la historia. No digo que haya que ser un buen historiador para ser un buen filósofo, aunque con él me sentía en el mismo terreno* (“History is a form of power and, in this regard, I make use of Foucault’s ideas... I cannot say that I was particularly friend of Foucault, but I knew him well and I admired him. Dealing with him was extremely difficult; however, I talked a lot with him, we discussed on radio broadcasts and he influenced me. Among philosophers, he was the only historian *per se*, and maybe the only one that possessed a criterion on human and social sciences. He judged them in a relative unit. Part of his work comes strictly from a historian and not from a historian philosopher. I do not say that it is necessary to be a good historian to be a good philosopher, although with him I felt in the same field”). Lasége, Charles, “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...”: 290; Belinsky, Jorge. “Aproximación



philosopher expressed his concern about history, recognizing that Fernand Braudel's contribution had been significant; rejecting the idea of evolutionary history, lineal, with awareness of the actors⁷¹ that coincided with his vision. Additionally, in this interview, his argument went so far as to reject the idea of a relationship between history and causality:

*se han dado cuenta de que la relación causal no se puede establecer, no controlar en términos de racionalidad formal; en el fondo, no existe la causalidad [...] y desde ese momento en que el análisis histórico se introducen relaciones de tipo lógico, tales como la implicación, la exclusión, la transformación, etc. es evidente que la causalidad desaparece.*⁷²

These types of reflections influenced different writings, including those of our author. Therefore, the coherency becomes clear regarding *faire de l'histoire* ("Making history"), 'New problems', 'New approaches' and 'New objects', and the appearance, in 1978, of a new collective work whose name was even more ambitious: *La nouvelle histoire* ('The new history').⁷³ This book was directed by Jacques Le Goff, Roger Chartier and Jacques Revel. These works are influenced by the philosopher, but it is impossible to specify to what extent. Neither can we say that he was the only one, as we must not forget Levi-Strauss and Paul Veyne. Special mention must be made to Foucault's *L'archéologie du savoir* (1969), *Les mots et les choses* (1966), *Naissance de la clinique* (1963).⁷⁴ In these works, he questions the logical tradition of general scientific knowledge and human sciences. In the end, we can say that he emphasizes an archeological view of knowledge which later is critically called scraps of history.

Jacques Lacan's contributions⁷⁵ are in the same vein. He, along with Michel de Certeau and other well-known intellectuals, founded *L'École freudienne de Paris* (1964),⁷⁶ separate from International Psychoanalytical Association (IPA). At the same time, Jacques Le Goff commissioned Michel de Certeau the first article: *The Historiographical Operation*. Many believe that solitary article not improvised, but meant for teaching purposes. In such a masterpiece, it is necessary to underline how to understand historiography among history, psychoanalysis and linguistics.

Consequently, a synthesis emerged called 'historical anthropology' (entrusted to André Burguière). It is at the same level of Jacques Le Goff's 'The new history',

indirecta: Lo imaginario en la perspectiva de Jacques Le Goff". *Intercanvis*, 17 (2000): 23-27. <www.intercanvis.es/pdf/17/17-03.pdf> (Consulted 15th August 2016).

71. Caruso, Paolo. *Conversaciones con Lévi-Strauss, Foucault y Lacan*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1969: 74-75.

72. "have you noticed that the causal relationship cannot be established, nor controlled in terms of formal rationality; basically, causality does not exist [...] and from that time in which logical relationships, such as implication, exclusion, transformation, etc., are introduced into the historical analysis, it is evident that causality disappears". Caruso, Paolo. *Conversaciones...*: 75.

73. Le Goff, Jacques, ed. *La Nouvelle Histoire*, Paris: Retz-CEPL, 1988.

74. Foucault, Michel. *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Gallimard, 1969; Foucault, Michel. *Les mots...*; Foucault, Michel. *Naissance de la clinique*, Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1963.

75. Lacan, Jacques. *Scrits*, Paris: Seuil, 1966.

76. Roudinesco, Élisabeth; Plon, Michel. *Diccionario de psicoanálisis*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1998.



Michel Vovelle's 'Long term history', Philippe Ariès's 'History of mentalities' and Évelyne Patlagean's 'Imaginary history'. The last title was forced to mention Jacques Lacan and his followers. They had a very dominant position between 1970 and 1980 that influenced general history and particularly medieval history: contributing the 'imaginary', 'symbolic' and 'unconscious'. It is also necessary to remember Michel Certeau's writings, which detail concepts of the unconscious, self-dimension, mysticism and the city. Additionally, Alain Besançon dedicated a collective volume (*Mélanges*) to Georges Duby, perceiving him as psychoanalyst historian.⁷⁷ This does not mean that Jacques Le Goff is a Freudian historian, although he did read him. He expected this relationship to be increasingly fruitful, as he mentioned in an interview.⁷⁸

Our historian was concerned about mass media outreach on behalf of his work and that of his colleagues. He participated in the Cultural Revolution,⁷⁹ the change of customs, and *habitus*, which permanently altered Europe and the world. He really liked radio broadcast and his program was called *Les Lundis de l'histoire*.

In these times, in which French history predominated the third generation of *Annales*, a paradigm shift happened in the way of thinking and writing history. There was no longer an "only original idea" and that caused the formation of heterogeneous groups. Coexistence among differences was permitted, which also seems to explain the successful diffusion outside Europe and the increased consumption of historical reading by common people. In this case, it was a history that reached the general public; a history that learnt how to influence or respond to common people's questions and concerns. It was no longer a reading subscribed to only within the academic field.

Thus, in the late 1980's, methodological and epistemological disagreements appear outside the *Annales* and also from the inside, as noted prior. Giovanni Levi & Carlo Ginzburg's microhistory is consolidated; as their view changed in scale from micro to macro.⁸⁰ In addition, the idea of the "indiciary" paradigm emerges. This

77. Besançon, Alain. "De Gibbon à Freud et retour". *L'Arc*, 72 (1978): 4-8.

78. *Estoy convencido de que el psicoanálisis es una de las grandes invenciones de finales del siglo pasado y del siglo XX. No lo domino, y por ello no lo utilizo entre mis útiles de historiador. Admiro profundamente a Freud, y pienso además que su método desborda ampliamente al psicoanálisis mismo. Me he atrevido a explorar los sueños en la Edad Media, principalmente en mis seminarios, no en mis libros, porque no me sentía muy seguro. Incluso he comenzado alguno de ellos presentando la 'Interpretación de los sueños' de Freud porque me parece un libro fundamental, que no se puede olvidar ni siquiera a la hora de estudiar la evolución de la onirocrítica occidental. Sin embargo, no sé si el psicoanálisis puede aportar mucho a la historia, pero me gustaría mucho que pudiese hacerlo* ("I am convinced that psychoanalysis is one of the greatest inventions of late 19th century and 20th century. I do not master it, and thus I do not use it as historian. I deeply admire Freud and I also think that his method totally overgrows psychoanalysis itself. I have dared to explore medieval dreams, principally at my seminars, not in my books, since I did not feel confident to do so. I have started some of them presenting the Freud's *Interpretation of dreams*, because I considered it is an essential book that cannot be forgotten not even when studying the evolution of Western *oneirocritique*. However, I do not know whether the psychoanalysis can contribute greatly to history, either way I would very much like that it could") Lasége, Charles. "Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...": 290.

79. Concept used by: Hobsbawm, Eric. *Historia del siglo XX*. Buenos Aires: Crítica, 1998: 323.

80. Levi, Giovanni. *La herencia inmaterial: la historia de un exorcista piamontés del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Nerea, 1991.



paradigm founds knowledge in recollection and interpretation of footprints, and not in statistical data processing.⁸¹ On the other hand, it is the Linguistic “turn” with mostly Anglo-Saxon authors, Hayden White,⁸² Lawrence Stone,⁸³ Hunt Lynn⁸⁴ and Natalie Davis with Martin Guerre.⁸⁵ These movements constitute a sharp and systematic critique of Enlightenment assumptions, so typical in the foundations of our own profession and of modern and rationalism ideals presented by predecessors.

The aforementioned movements are inseparable from feminist movements. They have a critical attitude towards State supremacy and all forms of bourgeois societies, while also claiming the subversion of daily life and rethinking the model of “western culture”.⁸⁶ Basically, there is a deep discomfort in history and this intellectual group is a faithful reflection of it. Jacques Le Goff became one of the most genuine representatives; fundamentally, because he was not very orthodox in the group of medieval historians. He sought a version of the Middle Ages that referred to a relationship with the social sciences, and the search for new sources and concepts to define these problems, with the strong purpose of finding a humanism typical of the Middle Ages.

4. A historical anthropology: of space and time

One of the key examples to weigh his historical anthropology is that it is based on fundamental ideas inherent to our human condition: time, space, work and body. The book on the imaginary space of purgatory is remarkable: our author makes a journey from the origin of the word, he reviews the sacred texts of Hebrew culture, until reaching the 12th and 13th centuries. In that moment, the idea of *purgatorium*⁸⁷ was systematized. Le Goff links the social phenomenon of merchants, intellectuals and the reason that we can call ‘metaphysics’. Here, men needed to establish a unity between the living and dead, which refers to a genuine concern of society. Non-Christian groups, or at least Judaism practitioners and often medieval usurers, their children and wives, were required to be converted to save them in this intervening space called purgatory. Efforts are made according to the testaments, including

81. Ginzburg, Carlo. “Spie. Radici di un paradigma indiziario”, *Crisi Della ragione. Nuovi modelli nell rapporto tra spare e attività umane*, Aldo Gargari, ed. Turin: Einaudi, 1979: 56-106.

82. White, Hayden. *La metahistoria, la imaginación histórica en la Europa del siglo XIX*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992.

83. Stone, Lawrence. “The Revival of the Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History”. *Past and Present*, 85 (1979): 74-96.

84. Lynn, Hunt, ed. *The New Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989: 2; Hunt, Lynn; Bonnell, Victoria, eds. *Beyond the cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University California Press, 1999.

85. White, Hayden. *Metahistoria: la imaginación histórica...*: 13-93.

86. Serna, Justo; Pons, Anacleto. *La historia cultural. Autores, obras, lugares*. Madrid: Akal, 2005: 72.

87. Le Goff, Jacques. *El nacimiento del purgatorio*. Madrid: Taurus, 1989: 57.



masses for the dead and multiple prayers. Communion is pursued “between society of the living and society of the dead”:⁸⁸ friends of purgatory appear.

In an interview, our historian made a reflection that provides us with a modern dimension of medieval man. Here, the theme of the self appears from the individualization with the creation of purgatory:

el Purgatorio ha contribuido mucho a la afirmación del individuo. El individuo, que hasta entonces estaba relativamente disuelto en las colectividades, en las comunidades, empieza a destacar porque el Purgatorio exigía un primer juicio personal en el momento de la muerte, pues a quien Dios envía al Purgatorio después sólo tendrá una dirección posible: el Paraíso. Podrá llegar a él más o menos deprisa, según la gravedad de los pecados y el celo de los oradores en la tierra, pero nadie podría estar allí después del juicio final. Así que el juicio personal obligaba a los fieles a un examen de conciencia sobre sus intenciones y no a seguir simplemente un catálogo de faltas, les exigía reflexionar sobre su yo hondamente. El Purgatorio, el intentar alcanzarlo a su muerte, les ponía en vida frente a su yo.⁸⁹

Conscience examination took place, wherein the confessor became a sort of psychoanalyst.

We can also insist that within his vast reflection and documentation of purgatory, one of his best-known works is *La bolsa y la vida* (1993).⁹⁰ Through the examples provided by Dante’s poetry and St. Thomas’ theological thought, Le Goff masterfully exposes how society treated medieval usurers. This forced theology to allow for an intermediate place, and not only direct access to the place of torments and Death, hell. Medieval usurer, thief of divine time, began to have a place in purgatory since the 12th century. This could be accessed by suffering the penance in a certain time and, additionally, by giving back the goods obtained through usury.

In short, he relayed how the most varied sources can be read to build a global social picture of the Middle Ages. In this period, the sacred and the profane joined together; a new vision was given to money. We could also add the text *La Edad Media y el dinero: ensayo de antropología histórica* (2012).⁹¹ These works, and perhaps all those included in historical anthropology, contain a dialogue between the doctrine elaborated by theologians and a description of the structures and social practices

88. Le Goff, Jacques. *Lo maravilloso y lo cotidiano en el occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999: 44.

89. “Purgatory has contributed much to the affirmation of the individual. The individual, who until then was relatively dissolved in communities, began to stand out. The purgatory demanded a first personal judgment at the moment of death, because whom God sends to Purgatory have only one possible direction afterwards: Paradise. One may come to it more or less quickly, depending on the seriousness of the sins and the enthusiasm of the orators on earth. However, no one could be there after the final judgment. Thus, personal judgment forced the faithful to a conscience examination of their intentions and not simply to follow a catalogue of faults. It required them to deeply reflect on their self. Purgatory and what involves trying to reach it at the death put them in front of their self”. Lasége, Charles, “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...”: 278-280.

90. Le Goff, Jacques, *La bolsa y la vida: Economía y religión en la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Gedisa Editorial, 1993.

91. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Edad Media y el dinero: ensayo de antropología histórica*. Madrid: Akal, 2012, originally published with the title: *Le Moyen Âge et l’argent : essai d’anthropologie historique*.



that either affirm or deny them. This prompts the study of historical problems from different perspectives and, at the same time, broadens and departs from the traditional analytical view. When Le Goff studies one group, he does not forget other groups, however links them within a “scriptural fabric” that always tends to show the whole picture of the studied period.

A recurring theme is time, from the point of view always embodied by Le Goff regarding a historical reality. Contrary to the belief of some, Le Goff never identified himself as a theoretical man.⁹² We think, and as he himself stated, all his historical thinking contains almost no historical philosophy, however addresses concrete examples. From his first works, he realizes that time does not pass by for everybody in the same way. In the article, *Au Moyen Age: temps de l'Église et temps du marchand*,⁹³ he distinguishes, in an exemplary manner, times of the Church, cyclical and slow, marked by the liturgy that negotiates with agrarian time of feudal lords in natural state, and finally the quantifiable time of merchants.

Another remarkable topic very typical of the medieval mentality: geographic and symbolic space. The idea of a “dreamlike horizon”, recurrent in the work of Freud,⁹⁴ is also present in that of Le Goff. The author dedicated some academic sessions to explaining the meaning of the Indian Ocean in the context of medieval mentality, namely in *L'Occident médiéval et l'océan Indien: un horizon onirique*. The text was edited for the first volume of his compilation work.⁹⁵ This dreamlike horizon established by our author was synthesized in order to show a medieval mentality and its relationship to the lands currently known as India and Ceylon. Through his systematization of a certain number of themes, medieval men and women mentally formed a world of wealth, fantastic exuberance, a free world without taboos, a place of the unknown and the infinite: *A travers eux, L'occident fuit la réalité médiocre de ses cinglés: il trouve l'imagination creative inépuisable de la nature de Dieu*.⁹⁶ It should be noted that this mental and geographical space is later transferred to the mentality of the first Spanish colonizers in America, who also perceived the wonder or the wonderful. For that reason, their cognitive apparatus has not yet changed: the idea of the noble savage (Bartolome de las Casas); the idea of Golden Age, as described by Luciano de Samosatra, Vasco de Quiroga's Utopia in New Spain, and the description

92. Lasége, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff ...”: 278-280.

93. Le Goff, Jacques. “Au Moyen Age: temps de l'Église et temps du marchand”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 15/3 (1960): 417-433; Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un Autre Moyen Âge*. Paris: Gallimard, 1999: 59; See: Le Goff, Jacques. “Le Temps du travail dans la ‘Crise’ du XIV siècle: du temps medieval au temps moderne”. *Le Monye*, 69 (1963): 597-613; Jacques Le Goff, *Tiempo, trabajo y cultura en el Occidente medieval: 18 ensayos*. Madrid: Taurus, 1983.

94. Freud, Sigmund. *La interpretación de los sueños*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 1995.

95. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais*. Paris: Gallimard, 1991: 280-298. Work published in Spanish: Le Goff, Jaques. *Tiempo, trabajo en el occidente medieval*. Madrid: Taurus, 1993. Analysis of this topic have been mainly retrieved from an article of José Miguel de Toro, recently published: Toro, José Miguel de. “‘Apud Indos ver est perpetuum’. El extremo Oriente durante la Edad Media: una revisión del horizonte onírico de Jacques Le Goff”. *Revista de Historia*, 23/1 (2016): 73-99.

96. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...: 291-292*.



of the most varied chroniclers (of the Indies, of the Royalty, *encomenderos* and missionaries) trying to understand this 'New World'.⁹⁷ We can refer to this as the conformation of an imaginary world, and our historian portrayed it well.⁹⁸

Thanks to this type of inquiry that alludes to an imagined space and a stopped time, the Middle Ages that he always proposed can be better thought of. This does not end in century XIV, but extends until the 18th century and perhaps until the 19th, as mentalities travel within the slow time of the long duration (*Longue durée*). Most of the men who left Europe had heard of those places and their classical formation betrayed themselves.⁹⁹ It is also worth mentioning, in relation to these types of curiosities, the interest in imagined ideas regarding time and places, such as *L'utopie médiévale: Le pays de Cocagne*,¹⁰⁰ a story that does not disappear into the Middle Ages, but continues, not only through time, but through space as well.

For our author, it was vital to show us a medieval period that is not evident, that is buried in the unconscious, in what was not said, but rather what was thought or imagined. The theme of the imaginary is seen again and again. For this reason, he continually stressed that human dimensions, which are part of the mentality, are in the substrate that does not only appear in the conscious gestures of chronicles, acts, official documents, *summās* and comments of Theologians. The aforementioned is also born from the consideration of the long duration and it appeals, as he himself said, to beliefs, behaviors and mentalities, rather than to the history of ideas.¹⁰¹ The 'imaginary', 'utopian', and 'otherness' are the concepts or representations that are intimately related, according to the perception of French medievalism. The reason is that the 'other Middle Ages' are precisely an imagined Middle Ages. There, dreams, fears, impulses, aspirations and more intimate and hidden desires take place. They do not usually appear in a restrained reflection. This does not mean that they lack logic or structure. The dreamlike has an alternative form, because it does not refer to dimensions understood in a traditional way, space and time. In fact, both are presented in a symbolic way.¹⁰²

97. Cantú, Francesca. *Scoperta e conquista di un Nuovo Mondo*. Rome: Viella, 2007.

98. Sabate, Flocel. *El fin del mundo y el nuevo mundo, en encaje ideológico entre la europea medieval y la América Moderna en Nueva España (siglo XVI)*. Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2011; San Fuentes, Olaya. *Develando el Nuevo Mundo Imágenes de un proceso*. Santiago de Chile: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009; Kohut, Karl; Rose, Sonia V., eds. *Pensamiento Europeo y cultura colonial*. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 1997; Le Goff, Jacques. *Lo cotidiano y lo maravilloso en el occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1998.

99. Maravall, José Antonio. *Antiguos y modernos visión de la historia e idea de progreso hasta el renacimiento*. Madrid: Alianza, 1998.

100. Le Goff, Jacques. "L'utopie médiévale: Le pays de Cocagne". *Revue européenne des sciences sociales*, 85 (1989): 271-286. See: Goldhammer, Arthur. "Reviewed Work: 'The Medieval Imagination' by Jacques Le Goff". *American Ethnologist*, 3 (1990): 603.

101. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...*: 291-292. See also : de Toro, José Miguel de. "'Apud Indos...": 73-99.

102. Pastoureau, Michel. *Una historia simbólica de la Edad Media Occidental*. Buenos Aires-Madrid: Katz, 2006.



Dream is the clear representation of an absence of time: *elle n'annonce pas un événement à venir, elle révèle et libère une énergie qui tend à créer l'événement*.¹⁰³ However, in the Western Middle Ages, a past time can be attributed to it, in which God's great historical interventions took place: Paradise, Tower of Babel, the evil city of Babylon, among other milestones of great significance for the Christian world. However, at the same time, a place of evasion, as our author points out, the medieval man finds the opposite, contrary to his rude and rough life on the European continent. Thus, the Indian Ocean *est comme un anti-méditerranéen, lieu opposé à la civilisation et à la rationalisation*.¹⁰⁴

Finally, we must not yet understand his intellectual itinerary in relation to the anthropology as concluded, since his disciples continued his ideas.¹⁰⁵ However, it is pleasing to recall one of his works in regard to the body, another basic dimension of any anthropology, book written with one of his youngest colleagues.¹⁰⁶ It is important to stress that he is a pioneer in this type of subject. I think it is a faithful reflection of an 'incarnate' history and, at the same time, it assumes the subjectivity of the subjects and of the social, in the sense of proving that body can become a metaphor of the social and a 'recipient' of all desires, impulses, fears, repressions, that not only an individual has, but a whole society. The body, he says, is elusive, a place where paradoxes and tensions are lodged. The body, in short, drives us to think of the social as a metaphor for the body, and to think of the body through the social.

That is why we insist on the need to explain, in regard to this last point, how our author never fails to look at the initiators of the movement. He even reminds us of what Marc Bloch proposes in *Feudal Society*, about the journey of the body. Therefore, he was always making a round trip from tradition to innovation.

5. Jacques Le Goff's mentalities, key to interpretation: Innovation from Tradition

The concept of *mentality* was never completely dismissed by Le Goff. Therefore, it cannot be said that he replaced it with the term *representation*, because he demonstrated it from the foundation of the *Groupe d'Anthropologie historique de l'Occident Médiéval*.

From Roger Chartier's *El mundo como representación*,¹⁰⁷ a discussion was opened up. There, it is established that the mentality has lost its validity, because the concept is not well distinguished between social groups or classes. There is a return to a more 'objectivist' social history. It assumes and prioritizes the cultural, not allowing

103. Chevalier, Jean; Gheerbrant, Alain. *Dictionnaire des symboles. Mythes, rêves, coutumes, gestes, formes, figures, couleurs, nombres*. Paris: Robert Laffont–Jupiter, 1982: 814.

104. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...*: 295-296.

105. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...*: 291-292. See also: de Toro, José Miguel. "'Apud Indos...": 86-87.

106. Le Goff, Jacques; Troung, Nicolás. *Una historia del cuerpo*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2003: 25.

107. Chartier, Roger. *El mundo como representación, Estudios de historia cultural*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1989.



space for contexts and socio-cultural background. The world is representation, but performed under structural coercions and parameters. Hence, individuals tend to meet according to their social group. From a theoretical point of view, we can say that there is a degree of correspondence with reality itself. A balance is proposed in this new sociocultural history, a balance between structure and subjectivism, between ideas and reality, accepting that subjective ideas surpass the social base from which they were emitted.¹⁰⁸

Chartier's work, as he himself mentioned, aims to see other forms of articulating works, practices and the social world: "sensitive both to plurality of divergences that a society experiences and diversity of occupations and materials or codes shared".¹⁰⁹ In short, it means to write practices,¹¹⁰ wherein the social world can be understood as a less elusive object than mentalities, more "objective". It is attached to cultural products, to the social vision of circulation of ideas with even more defined chronological parameters.

On the other hand, Jacques Le Goff, from the first moment, in that memorable article written more the 40 years ago,¹¹¹ warns us that the concept is ambiguous. However, the latter can simultaneously become its strength. In the interview already quoted in 2000, he says:

*Fue un concepto perturbador, en el buen sentido, e inspirador, si se usa sin exageraciones. Pero lo que constituye su fuerza es también su debilidad: se trata de un concepto vago, puesto que se trataba de suplir la imposibilidad de dar términos precisos.*¹¹²

Without mentioning it, Le Goff decided to always consider the unconscious in history. For this reason, he does not often employ the category of representation. We believe this refers to something much more conscious and, therefore, linked to a practice and discourse with more targeted intentions. Likewise, we consider that our author totally rejected the predominance of one approach over another. In other words, mentalities cannot be considered a "panacea" or a casual connotation. As expressed in a 1991 interview:

ha habido un uso pervertido de la historia de las mentalidades, pero esto no se haya en las concepciones de los Annales o la Nouvelle Histoire: es hacer de la mentalidades el motor de la historia. En este caso, es la reacción contra un "economicismo", un marxismo vulgar, que hacía de la economía el motor de la historia [...] pero la relación se ha hecho a la inversa, un

108. Hunt, Lynn. *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984. We make reference to this because it also belongs to Chartier's ideas and it is in concordance with them.

109. Hunt, Lynn. *Politics, Culture and Class...*: 50.

110. Chartier, Roger. *La historia o la lectura del tiempo*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007: 27.

111. Le Goff, Jacques. "Las mentalidades. Una historia ambigua". *Hacer la Historia*, Jacques Le Goff, Pierre Nora, eds. Barcelona: Laia, 1974: 81.

112. "It was a disturbing concept, in a good sense, and inspiring, if used without exaggeration. But what constitutes its strength is also its weakness: it is a vague concept, since it was an attempt to make up for the impossibility of giving precise terms". Lasége, Charles. "Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff... ": 277.



*determinismo de las mentalidades, lo cual es igualmente inaceptable. Las mentalidades son uno de los elementos muy importantes de lo que yo llamaría el paisaje histórico, y del análisis de dicho paisaje, pero no tiene ninguna connotación de causalidad.*¹¹³

However, if we think only about the significance of mentalities, considering from the beginning of its practice in the late 1960s until the end of the 1980s, it was the overcoming of economic and political guidelines, and a history replication closed, in relation to social affairs, to the ideas of philosophers and by the majority of science historians. In this way, the history of mentalities widely separates history from the un-historicized history of ideas.¹¹⁴

There is another critique, from the eminent philosopher Paul Ricœur, in relation to the history of mentalities that also alludes to Jacques Le Goff and his historiographical practice. Ricœur constructs his ideas through the works of two distinguished scholars of the human sciences.¹¹⁵ They led him to believe the history of mentalities is deficient from its understanding and explanatory point of view.

First, he does so with the concept of Lévy-Bruhl and his *primitive mentality*. The latter was very useful for historians of that time (the times of Le Goff), who used the concept to describe and explain everything that was dissonant of beliefs. Today, observers do not recognize this concept of the world; it is an observer's perspective that considers everything pre-logical and pre-scientific within the concept. However, it is also an observer's description projected on the social actors' vision, and therefore highly prejudiced.

It can also be inferred that it is a concept that, when treated both as a descriptive feature and as an explanatory principle, does not definitively move away from the concept of primitive mentality. This comes from the sociological idea, at the beginning 20th century, to refer to the primitive beliefs regarding logical scientific rationality. According to the philosopher, the original sin continues being a function of mentality. Later, he says that it is better to relinquish this idea, and shows preference for the concept of representation.¹¹⁶

The second specialist is Geoffrey E. R. Lloyd, a scholar of classical Greece who carried out comparative works with China. In his book, *Demystifying Mentalities*,

113. "there was an abuse of history of mentalities, but this cannot be found in the conceptions of the Annales or in the New History: this means to make mentalities the motor of history. In this case, it is the reaction against an 'economism', a vulgar Marxism that made economics the engine of history [...] but the relationship has been made the other way around, a determinism of mentalities, which is also unacceptable. Mentalities are one of the most important elements of what I call the historical landscape and the analysis of that landscape, but it has no casual connotation". Pérez, Silvia. "Entrevista a Jacques Le Goff, historiador medievalista francés especializado en los siglos XII y XIII, y docente en la École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales". *Boletín de Historia Social Europea*, 3 (1991): 57-68.

114. Burguière, André. "Histoire d' une histoire: naissance de Annales". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 34/6 (1979): 1347-1369 ; Revel, Jacques. "Histoire et science sociale, les paradigmes des Annales". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 34/6 (1979): 1360-1376.

115. Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien. *Mentalidad primitiva*. Buenos Aires: Leviatán, 1922; Lloyd, Geoffrey E. *Las mentalidades y su desenmascaramiento*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1996; Ricœur, Paul. *La memoria...*: 254-258.

116. Ricœur, Paul. *La memoria...*: 258.



he claims that the concept of mentality is useless and harmful: useless at level of descriptions, harmful at level of explanation. Instead, Le Goff himself alluded to the problem when asked for the author and his book:

Mantuve un debate público con Lloyd en el Beaubourg. Sin duda es un gran historiador de la ciencia antigua; en cambio, me parece que Las mentalidades y su desenmascaramiento no es un buen libro. No se puede tratar al mismo nivel, como él lo hace, la ciencia y la mentalidad. Las ciencias no son puramente racionales sino que están parcialmente influidas por las mentalidades; las nociones científicas no se oponen sino que están incluidas en éstas, y esto es algo que deberían tener en cuenta los científicos y los historiadores de las ciencias. La teoría de la relatividad, por ejemplo, no es una noción científica pura... Me interesan varias cosas en la idea de mentalidad. Mis maestros lejanos, Lucien Febvre y especialmente Marc Bloch, se plantearon la importancia de la psicología en el conjunto de las ciencias humanas y sociales.¹¹⁷

That is to say, he emphasizes there is no absolute purity in “scientific paradigms” and for this reason they can be influenced by a certain type of mentality, and vice versa.

In fact, Le Goff’s mentality idea does not have the features that are directly and indirectly attributed to it, which is inevitable. It even differs, in some cases, from historians close to him, such as Michel Vovelle. This historian aims to clarify the different levels of the development of mentality. Less conscious collective attitudes that emerge from sensation studies are located within this context. Biological domains and individuality that also allude to sociability are next (sociability is subscribed to family with attitudes towards life and dead). There are collective sociabilities, social pathologies and normality definitions until reaching the outcast world.¹¹⁸

In a conference carried out in the Department of Historical Sciences at University of Chile in memory of Georges Duby, Michel Vovelle pointed out that these levels of mentality are modalities according to which men imagine and manage, at the same time, the relationship between their objective conditions of existence and the ideas they formulate from these. He confirmed the aforementioned with an assertion that alludes to a crucial moment after 1989, when the world questioned and was almost at the end of history:

En esta carga colectiva en la historiografía de los países liberales, y singularmente en Francia, parece que la noción de mentalidad, más complaciente, despojada de toda connotación

117. “I held a public debate with Lloyd at the Beaubourg. He is undoubtedly a great historian of ancient science; on the other hand, it seems to me that Demystifying Mentalities is not a good book. Science and mentality cannot be treated at the same level, as he does. Sciences are not purely rational, but are partly influenced by mentalities; scientific notions are not opposed, but are included in them. This should be taken into account by scientists and historians of science. The Theory of relativity, for example, is not a pure scientific notion ... I am interested in several things about the idea of mentality. My distant teachers, Lucien Febvre and especially Marc Bloch, posed the importance of psychology in the whole of human and social sciences”. Lasége, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...”: 278-280.

118. Vovelle, Michel. “Historia de las mentalidades”. *Monografía de cuadernos de historia*, 1 (2000): 17; Vovelle, Michel. *Ideología y Mentalidad*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1985: 12-14.



*ideológica, comienza como ganadora, más operatoria, más apta por la misma imprecisión que la rodea para responder a las necesidades de una investigación sin condiciones previas.*¹¹⁹

Another aspect in this discussion is the implementation of the concept of ideology, as taken from Louis Althousser, and later Georges Duby and Michel Vovelle. For them, it was a more convenient concept than mentality in the 1980's. Ideology is understood as *la relación imaginaria de los individuos con sus condiciones reales de existencia*.¹²⁰ In his concept of ideology, he refers to Karl Marx's German ideology: *eter particular que definía todas las formas de existencia*.¹²¹ Vovelle tries to make this 'mentality' concept more empirical, standardizing it at the level of clear thinking.

From Vovelle's assumptions, Georges Duby had used, in 1978, the concept of ideology to explain the tripartite system. There, medieval society was organized according to a discourse made by the Church. In *The Three Orders*, a work Duby considered his most important production, he dismisses the concept of mentality and replaces it with 'imaginary'. That allowed him to study and better comprehend an object as real as immaterial.¹²²

Jacques le Goff did not follow that path, however defended his definition that transformed into a confusing problem. Then, is it not in this vagueness in which fruitfulness and success lie, but also risks?

*la historia de las mentalidades [...] se sitúa en el punto de conjunción de lo individual con lo colectivo, del tiempo largo y de lo cotidiano, de lo inconsciente y lo intencional, de lo estructural y lo coyuntural, de lo marginal y lo general. El nivel de la historia de las mentalidades es de lo cotidiano y de lo automático, lo que escapa a los sujetos individuales de la historia porque es revelador del contenido impersonal de su pensamiento.*¹²³

Nevertheless, logic and specificity of Jacques Le Goff's conception and his idea of mentality materialized in his historical anthropology. First, he based that on an insatiable search for the Middle Ages to serve *a la construcción histórica de un humanismo medieval, buscando siempre al hombre, a los hombres, dentro de un marco*

119. "In this collective burden in historiography of liberal countries. Particularly in France, it seems that mentality notion, more indulgent and deprived of ideological connotation, begins as a winner, more operative and more competent due to the same imprecision that surrounds it to respond to the needs of an investigation without preconditions". Vovelle, Michel. "Historia de las mentalidades...": 19.

120. Althusser, Louis; Balibar, Étienne. *Para leer el Capital*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1976: 119; Burke, Peter. *La revolución historiográfica francesa*. Barcelona, Gedisa, 2006: 76.

121. Burke, Peter. *La revolución historiográfica...*: 76.

122. About these methodological and conceptual reflexions made by Duby: Duby, Georges. *La historia continua*. Madrid: Debate, 1992: 179; Ruiz-Domènec, José. "Georges Duby la mirada del artista", *Rostros de la historia. Veintiún historiadores para el siglo XXI*. Barcelona: Península, 2000: 378. Sales, Veronique. *Los historiadores*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008: 349.

123. "History of mentalities [...] is located at the meeting point of the individual with the collective, the long time and the everyday, the unconscious and the intentional, the structural and the conjunctural, the marginal and the general. The history level of mentalities is part of the everyday and the automatic. It escapes individual subjects of history, because it is sign of the impersonal content of their thought". Le Goff, Jacques. *Hacer la Historia. III: nuevos enfoques*. Barcelona: Laia, 1978: 81-98.



de una antropología histórica del Occidente medieval.¹²⁴ Following the main authors of *Annales* and the approach of Georges Duby's, Le Goff refers to the years of the resistance against Germans evoked in the first book by Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch*:

*Cuando a los cincuenta y seis años, en las últimas líneas que escribió [...] afirma una vez más que las condiciones sociales son de la más profunda naturaleza mentales, ¿Acaso no nos hace un llamado [...] a releer su primer libro 'Los reyes taumaturgos' y a continuar esa historia de las mentalidades?*¹²⁵

In fact, for him, mentalities move between psycho-history and history of culture. It could not be otherwise, while every human action involves a direct relationship between the individual and society, there is a relationship *entre un mundo interior y su mundo cultural*.¹²⁶

Our historian always maintained the view that 'mentalities' are necessary to study some phenomena. It is certainly not the only way. He believes that studying mentalities for a long time (given the slowness of their change) can explain the relationships among the mentalities of different groups. For this task, it is necessary to keep track both of the moment and the place to which a given mentality belongs, and not to set aside production places, such as images, speeches, sermons, etc.

In conclusion, these criticisms, some from the very heart of *Annales*, cannot only be alluded to his person, due to the reasons explained above. We consider that these digressions were a good historiographical exercise in order to defend the medievalist against criticisms about his lack of rigor on this subject.¹²⁷ Although, some of his

124. "the historical construction of a medieval humanism, always looking for man, men, within a framework of a historical anthropology of medieval West". Le Goff, Jacques. *La Edad Media en imágenes*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2009: 11.

125. "When at the age of 56 years, in the last lines that wrote [...] affirms once again that social conditions are of the deepest mental nature, does he not call on us to reread his first book, *The Royal Touch*, and to continue this mentality history?". Le Goff, Jacques. *Los Reyes Taumaturgos*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006: 12.

126. "between an inner world and its cultural world". Cavieres, Eduardo, ed. *Historia en controversia. Reflexiones, análisis, propuestas*. Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 2009: 95.

127. We refer to the critiques made by Paul Ricœur, when our author defines mentalities: *por parte de Jacques Le Goff, de 'este nuevo objeto', el de las mentalidades, es más desalentadora para el deseo de rigor que los anteriores balances-inventario de Duby y Mandrou. En cuanto a sus modos de actuar, las mentalidades funcionan automáticamente, a espaldas de los mensajeros; no son tanto pensamientos formados o preferidos, como lugares comunes herencias más o menos agitadas, visiones en el mundo inscritas como inconsciente colectivo. Si, durante cierto tiempo, pudo merecer un lugar entre los 'nuevos objetos', se debió a la ampliación de la esfera documental [...] la desaprobación infringida no se reduce a la objeción de la impresión de tipo semántica; se debe a una confusión más grave, a saber, al tratamiento incierto de la noción a la vez como un objeto de estudio, como una dimensión del vínculo social distinto del vínculo económico, y como un modo explicativo* ("Jacques Le Goff's 'new objective', the one of the mentalities' is more discouraging for the desire of rigor than that posed by Duby and Mandrou. In relation to their way of acting, mentalities work automatically, behind their messengers; they are not formed or preferred thoughts, nor common places, legacies more or less hectic, vision of the world registered in the collective unconscious. Indeed, during a certain period of time, it could deserve a place between the 'new objects', because of the application of documental sphere [...] infringed disapproval is not reduced to objection of semantic impression; it is due to a more grave confusion, knowledge, due to



works or definitions were thought to be a bit systematic, and we believe that by always pursuing the humanization of a discipline, his reflections were never so final and rigid.

Therefore, in his historical anthropology, the concept or notion of mentality can be inserted, in which the conscious and the unconscious have equal value, and harmony is pursued. To reinforce the aforementioned, it is time to bring up a theoretical and methodological work written without high expectations; however, it is very substantial and resourceful in this respect. It points out the concern of historians who deal with mentalities: *considerar los elementos de la cultura consciente [...] con aquellos elementos inconscientes o subconscientes para dar con las estructuras mentales de un individuo o de un grupo, al fin y al cabo, de una sociedad*.¹²⁸ In another section, he refers to the fact that historians must be perceptive of atavistic attitudes and to archaeo-psychological phenomena. In other words, the perception of all permanence allows us to visualize deep substrates of a collective psychism. In any case, the explanation in the historiographical work was not as his critics expected. This does not prevent us from considering him as an exceptional historian and a magnificent humanist. In the end, by persecuting man, he always took risks. His work was not based on reassuring and comfortable certainties. This departure resulted in a historiographical production full of nuances, creativity and intellectual freedom.

6. Conclusions

At least we can reach to three clear conclusions:

1. Trying to construct a summary of Jacques Le Goff's work from the *New History* until the practice of his historical anthropology, we think a very productive journey was made, also through the influence of the 1968 protests. That is, we think that this revolt and its socio-cultural consequences are a way of reading the historiographical production of our author. In his work, this spirit of experimentation is demonstrated. It moves away from all scientific dogmatism. His search for new objects, new problems and new perspectives of the whole panorama of history is explained therein. Thus, his most fruitful works clung to that "revolt" and the historical discomfort so typical of those times. However, his work was not thought of in a banal or reactive way. It corresponds to what Julia Kristeva points out when explaining the origin of the word "revolt":

tiene origen sánscrito, y quiere decir pasar hacia atrás y volver hacia el futuro. Una memoria fuerte de la transformación, pero que no es nunca una negación del tipo 'estoy en contra

the uncertainty treatment of notion both as study object and as a dimension of the social link different from economic link and as explanatory material"). Ricoeur, Paul. *La memoria...*: 254.

128. "considering the elements of conscious culture [...] with those unconscious or subconscious elements to find the mental structures of an individual or a group, that is to say, of a society". Rojas Donat, Luis. "Notas sobre el concepto de mentalidad en la medievística europea". *Intus Legere Historia*, 2 (2009): 98.



*y mato eso'. El sentido profundo de la revuelta tiene que ver con revalorizar los antiguos valores para que surjan otros, nuevos.*¹²⁹

That formed the work of Jacques Le Goff, and that is the teaching that we thought to highlight in this article.

2. He never withheld on thinking and practicing history. He rescued the arguments and work of the founders, especially the humanism of Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre. They were historians looking for man in all his entirety. Bloch said:

*luego el homo religiosus, el homo oeconomicus, el homo politicus, toda esa retahíla de hombres en us, de lo que se podría alargar la lista al infinito, son cómodos fantasmas, y el peligro sería grave si lo tomáramos por otra cosa. El único ser de carne y hueso es el hombre, sin más, que lo reúne todo a la vez.*¹³⁰

This concept can be noticed throughout all the work of our historian, who, influenced by the experiments of his time, did not lose that view of the founders and, for that reason, it was: a true innovation from tradition.

3. Jacques Le Goff's inexhaustible curiosity becomes a search for the medieval man; the humanist man, an image of the microcosm found in countless manuscripts and codices, from Hildegard von Bingen to Bernardo Silvestre.¹³¹ A humanism consolidated in the 20th century that presents two levels: an assessment of man as God's creature and the assessment of culture and ancient civilization.¹³² We conclude that in his historiographical work, Le Goff always considered a humanization of the Middle Ages from a totalizing perspective. He never skimped on efforts to create and occupy all the theoretical and methodological resources within his reach, in order to project problems and questions for future generations. A work full of creativity and fruitfulness.

129. "has a Sanskrit origin, and it means to go back and return to the future. Although a strong memory of transformation, it is never a denial of the perception 'I am against that and I kill that'. The deep meaning of the revolt has to do with revaluing old values, in order for new ones to emerge". Libertella, Mauro. "Julia Kristeva: 'Psicoanálisis y literatura son la misma cosa'. *Semanario Universidad*. 30 November 2011. Universidad de Costa Rica. 20 November 2016 <<http://semanariouniversidad.ucr.cr/suplementos/forja/julia-kristeva-psicoanálisis-y-literatura-son-la-misma-cosa/>>

130. "then 'homo religiosus, homo economicus, homo politicus', and all that rigmarole string of men in *us*, the list that we could string out indefinitely, are convenient phantoms, and there is a grave danger if we mistake them for something else. The man of flesh and bone, reuniting them all simultaneously is the only real being". Bloch, Marc. *Introducción a la Historia*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001: 117-118.

131. Le Goff, Jacques. *Faut-il vraiment découper L'histoire en tranches?* Paris: Seuil, 2014: 116-119.

132. Le Goff, Jacques. *El Dios de la Edad Media, conversaciones con Jean-luc Pouthier*. Madrid: Trotta, 2004.



HISTORY POPULARISED AND *TWEETED*: EMOTIONS AND SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS AROUND THE CONQUEST OF NAVARRE IN 1512

ÍÑIGO MUGUETA
UNIVERSIDAD PÚBLICA DE NAVARRA
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the social representations and uses of the Conquest of Navarre in 1512 by the troops of Castile. Starting from an analysis of the feelings that David Lowenthal thinks history arouses, the interpretations of it by non-university authors linked to the Basque nationalist groups, *Nabarralde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik* will be analysed. The repercussions of these interpretations in the society of Navarre will also be evaluated through a series of cultural manifestations. Some of the most important are those on social networks such as Twitter, where the theories of some of these authors have achieved a large following.¹

KEYWORDS

Social Representations, Conquest of Navarre, Kingdom of Navarre, Social Networks, Historiography.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Representationes Societatis, Occupatio Navarrae, Regnum Navarrae, Nexus Societatis, Historiographialis Productio.

1. Introduction

In this study we set out to analyse the different debates currently taking place about the conquest of Navarre. We will compare the historiographical controversy against the material generated around the event in different cultural areas: press, novels, essays and internet, without excluding the ‘popular’ debates found in chats, forums or social networks such as Twitter or Facebook. Therefore, our primary sources come from historiographical controversy, but they are situated in the worlds of communication, popular belief and the academic sphere. Our analysis of these social representations of Navarre’s past have an almost psychological intention, as we will go into detail on the reasons that led different people to take one attitude or another towards certain historical events.

We should clarify that, at present, the most productive and dynamic historicist movement —quantitatively speaking— is the one from the political sphere of Basque nationalism, which is why the most visible social representations we will study usually emerge from this political-social domain, although from time to time we will analyse other alternative or antagonistic formulations that nevertheless have less social impact.

2. The state of the question: between historical memory and social representations

The study of the social representations of history constitutes one of the most fruitful lines of work at present, because focusing the analysis on the present allows us to understand the ever-greater distance between academic history and popular history.² Recently, the social networks and the so-called ‘transmedia universe’ (cinema, television, comics, novels...) have been conceived as new genres for history³ and historians are increasingly studying them. In these new spheres or

1. This study has been carried out within the framework of a History and Videogames project (II): knowledge, learning and projection of the past in the digital society (HAR2016-78147-P). An initial vision of the project was presented in the Lacarra Seminar at the Universidad de Zaragoza, on the initiative of professors Mario Lafuente, Concepcion Villanueva and Carlos Laliena, whom I would like to thank for the invitation. This study is the direct result of that presentation. The same day as the conference, my dear mediaevalist colleague and friend Pascual Tamburri died suddenly; just a few days earlier he expressed his interest about my involvement to me. I hope the lines below serve as a modest tribute to him.

2. Mugueta, Íñigo. “Las representaciones sociales de la Historia al servicio de la didáctica en Educación Superior”, *Contextos Educativos*, 1 (2016): 9-30; Mugueta, Íñigo; Tobalina, Eva. “Medievo digital o medievo popular: representaciones sociales of the Edad Media en las comunidades de gamers on-line”, *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 38 (2014): 161-179. For more information on the concept, see Moscovici, Serge. “Des représentations collectives aux représentations sociales: éléments pour une histoire”, *Les représentations sociales*, Denise Jodelet, ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989: 62-86; and Jodelet, Denise. “Représentations sociales: un domaine en expansion”, Denise Jodelet, dir. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989: 31-61.

3. Aurell, Jaume, ed. *Rethinking Historical Genres in the Twenty-First Century*, New York: Routledge, 2017.



genres we would highlight the onset of the ‘phantom of simplification’ in social uses of history, with their inevitable acolytes, the stereotypes⁴ who basically set about disseminating concepts and images.⁵ In the same direction, César Fornis has even spoken of a complete *sendero de tópicos y falacias* in his study of social representations of ancient Sparta.⁶

The idea is not new; Paul Ricoeur himself spoke of the construction of the historical narrative as one of representations that have consequences. They therefore become a subject worthy of study for the historian, who can (and should) be interested in them as well as the effects they create. Roger Chartier converted this question into one of the lines for the future of historical science towards the end of the 1980s.⁷

Researchers deal with this reality in a variety of ways and denominations. As we have seen, from the sociological perspective reference is made to ‘social’ or ‘collective representations’ that are not only linked to the historical element itself. In the common ground of historians and sociologists the concept of “collective memory” coined by Halbwachs⁸ (2004) is regularly used. It refers to processes—normally directed by State powers—of the collective construction of a common identity. A concept half-way between the above is that of ‘historical consciousness’,⁹ recently defended by Jörn Rüsen as a mediation between the past and the present that goes beyond memory because it rationalises it, makes it intelligible and gives it meaning. Historical consciousness, understood in this way, guides decision-making in the present because it makes it comprehensible.¹⁰

With regard to memory, we agree with David Lowenthal when he says that it is individual, not collective. For the author of this study, the function of memory is not to conserve the past, rather to adapt it, enrich it and mould it to the present, given that memory’s essential task is to select what should be remembered.¹¹ There is no collective memory, therefore, only individual memory that can be shared, and even then not completely. In the same way as memory can give validity to personal identity, history would allow it to perpetuate collective self-consciousness. As Lowenthal says:

4. Licerias Ruiz, Ángel. “Tópicos, estereotipos y prejuicios, componentes de un aprendizaje informal que deforma”. *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, Geografía e Historia*, 36 (2003): 89-101.

5. Ferrés, Joan. *Educación en una cultura del espectáculo*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2000.

6. “trail of clichés and fallacies”. Fornis, César. “Un sendero de tópicos y falacias: Esparta en la ficción y en la Historia popular”, *SPAL*, 20 (2011): 43-51.

7. Chartier, Roger. *El Mundo como Representación. Historia Cultural: entre práctica y Representación*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1992: 45-62; <[http://rodolfigiunta.com.ar/Historia%20urbana/El%20mundo%20como%20representacion%20\(Chartier\).pdf](http://rodolfigiunta.com.ar/Historia%20urbana/El%20mundo%20como%20representacion%20(Chartier).pdf)>. (Consulted 9th October 2017). The original article was published in Chartier, Roger. “Le monde comme représentation”, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 44/6 (1989): 1505-1520 <https://perso.univ-lyon2.fr/~jkempff/articles_m2/chartier_representation.pdf> (Consulted 9th October 2017).

8. Halbachs, Maurice. *La memoria colectiva*. Saragossa: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2004.

9. Rüsen, Jörn. *Narration, interpretation, orientation*. New York-Oxford: Bergham Books, 2005; Cataño Balseiro, Carmen Lucía. “Jörn Rüsen y la conciencia histórica”, *Historia y Sociedad*, 21 (2011): 221-243.

10. “The simple answer is that historical consciousness functions as a specific orientational mode in actual situations of life in the present: it functions to aid us in comprehending past actualy in order to grasp present actualy”. Rüsen, Jörn. *Narration, interpretation...: 24*.

11. Lowenthal, David. *El pasado es un país extraño*. Madrid: Akal, 1998: 306.



los grupos se definen a sí mismos a través de la Historia de la misma manera que un individuo lo hace a través de la memoria.¹² Therefore, we believe that memory is fallacious in itself, as many authors have suggested.¹³ Another reference work for us is that of Fentress and Wickham, who use the term 'social memory', considering that while memory is individual it is also conditioned by social interaction, on one hand, and by its social exposure in the form of a narrative discourse on the other.¹⁴ Although sociology has also used the term 'social memory', we can share this when the memory of an event experienced is indeed analysed collectively, but not when it refers to the evocation of something that is impossible to remember due to the distance in time.¹⁵

Finally, as Jerome De Groot points out, to a certain extent modern-day society understands the historian's work as the search for the truth (the only truth), and sometimes represents that search in a heroic manner, as in *Indiana Jones, Tomb Raider* or *The Da Vinci Code*,¹⁶ whose protagonists—at least in theory—are expert historians. Certainly, this idea has widespread support nowadays, with a public that applauds and "buys" it.

As a reference cultural study we can take the one directed by Fernando Molina and José A. Pérez on the myths and rites of Basque history,¹⁷ although we are aware that all the contributing authors are part of a fertile line of research in the field of contemporary history that we cannot go into detail on here.¹⁸ In any event, it is worth pointing out that the points made by Fernando Molina are completely relevant to our study, both in terms of the construction of the nationalist discourse on the 'Basque conflict' and the stance that the historian should take vis-à-vis this type of narrative.¹⁹ Furthermore, in the specific case of Navarre, we should mention the numerous studies by Juan María Sánchez Prieto on the political thought of

12. "groups define themselves through history as an individual does through memory". Lowenthal, David, *El pasado es un país extraño...*: 311.

13. Castells Arteché, Luis. "Las víctimas del terrorismo. La cuestión del relato", *Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e Historia*, 21 (2014): 335.

14. Fentress, James; Wickham, Chris. *Memoria social*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2003.

15. Laurens, Stéphane; Roussiau, Nicolas, eds. *La mémoire sociale. Identités et représentations sociales*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 2002. In the different studies in this book we assume that the notion of collective or social memory implies both memory and evocation. As we see it, it is difficult to distinguish between history and collective memory. Furthermore, in several chapters the relationship between collective memory/history and social representations is explored, although without describing these social representations, as the term is sometimes used generally, without specifying if they are social representations of history, of memory, of the past itself or some of the events that occurred in it.

16. De Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Abingdon, Routledge, 2009.

17. Molina, Fernando; Pérez, José. Antonio, eds. *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la historia vasca*. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015.

18. On these subjects, see Carreras Ares, Juan José; Forcadell Álvarez, Carlos, eds. *Usos públicos de la Historia*. Saragossa: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2003; and Peiró, Ignacio. *Historiadores en España. Historia de la Historia y memoria de la profesión*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2013: 262-288.

19. Molina, Fernando. "El conflicto vasco". Relatos de historia, memoria y nación", *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la historia vasca*. Fernando Molina; José. A., Pérez, eds. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015: 181-223.



modern and contemporary Navarrese historians, from Padre Moret to Arturo Campión, and even Tomás Urzainqui.²⁰

3. A very 'current' moment in Navarrese history: the conquest of the kingdom of Navarre

To study the social representations of the conquest of Navarre we will not make a differentiated analysis by sources (history, literature, press, music, social networks....), but, following Lowenthal, we will group the sources based on the feelings perceived after reading the most substantive interpretations.

The high point of the history of Navarre curiously coincides with the kingdom's decline, marked by a long period of internecine confrontation that finally led to its conquest by Castile. In recent years, an extensive bibliography has emerged that reviews, praises, makes a claim for or even condemns the conquest. From a historiographical perspective, the celebration of the fifth centenary of the conquest of Navarre has contributed some positive aspects, such as better knowledge of the military actions and an understanding of it as a long period that only ended in 1529 or 1530, as pointed out by Peio Monteano, Doctor in History and senior archivist.²¹ Other authors have also provided interesting visions from the point of view of international relations, such as Álvaro Adot,²² Doctor in History and Researcher at the Université de Pau, Eloísa Ramírez,²³ Professor of Mediaeval History at the Universidad Pública de Navarra, or Alfredo Floristán,²⁴ Professor of Modern History at the Universidad de Alcalá, although the theories of these authors do not coincide. In general, some of the studies published in the collective book coordinated by Alfredo Floristán in 2012 are a great novelty within the extensive bibliography published on the conquest of Navarre: for example, those by Luis Javier Fortún, Doctor in History and Head of the Archive of the Parliament of Navarre, who made an interesting approach from the economic history perspective; one by Mercedes Galán, Professor of History of Law, in her field, and another by Isabel Ostolaza, Professor of Palaeography and Archive Science; and based on the nobility,²⁵ with a study that complemented the classic monograph by Eloísa Ramírez on the conflicts

20. As a main reference for the author of this study, we would quote the following study: Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari; Nieva Zardoya, José Luis. *Navarra: memoria, política e identidad*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2004.

21. Monteano, Peio. *La guerra de Navarra (1415-1529)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2010.

22. Adot, Álvaro. *John III of Navarre y Catherine of Navarre o la defensa del Estado Navarro (1483-1517)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2005.

23. Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. "Catherine of Navarre y John III of Navarre: los últimos reyes de un engranaje feudal", *En los umbrales de España. La incorporación del Reino de Navarra a la Monarquía Hispánica*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2012: 95-126.

24. Floristán, Alfredo, ed. *1512. Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*. Madrid: Ariel, 2012.

25. The studies in this collective book by the three researchers were titled, respectively, "Derrumbe de la monarquía y supervivencia del reino Navarra en torno a 1512" (201-298), "Los títulos jurídicos en la



and pacts among the nobility that led to the Navarrese civil war.²⁶ We should also mention the great effort made in his recent doctoral thesis by José Miguel Escribano, who analyses the cost of the war for Castile through an analysis of the documentation of the royal paymaster Juan Rena.²⁷ For a more comprehensive assessment of the historiography, see the studies by Alfredo Floristán and Juan Mari Sánchez Prieto, Professor of Contemporary History at the Universidad Pública de Navarra, and by the aforementioned Peio Monteano.²⁸

The greatest number of publications have emerged from the cultural area of Basque nationalism, represented by the associations *Nabarralde*, *Nafarroa Bizirik*, Xabier Mina de Estudios Históricos and the publishing house Pamiela.²⁹ The nature of the *Nabarralde*³⁰ foundation could be described as pro-Navarrese nationalist or 'pan-Navarrese', which gave rise to a rather unsuccessful political party called *Navarra Libertad/Nafarroa libertate*. In contrast, the successful *Nafarroa Bizirik!* (Navarra lives!) emerged directly from the *abertzale* (pro-independence) Left with the aim of recovering the history and symbols of Navarra for Basque nationalism.

Although the pioneering book that set off the series of historical studies on the conquest of Navarre from an anti-Spanish vision was that of the writer and lawyer Tomás Urzainqui —*La Navarra marítima*,³¹ which had major historical-political repercussions—,³² in our opinion the study that finally established a consolidated and formulated stance vis-à-vis the primary documentation is the one by Álvaro Adot that emerged from his doctoral thesis, defended in the Universidad del País

adquisición de territorios: la conquista de Navarra" (127-166), and "Sociedad y cultura política. Nación, bando, familia" (335-360).

26. Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. *Solidaridades nobiliarias y conflictos políticos en Navarra, 1387-1464*. Pamplona: Government of Navarre, 1990.

27. Escribano Pérez, José Miguel. *El coste de la defensa. Administración y financiación militar en Navarra durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI*. Pamplona: Government of Navarre, 2015.

28. Floristán, Alfredo. "Los debates sobre la conquista y la reconfiguración de la identidad Navarra (1512-1720)", 1512. *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 31-62; Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari. "Prácticas discursivas y construcción política. Debates en torno a la conquista e integración de Navarra en España durante los siglos XIX y XX", 1512. *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 63-87; and Monteano, Peio. "La conquista de Navarra. Un balance historiográfico reciente (2010-2013)", *Gerónimo de Ustariz*, 28 (2012): 157-156.

29. Other associations that work with the aforementioned ones or have similar aims are, for example, *Fundación Orreaga*, the *Noaingo Bataila Gogoan Taldea* group dedicated to historical recovery, and outside Navarre, the association *Navarrate*, which organised a demonstration on the streets of Vitoria in 2012 to stake its pro-Navarre claims.

30. In the light of the stated aims of this association, Josu Santamarina considers *Nabarralde* as *una agrupación abiertamente política que entiende la historia del Reino de Navarra como referente simbólico de cara a la construcción nacional vasca* ("an openly political group that considers the history of the Kingdom of Navarre as a symbolic reference point for the construction of the Basque nation"). Santamarina Otaola, Josu. "Más acá de la frontera: Arqueología y nacionalismo(s) en la 'Nabarra' del siglo XXI", *Arqueoweb*, 17 (2016): 239-267.

31. Urzainqui, Tomás; Olaizola, Juan María. *La Navarra Marítima*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 1998.

32. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. "¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses? El debate historiográfico en torno a la conquista e incorporación de Navarra: un balance y varias propuestas", *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 83 (2013): 831-863.



Vasco (2003) and published in 2005 by Pamiela.³³ Adot's thesis defends the existence of a perfectly structured 'Modern State' in Navarre in the years leading up to 1512 that was destroyed in one fell swoop in the invasion by Castile.

Precisely, this thesis is the one that has been enthusiastically embraced by the authors of the collective books *Nabarralde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik* around that same date, 2012, turning the idea into an aggravating circumstance of the conquest, making the 'Modern State' a kind of mythical Navarrese 'happy Arcadia'. In defence of this idea, the existence of a prior period of war has been denied, or at least to reduce the importance of the civil war in the second half of the 15th century and its calamitous consequences.

For example, Pedro Esarte, a non-university author, says that *simplificar el conflicto a disputas civiles es tergiversar la realidad, pues se obvia la procedencia de los reyes y ejércitos extranjeros asentados en el reino*. Esarte denies the existence of the Battle of Aibar between supporters of Juan II and Prince Carlos in 1451 and claims that *los partícipes navarros fueron muy escasos y Juan II y el príncipe Carlos contaron con muy pocos e insuficientes adeptos*, so it would have been foreign troops who fought each other *que nada tiene que ver con la guerra civil que se pregona*.³⁴ Esarte also flies the flag for this stance in a controversy he upheld in the newspaper *Diario de Noticias de Navarra* in 2012 on the issue of whether there were Navarrese troops or not among those who assaulted the castle of Amaiur (Maya) in 1522. Peio Monteano's answers in the same newspaper leave little room for doubt. He quotes a letter from the notary Agerre from 1522, in which he describes the pro-Castile contingent as follows: *Y tienen gran fama de gente, pero es lo cierto que no hay sino bien pocos castellanos, sino lo que en Navarra los beaumonteses han podido coger*.³⁵ In an interview in the same newspaper on 2nd August 2015, Esarte said that *oficial* historians *mantienen unívocamente que hubo una guerra de unos cien años, que existían beaumonteses y agramonteses organizados [...] Lo que queda desmontado con este nuevo libro*.³⁶

From the old reticence about using the word 'conquest' that some of these authors have reported —real in early-19th-century and early 20th-century authors—,³⁷ we

33. Adot, Álvaro. *Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix o la defensa del Estado Navarro (1483-1517)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2005.

34. "simplifying the conflict by saying they were civil disturbances is twisting the truth, because this ignores the foreign origins of the monarchs and armies based in the kingdom"; "the participation of the Navarrese was very low and Juan II and Prince Carlos had very few, and insufficient, supporters"; "who had nothing to do with the civil war that is touted". Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el falsario. Imposturas sobre la conquista de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 17-19.

35. Esarte, Pedro, "Las tropas de Castilla que tomaron Amaiur", *Diario de Noticias*, 22/08/2012, p. 22; Monteano, Peio, "Navarros Contra Amaiur", *Diario de Noticias*, 26 August 2012: 24; Esarte, Pedro, "¿Existieron tropas navarras en la toma de Amaiur?", *Diario de Noticias*, 29 August 2012: 26; Monteano, Peio, "Amaiur, 1522", *Diario de Noticias*, 4 September 2012: 24 and 9 September 2012.

36. "They have great fame as a people, but it is true that there are only a few Castilians, the ones that the Beaumonts may have picked up in Navarre"; "official"; "unambiguously maintain that there was a war that lasted around 100 years, that there were organised Beaumonts and Agramonts [...]. This is refuted in this new book". *Diario de Noticias*, "Mirarte. Cultura, ocio y comunicación (entrevista a Pedro Esarte)", *Diario de Noticias*, 2 August 2015: 66-67; The interview was conducted following the publication of Esarte, Pedro. *Juan Rena II. Destrucción de Navarra al servicio de España*, Pamplona: Pamiela, 2015.

37. Previously, Yanguas and Miranda, without denying the military intervention of 1512, considered that the most important part of the process occurred in the political negotiation sphere, and he tried



have moved on to the denial of any civil wars in Navarre. The excellent thesis by Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, a prosopography of the uprising of the higher nobles of Navarre between 1387 and 1464 that demonstrates the deeply-rooted partisanship in the society of Navarre, seems to have been forgotten. Indeed, after innumerable publications to celebrate the fifth centenary of the conquest, we still do not know the details of the chronology and cartography of the war that ravished Navarre between 1451 and 1494.

Fortunately, Álvaro Adot's thesis clarifies what happened in Navarre following the coronation in January 1494 in Pamplona, a process he calls the *neutralización del sector beaumontés*³⁸ or later, *normalización de un reino*.³⁹ His thesis affirms that, during the 18 years from 1494 to 1512 the monarchs John III of Navarre (Juan de Albret) and Catherine of Navarre (Catalina de Foix) would have been capable of 'normalising' the kingdom to the extent of constructing an authentic *Estado moderno* ("Modern State") through a political project for a *Estado pirenaico* ("Pyrenean State") of discontinuous borders based on the merging of Navarre and Béarn under the Albret-Foix dynasty, and through the sovereign legitimacy of the territories of Navarre and Béarn.

However, based on his work and data, we would express a major conceptual discrepancy: where he sees 'normalisation', we consider that there is a process of repression, persecution and confiscation of properties of the rebel side. The last Beaumont rebellion features the Count of Lerín between 1506 and 1507, when he refused to surrender the town of Viana to the monarchs. Nevertheless, by June 1507 all the rebel towns had been captured by the royal army: Andosilla, Cárcar, Lerín, Mendavia and Sesma, i.e. the traditional fiefdoms of the Count of Lerín, together with the odd other town.⁴⁰ Álvaro Adot also considers that all these military actions are also considered part of the process of 'neutralisation' of the Beaumonts, and he talks of *plena paz social* from 1507 onwards.⁴¹ In a later study he emphasises this idea even more, one of a *territorio en paz y estabilidad política y social*. Another argument in favour of this "comprehensive social peace" is the suppression of the *Hermanidad* ("a Brotherhood") of the kingdom in 1510, as at the time the *Cortes* or *Parliament* did not consider it necessary because *la justicia ordinaria estaba bien asentada*. In this context,

to present an almost pain-free version of the Conquest, in which *no había vencidos* ("there were no losers"). Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari. "Prácticas discursivas y construcción política: debates en torno a la conquista e integración de Navarra en España durante los siglos XIX y XX", *1512, conquista e incorporación de Navarra: historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Barcelona-Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra-Ariel, 2012: 68-69. Nevertheless, the clearest denial of the conquest emerged in later debates in the early 20th century, in which authors such as Ramón Nocedal took part —*ni fue guerra, ni conquista, pues no hubo resistencia* ("it was not a war, not a conquest, as there was no resistance")—, and Víctor Pradera, who argued that the conquest was impossible because the opposing sides *estaban animados por el mismo espíritu* ("were inspired by the same spirit"). Caspistegui, Patxi. "Salvador o réprobo: Fernando el Católico y la identidad de Navarra", *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, forthcoming.

38. "neutralisation of the Beaumont sector". Adot, Álvaro. *Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix...*: 124 and ss.

39. "normalisation of a kingdom". Adot, Álvaro. "Navarra en los años previos a la conquista. Proceso de normalización de un reino (1483-1512)", *Actas. La conquista de Navarra (1512)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2013.

40. Adot, Álvaro. *Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix...*: 200-204.

41. "complete social peace". Adot, Álvaro. "Navarra en los años previos a la conquista...": 30-31.



*el único peligro de inestabilidad era el que podía venir del exterior, es decir, de la invasión armada de ejércitos de reinos vecinos.*⁴²

This idea was picked up enthusiastically by other authors, quoting Adot, for example, Aitor Pescador, who stresses the idea that the kingdom of John III of Navarre and Catherine of Navarre was a *periodo de tranquilidad como no se había conocido en Navarra desde hacía mucho tiempo*;⁴³ Mikel Sorauren, who, in an audiovisual by Nabarralde supports the thesis that in Navarre *no había guerra civil alguna, ni el Estado estaba en descomposición*, says that *estaba en una situación totalmente pacífica*;⁴⁴ a similar opinion to that of Iñaki Sagredo, who studied the castles of Navarre, and stated in a debate on the TV channel Kontra (July 1512) that *en 1507 Navarra estaba estabilizada*;⁴⁵ the pro-independence politician Floren Aoiz also said —on the same TV station— that *la guerra civil había terminado en 1507*; then there is the Mayor of Pamplona, Joseba Asirón, who considers that the conquest occurred precisely because the civil war had ended. True, at least Aoiz recognised that the war had ended with the *aplastamiento de los beaumonteses*.⁴⁶ In general, we agree with the diagnosis that the pacification of the kingdom had been achieved, although we should point out that this success only occurred after the heavy defeat of the Beaumonts and the banishment of the Count of Lerín. However, one thing was ‘pacifying’ the kingdom —always through repression and forcing the rebel side into exile— and another, very different, achieving institutional and social stability similar to that of the Evreux period. Clearly, the wounds of such a long conflict take much longer to heal, hence our disagreement with the pace at which this period of peace and tranquillity was supposedly established. It is used by all these authors as another aggravating circumstance to condemn the conquest and accentuate its dramatic nature and illegitimacy.

This is the basis that later arguments have used regarding the conquest of Navarre, adopting a generally ‘single-cause’ approach: Ferdinand II of Aragon decided on the conquest of Navarre at his discretion, and moreover did it —as Joseba Asirón suggests— by belittling the kingdom, which would have been just another piece on the chessboard of international relations for him at the time.⁴⁷ Later studies

42. “territory at peace with political and social stability”; “ordinary justice was well established”; “the only risk of instability was the one that could come from outside, in other words, an armed invasion by armies of neighbouring kingdoms”. Adot, Álvaro. *Navarra, julio de 1512. Una conquista injustificada*. Pamplona: Pamlela, 2012: 36-37.

43. “period of tranquillity that Navarre had not known for a very long time”. Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra. 1510-1512. Diario de una conquista*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 55.

44. “there was no civil war, neither was the State in decomposition”; “it was in a situation of total peace”. Marcilla, Rubén. *La Conquista de Navarra*. Pamplona: Nabarralde, 2012; An audiovisual made with the collaboration, among others, of Oyartzun Town Council (Guipúzcoa), Udalbiltza and Udalbide, with a script by Floren Aoiz and Ángel Recalde. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kIrN4sLDWI8>> (Consulted 17th July 2017).

45. “in 1507 Navarre was stable”. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1ss8JvhNPo>> (Consulted 1st June 2017).

46. “the civil war had ended in 1507”; “crushing of the Beaumonts”. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFDbBv3Aa1A>> (Consulted 1st June 2017).

47. In the debate referred to above, Joseba Asirón pointed out that the problem in 1512 was not the Agramonts and the Beaumonts —whose confrontation continued during the 16th century— but



and texts argued that the conquest was illicit, something that Mercedes Galán has clearly explained from the point of view of law history.⁴⁸ The fact that the conquest was contrary to international law at the time is something that nobody doubts in academic circles, nor that Ferdinand only worried about the legal justification for it later, after the *fait accompli* had been consumed. The clarity of the arguments of legal historians make the self-serving repetition and hackneyed arguments that appear in several publications on the subject in recent years even less comprehensible.

This is why the study by Luis Javier Fortún en 2012—which simply used the standard accounting documentation of the Kingdom of Navarre, and which spoke of *fracaso en la formación de un Estado moderno*—is so innovative.⁴⁹ Even a quick look at the tax documentation of the late 15th century allows us to make a statement that is contrary to the theory of the ‘Modern State of Navarre’: the monarchs of Navarre could not collect taxes normally in a large part of the territory throughout almost their entire reign, and the accounts of the *Merindad*⁵⁰ of Pamplona from the second half of the 15th century are practically non-existent, given that they under the control of the Beaumonts, effectively constituting an alternative State. Under these conditions, even though some traditional institutions were restored by John III of Navarre and Catherine of Navarre, such as the *Consejo Real* (Royal Council)⁵¹ or the diplomatic service,⁵² and however much it is thought that the social peace could have driven economic growth in the short term—a causal relationship put forward by Adot but one that needs to be argued with greater precision to make it convincing—,⁵³ thinking that a State can be rebuilt in a period of 18 (or even 5) years after a war and internal division lasting 40 years is naïve, to say the least. John III of Navarre and Catherine of Navarre experienced clear financial and fiscal difficulties, particularly in the problems they encountered in getting the Parliament of Navarre to approve a tax to fund an army capable of standing up to the evident and imminent attack by Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1512.⁵⁴ Luis Javier Fortún shows how the Navarrese monarchy had been weakened throughout the 15th century. The king’s

Ferdinand II of Aragon. In other words, the only reason for the conquest was Ferdinand’s ambition.

48. Galán, Mercedes. “Los títulos jurídicos de la adquisición de territorios: la conquista de Navarra 1512”, *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 127-166. In the same line, we can include the study by Monreal, Gregorio; Jimeno, Roldán. *Conquista e incorporación del reino de Navarra a Castilla*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012.

49. Fortún, Luis Javier. “Derrumbe de la monarquía y supervivencia del reino: Navarra en torno a 1512”. 1512. *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed., Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 201-298.

50. An administrative division; a rough equivalent could be a county.

51. Adot, Álvaro. “Navarra en los años previos a la conquista...”: 26-28; The reference work on the Royal Council in this period is, however: Fortún, Luis Javier. “El Consejo de Navarra entre 1494 y 1525”, *Príncipe de Viana*, 6/2-3 (1986): 165-180.

52. Adot, Álvaro. *Embajadores navarros en Europa*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012.

53. Adot, Álvaro. “Navarra en los años previos a la conquista...”: 28-29.

54. Fortún, Luis Javier. “Derrumbe de la monarquía ...”: 201-298.



assets—previously studied by Eloísa Ramírez—⁵⁵ had decreased considerably, and the enacting of special taxes was increasingly less profitable for the Crown.

4. Needing the past: feelings

From now on we will follow some of the propositions made by David Lowenthal, although not the structure of his work overall, because in a study of this size we cannot envisage such a wide-ranging scope. What we will do is explore some of the ideas he puts forward for history in general, applying them to the conquest of Navarre. We will ask ourselves how some of these authors—and their readers—need the past, and what feelings emerge in their narratives when they approach the past: nostalgia, terror, hope, indignation, a desire to recover what has been lost, to imagine what was not, to project desires for the future onto the past...

4.1 Nostalgia

David Lowenthal said that *si el pasado es un país extraño, la nostalgia lo ha hecho el país con el mercado turístico más saneado de cuantos existen*.⁵⁶ This implies that there are better chances of doing business around history in the most nostalgic societies, and perhaps this is the case of Navarre, where the romantic heritage tends towards a narrative of a nostalgic nature.⁵⁷

4.1.1 Reliving the past: dreams

The new historical literature promoted by the groups *Nabarralde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik* often refers to a kind of dreaminess. For Joseba Asirón, the current Mayor of Pamplona and a Doctor in Art History, the history of Navarre is one of a 'broken dream', a metaphor that serves as a title for two of his publications, a comic and book with didactic aims, both of which he worked on with the graphic artist Matxin Altzueta.⁵⁸ The book leaves

55. Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. "La hacienda real in the S. XV. El procurador patrimonial de Navarra", *Actas XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: Gobierno de Aragón, 1995: 1-17; Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. "Patrimonio de la corona e ingresos fiscales en Navarra en el S. XV", *Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e Historia*, 2 (1995): 73-98.

56. "if the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all". Lowenthal, D. "El pasado es un país extraño...": 29.

57. Correspondingly, the glorification of the Basque rural world is analysed in: Berriochoa Azcárate, Pedro. "De la vida rural vasca. Caseríos, caseros y cuentos", *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la Basque history*, Fernando Molina, José Antonio Pérez, eds. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015: 109-132.

58. Asirón, Joseba; Altzueta, Matxin. *1512. Navarra. El sueño roto*. Pamplona: Ikaselar, 2011; and Asirón, Joseba. *Historia ilustrada de EuskalHerria. 2. Reino de Navarra, of the sueño a la conquista*. Pamplona: Txalaparta, 2015.



no room for doubt, and its title is *Del sueño a la conquista* ("From a dream to a conquest"). This is tantamount to saying that the conquest of Navarre curtailed a dream. The dream is not explained, but when you get inside the book you get the sense that the dream is the constitution of a 'State' that would have been created in the 12th and 13th centuries, which Urzainqui called *La Navarra marítima*, later called *El Estado vasco* by Mikel Sorauren.⁵⁹ Based on this, Urzainqui adopted the 'State' discourse in his book *Navarra, el Estado europeo*,⁶⁰ and Álvaro Adot spoke of the 'defence of the Navarrese State', daring to speak—as we have already said—of the constitution of an authentic 'Modern State' on the eve of the conquest of Navarre. It is *la Navarra que no nos dejaron ser*, says Floren Aoiz, *esto es, la Euskal Herria convertida en Estado*.⁶¹ In *La Navarra marítima*, Urzainqui affirmed that *El Estado navarro es el sistema jurídico de Euskal Herria* and that *Navarra entera es un Estado Europeo*.⁶² As far as he is concerned, the seven *herrialdes* that make up *Euskal Herria* would never have been *de por sí independientes* except when they were part of Navarre. Thus, the term 'western Navarre' has struck a rich chord as a reference to the territories of the current Basque Country, and the authors of *Nafarroa Bizirik* and *Nabarralde* have opted for a change in the denomination, as is the case of Eneko Del Castillo, a member of the 'Xabier Mina' association'.⁶³

Some other authors—such as Pedro Esarte—go further, by claiming that in the early 16th century *a existencia del sentimiento de nación y patria se aprecia con una constancia que ha llegado hasta nuestros días*.⁶⁴ The phrase is mistaken but leads one to think that the author is equating the concepts of nation and homeland used in the 16th century with those used nowadays, without taking into account the major and decisive nuances that many specialists have indicated on the subject. The history graduate Aitor Pescador—who explicitly recognises the differences between the current and mediaeval uses of the terms 'homeland' and 'nation'—adds that *aquellos individuos sabían que al sacrificar sus haciendas o sus vidas lo estaban haciendo por un interés muy superior al de un mero juramento de vasallaje*. He then asks, acknowledging that he does not know the answer: *¿Qué vínculos de vasallaje podían unir a Enrique II de Navarra con todos los hombres, pueblos, villas y ciudades que se sublevaron en 1521? ¿No sería más bien un sentimiento de identidad nacional?*⁶⁵ This means theoretically recognising the differences that the specialists identify in the political vocabulary of the time, but finally opting for an anachronistic interpretation

59. Sorauren, Mikel. *Historia de Navarra: el Estado vasco*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2008.

60. Urzainqui, Tomás. *Navarra Estado Europeo*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2004.

61. "the Navarre that they did not let us be"; "that is, Euskal Herria converted into a State". Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida. De la conquista española al mejoramiento foral*. Pamplona: Txalaparta, 2001: 437.

62. "The State of Navarre is the legal system of Euskal Herria"; "the whole of Navarre is a European State". Urzainqui, Tomás; Olaizola, Juan María. *La Navarra marítima*....:22-23.

63. "independent on their own account". Del Castillo, Eneko. *Atlas histórico de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2016: 66-67.

64. "the existence of a sentiment of nation and homeland is seen with a constancy that has lasted until the present day". Esarte, Pedro. *El mariscal Pedro de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 8-11.

65. "those people knew that by sacrificing their homes or lives they were doing it for an interest that was much higher than a mere oath of allegiance"; "What bonds of allegiance could link Henry II of Navarre with all the men, towns, villages and cities that rose up in 1521? Would it not be more a case of a feeling of national identity?". Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra, 1510-1513*....: 287.



of them, and furthermore putting forward a reductionist and self-interested argument because the same question —although in reverse— could be asked about the places that did not rebel in 1521.

The idea transcends books and has made an incursion into society as a cultural element, as can be seen in the musical theatre play *Amair 2012, haien ametsa gurea da*,⁶⁶ or in social networks and digital forums, where we can find manifestations of the same kind, for example, that by the alias 'Uno más' on 25 September 2013 in a digital forum in *Diario de Noticias de Navarra: A nosotros se nos robó la posibilidad de evolucionar por nosotros mismos, como han hecho otros países. Se nos privó del poder de decidir nuestro propio camino*.⁶⁷

It is clear that the curtailed dream is that of a Navarrese State that is basically a late Middle Ages/pro-independence *Euskal Herria* version of a political project aborted by the conquest but which, according to them, would have received majority support from the people. As the founding manifesto of *Nafarroa Bizirik* states, the conquest represents the removal of 'the sovereignty of an entire people'. In other words, *Nafarroa Bizirik* postulates the existence of the concept of national sovereignty in 15th-century Navarre.⁶⁸ That dream, also shared by the Navarrese of the 21st century, is the one that Floren Aoiz aims to recover: *Recuperando el conocimiento de lo que fueron, vivieron y sintieron nuestros antepasados, podremos [...] hacer nuestras sus ilusiones y sueños, que fueron muchos, más de los que nos han permitido conocer*.⁶⁹

4.1.2 Reliving the past: nightmares

It is here that the past becomes more of a nightmare than a dream, an *vieja herida*, as Floren Aoiz⁷⁰ describes it, a term picked up on by Aitor Pescador.⁷¹ The main character in the comic of the pro-independence politician Joseba Asirón, Juan de Jaso y Azpilicueta (the brother of St Francis Xavier), tells how he simply has to close his eyes to recall images of ravaged villages and friends killed, companions lynched, the yells of torturers and women accused of witchcraft. This nightmare undoubtedly

66. "your dream is ours". YouTube has several videos of the performances of this show.

67. "The possibility of evolving by our own means was stolen from us, as has happened in other countries. We were deprived of the power to decide our own path". "Uno más" (Alias). 25 September 2013. In answer to "Nafarroa Osoa" (Alias). "La Conquista de Navarra-Nafarroa-Nabarra", *Diario de noticias Navarra*. 23 September 2013. 19 September 2017. <<http://foros.noticiasdenavarra.com/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=60380>>.

68. The manifesto of *Nafarroa Bizirik* was presented and read in a number of town halls: on 28 March 2012 in Huarte, on 24 April in Sangüesa, on 31 May in Ordizia (Guipuzcoa), and in San Millán (Alava), on 13 June, among other places, as is reflected in the minutes of the different councils, which can be consulted online. The manifesto is also available at "Presentacion: 'DOCUMENTO 1512-2012'", *archive today*, 6 May 2013. 25 March 2017 <<http://archive.is/7dJoG>> and "A la derecha navarra no le gusta 1512-2012 Nafarroa Bizirik", *Garesko Auzalan*, 25 March 2017 <http://www.gareskoauzalan.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1504%3Aa-la-derecha-navarra-no-le-gusta-1512-2012-nafarroa-bizirik&catid=33%3Abeste&Itemid=1>.

69. "Recovering the knowledge of who our ancestors were, how they lived and felt, we can [...] make our dreams our own; there were many of them, more than they let us know". Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida*...: 437.

70. "old wound". Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida*...: 434.

71. Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra, 1510-1513*...: 7.



started in 1512, with *aterradora represión* that opened up the possibility of *convertir a Navarra en un desierto*, with the kingdom suffering *desmanes de los soldados durante siglos*.⁷² This apocalyptic vision contrasts with the data provided by Luis Javier Fortún or Alfredo Floristán,⁷³ indicating serious negotiations and the granting of partial and complete pardons, which allowed a good number of the Agramonts to return to the social and political life of the kingdom. A minority of pro-Navarrese went into exile and a few others, usually from a humble social background, ended up as the scapegoats of the process, for example, Captain Juan de Arberoa.⁷⁴

A symbol of this feeling of hurt and dreaminess about the past of Navarre are the melancholy verses of the French Basque singer-songwriter Eneko Labergerie:

Nafarra oi Nafarra, Euzkadi lehena, ederra zen ametsa zure erregena" (...) "Azkarrena zu zinen zazpi anaitetan, zure katetan preso nork zaitu ba eman?"⁷⁵

Or the words of the popular song *Navarra tiene cadenas* (Navarre has chains) by Fermín Balentzia, which conveys the same anguish:

*En el 1512 el duque de Alba entró
Con su ejército en Pamplona
partiendo Navarra en dos.
Desde entonces en Navarra
el rey de Castilla mandó.
Se rieron los monarcas
pero Navarra lloró.*⁷⁶

All these manifestations on the conquest of Navarre are part of a tragic narrative of the past that these authors share with many others who have chronicled different moments of Basque history from a nationalist point of view. Fernando Molina

72. "terrifying repression"; "converting Navarre into a desert"; "brutality by soldiers for centuries". Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 23.

73. Fortún, Luis Javier. "Derrumbe de la monarquía...": 277-290. It is explained how some Agramonts were paid off with *acostamientos* (royal monies paid for military services instead of land), and even before the conquest some of them received allocations from Castile. As for the pardons granted so as to get the defeated side involved in the new political project, see Floristán, Alfredo. *El reino de Navarra y la conformación política de España (1512-1841)*. Madrid: Akal, 2014: 89-93.

74. Peio Monteano. *La Guerra de Navarra...*: 258-259 and 295-303.

75. "Navarre, ah Navarre, primaeval Euskadi, how beautiful was the dream of your monarchs" (...) "You were the strongest of the seven siblings. Who has put you in chains?". The song can be heard on Youtube: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pCUu-oebvU8>>. (Consulted 1st June 2017).

76. "In 1512 the Duke of Alba entered / with his army in Pamplona / splitting Navarre in two. / Since then in Navarre / the King of Castile has reigned. / The monarchs laughed / but Navarre cried". The song can be heard in Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gD2_5W2IbXM>. (Consulted 1st June 2017).



discovers the explicitly cathartic aim of these constructions, which seek to trigger feelings of piety and fear.⁷⁷

4.1.3 *Getting angry with the past*

Those nightmares and suffering have an impact on the present, causing indignation as a direct effect of nostalgia. It was the same indignation that led Arturo Campión and other authors to call Ferdinand II of Aragon *el Falsario*⁷⁸ (puppet or impostor) and Aitor Pescador to compare the conquest of Navarre with the ‘war in Iraq’: *Muy al estilo de lo ocurrido en 2003, cuando Bush seguía afirmando la existencia de armas de destrucción masiva en Iraq pese a que los comisarios de la ONU no habían encontrado nada, Fernando buscaba mantener a los reyes de Navarra bajo una sospecha constante para así excusar la violenta invasión del reino.*⁷⁹ Then there is the indignation of Jon Oria, who sets out to prove the existence of a *conspiración hispano francesa para la extinción del reino Pirenaico y su absorción territorial*. He considers it ridiculous to *pretender ignorar el expansionismo colonialista de España y Francia y su determinación por hacernos desaparecer como entidad histórica*,⁸⁰ or that of Pedro Esarte in any of his texts, accusing Ferdinand of hypocrisy, falsehood, threats and extortion...⁸¹

Perhaps one of the most spontaneous examples of the high feelings aroused in some readers by the conquest of Navarre is the document by Mikel Burgui, an expert on the history of Ujué, when he analyses some of the historical readings he made when he was a young boy at school:

Me sulfuró leer que Aragón y Castilla quisieron repartirse nuestro reino desde antiguo.... Y me enojé al ver cómo Castilla nos quitó las Vascongadas⁸²... Y me sentí disgustado cuando leí que Fernando el Católico y el Duque de Alba nos invadieron en 1512 y me escandalicé cuando leí que el Conde de Lerín les ayudó... ¡Entonces comprendí el porqué de aquel dicho de “ser más malo o más traidor que el Conde de Lerín!”⁸³

77. Molina, Fernando, “‘El conflicto vasco’. Relatos de historia...”: 218-219.

78. This negative view of the Aragonese monarch was shared by authors such as Yanguas y Miranda, Olóriz or Campión, as shows Caspistegui, Patxi. “Salvador o réprobo: Fernando el Católico y la identidad de Navarra”, *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, forthcoming.

79. “Very much in line with what happened in 2003, when Bush continued to insist on the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq despite the UN commissioners not having found any, Ferdinand sought to keep the monarchs of Navarre under constant suspicion to excuse his violent invasion of the kingdom”. Pescador, Aitor. *1512. El año de la guerra...*, 33. The argument is repeated in Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra, 1510-1513...*

80. “Franco-Spanish conspiracy to eliminate the Pyrenean kingdom and absorb its territory”; “try and ignore the colonialist expansion of Spain and France and their determination to make us disappear as a historical entity”. Oria, Jon. *Últimos reyes de Navarra. De Gastón IV a Margarita de Valois*. Pamplona: Mintzoa, 1986: 35, 37.

81. Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el Falsario...*: 47-54.

82. Alava, Bizkaia and Gipuzkoa, the three Basque territories in Spain.

83. “It infuriated me to read that Aragon and Castile had wanted to divide up our kingdom from ancient times... I got angry when I saw how Castile took the Vascongadas from us and I was really upset when I



4.1.4 Recovering the past

In the light of the dreams and longings of the currently prevailing historical-political literature, it seems clear that the people's need to evoke the past is not only manifested in terms of dreaminess or nostalgia created in people's imagination, it also transcends the oneiric and aims, in a way, to recover the longed-for and lost past.⁸⁴ If the political objective is to reverse the historical process, this involves trying to recover parts of what has been lost. Tomás Urzainqui stated this in *La Navarra marítima*, the objective of the book being to *redescubrir los firmes vestigios de la existencia de un Estado nacional de los vascos y, en definitiva [...] lograr un cambio en la dirección del timón*.⁸⁵

Indeed, the worst thing about the nightmares described by Asirón or Urzainqui is their duration, as a kind of Dante's inferno of the Spanish occupation that has lasted for 500 years. This is supported by such a major figure in the pro-independence left as Floren Aoiz, who urges the Basques to see themselves *como un pueblo conquistado*, as only through that recognition will it be possible to *lograr la paz*.⁸⁶ In other words, the influence of the conquest of Navarre is still considerable and definitive, so political action involves returning to the conquest of 1512.

Following a recent article in *Diario de Noticias de Guipúzcoa* (24/02/2017) by Jon Iñaki Odriozola,⁸⁷ a controversy arose in which Tomás Urzainqui also took part. Odriozola calls the new political current initiated by Urzainqui in *La Navarra marítima* 'pan-navarrism', and says that this idea *ha acabado calando en ciertos sectores abertzales*. So far, he says, *el nabarrismo (sic), era algo propio de la derecha facha, unionista y anti-vasca*.⁸⁸ For Odriozola, Urzainqui's book *rompe esos clichés y propugna un nuevo nabarrismo, de corte vasquista, que consagra la hegemonía política de Navarra sobre el*

read that Ferdinand II of Aragon and the Duke of Alba invaded us in 1512, and I was scandalised when I read that the Count of Lerín helped them... That is when I understood the term 'be more evil or more treacherous than the Count of Lerín!'. Mikel Burgui, "La Historia que no nos enseñaron. Reflexiones en el 500 aniversario de la conquista de Navarra", *Web de Nabarralde*. 20 June 2012. 1 July 2017 <<http://nabarralde.com/es/txokoa/8601-la-historia-que-no-nos-ensenaron-reflexiones-en-el-500-aniversario-de-la-conquista-de-navarra>>.

84. Explains the importance of this "recovery" of the past for the new navarrismo of the past, Santamaria Otaola, Josu. "Más acá de la frontera...": 256.

85. "rediscover the firm remains of the existence of a national State of the Basques and, basically, [...] manage to turn the rudder around". Urzainqui, Tomás; Olaizola, Juan María. *La Navarra marítima*...: 26.

86. "as a conquered people"; "achieve peace". Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida*...: 438.

87. Odriozola Etxabe, Jon Iñaki. "Las debilidades del pan-nabarrismo", *Noticias de Guipuzcoa*. 27 February 2017. 17 July 2017 <<http://www.noticiasdegipuzkoa.com/2017/02/27/opinion/tribuna-abierta/las-debilidades-del-pan-nabarrismo>>.

88. "has ended up taking root in some pro-independence sectors"; "nabarrismo (sic), was something commonly found in fascists, unionists and the anti-Basque brigade". On this question, there is an essential study by García-Sanz Marcotegui, Ángel. "Navarra. Entre madre de Euskalherria y nuestro Ulster", *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la Basque history*, Fernando Molina, José A. Pérez, eds., Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015, 29-55. Professor García Sanz-Marcotegui shows how, in its origins, Basque nationalism in Navarre tried to be 'navarrista' (pro-Navarre) and fought to lead the Navarrese identity or specificity, which —after a century— is ever more present in the political debate, between the hegemonic *navarristas* (the regionalists) of recent years and the Basque nationalists.



resto de territorios de Euskal Herria. For him, this claim does not have a scientific basis, because the kingdom of Navarre never had frontiers comparable to those of modern-day *Euskal Herria*. For him, pan-navarrism does not have a sound historical basis either, and he calls this theory absurd, anachronistic and nonsensical, pointing out that the construction of the Basque State should look to the future, not to the past: *la república a la que aspiramos los independentistas no puede sustentarse en un reino medieval en el que reyes y jauntxos (señores) deciden y delimitan sus límites geográficos, sino en un proyecto que prime los aspectos culturales y lingüísticos de la nación vasca, Euskal Herria, y la voluntad democrática de los habitantes de sus siete territorios históricos*.⁸⁹

Tomás Urzainqui's response did not take long to appear in the newspaper *Gara* (3/3/2017), claiming that he did not aspire to a pan-nationalist identity but a *desconquista*.⁹⁰ Indeed, in reference to the title of one of his latest books, *Continúa la irracional conquista*⁹¹, and the constitutive ideology of his own political party, *Libertad Nabarra/Libertate Nafarra*, he puts forward the argument for undoing a continued process of conquest that has lasted 500 years.

As a Twitter user called Joxe (@Joxe000) said on 1 September 2015, showing how these ideas are gradually taking root in society: *Vivo bajo ocupación y no reconozco ninguna de sus instituciones. Veo que tú vives en democracia, niegas la conquista*. Another example is a tweet by Jokin (@jokin_EH) on 28 April 2015 saying: *Con la tontería, ya llevamos 503 años de ocupación española*.⁹² In this sense, Urzainqui does not aim at a return to the past, rather the deconstruction of the pernicious effect produced by the past itself, understanding the past to be anything that has happened since 1512. This is interesting because it means the fateful date somehow becomes a foundational date and a reference which, as we will see, has to be remembered, protected, reviewed or emulated...

We would draw attention to the importance that this historiographical stance is gaining from the political point of view nowadays.⁹³ The arguments in favour of the existence of a 'maritime Navarre' since the 9th century are helping the historicist interpretation of Basque nationalism to triumph, in favour of a State that should not be called *Euskal Herria* but *Nabarra*, because the first term refers

89. "breaks those clichés and advocates a new navarrism of a pro-Basque type that consecrates the political hegemony of Navarra over the rest of the territory of Euskal Herria"; "the Republic we pro-independence supporters aspire to cannot be based on a mediaeval kingdom in which monarchs and jauntxos (lords) decide and mark out their geographical borders, but on a project that gives priority to the cultural and linguistic aspects of the Basque nation, Euskal Herria, and the democratic will of the inhabitants of its seven historical territories". Odriozola Etxabe, Jon Iñaki. "Las debilidades del pan-nabarrismo..."

90. Urzainqui, Tomás. "Deconquista sí, no pan-nacionalismo" *Gara*. 3 March 2017. 17 July 2017. <http://www.naiz.eus/es/hemeroteca/gara/editions/2017-03-03/hemeroteca_articulos/desconquista-si-no-pan-nacionalismo>.

91. Urzainqui, Tomás. *Continúa la irracional conquista*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2013.

92. I live under occupation and I do not recognise any of its institutions. I see that you live under democracy; you deny the conquest"; "We have had the absurdity of Spanish occupation for 503 years").

93. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. "¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses?...": 831-863. Jon Arrieta's study allows us to get close to the content of the critique of Urzainqui by Larrea, Juan José. "La Navarra Marítima edo historiagintza zer ez den", *Hika*, 165 (2005): 42-45.



to a cultural reality and the second to its historical political form.⁹⁴ To verify this, Twitter is particularly interesting. On 25/01/2015, for example, Arturo Rojillo (@ArturoRojillo) maintained that it is *es curioso cómo salta la gente cuando se defiende que nuestro Estado es Nabarra, no Euskalherria* and adds in another tweet, *Soy un Navarro que quiere recuperar el Estado de Nabarra. Yo defendiendo lo que tuvimos, Nabarra*.⁹⁵ Another user called 'Zaldiko' (@Zaldiko) supports the thesis of Arturo Rojillo, pointing out that the name of the State, i.e. Nabarra, is important, while Arturo Rojillo reaffirms the importance of maintaining the traditional name, Nabarra, not Euskalherria, which would be an invented neologism. Strangely enough, these Twitter debaters refer to some of Urainzqui's historiographical approach and also to some of the feelings and needs that his thesis arouses: 'recover', 'defend what we had' or 'maintain' are some of the terms spontaneously used, almost as slogans.

The success of these formulations—to a certain extent, simplistic, or the 'nursery school story'—⁹⁶ lies in a construction of Basque history that shares the same logic as the traditional historical Basque nationalist narrative. Fernando Molina points out that much of the nationalist narrative has tried to justify the current reality of the 'Basque conflict' by tracing it back to more remote eras. The insistence on the 'de-conquest' effectively means maintaining the theory of a sustained and permanent conflict between Navarre and Spain since 1512 to the present day.

4.2 Correcting a mistaken past

Tying in with the above, perhaps the clearest example of the intentions of some authors when it comes to recovering the past of Navarre is the one given by Floren Aoiz in the pages of his book *La vieja herida*, where he claims that *la intervención armada de las tropas de Fernando el Católico truncó las expectativas y supuso no sólo el fin de la independencia, sino también la distorsión de la Historia de Navarra, que se reescribió [...]*.⁹⁷ The phrase certainly allows us a glimpse of the psychological field of political desires projected onto the past. The role of Ferdinand II of Aragon is practically eschatological: his power lies in his ability to change the fate and history of a

94. Xabier Zabaltza says the following in this regard: "We can conclude that ANV (Acción Nacionalista Vasca), through Estornes Lasa, Federico Krutwig and Nabarralde, has imposed its Navarre-centric vision on the whole of Basque nationalism, including ETA. Naturally, the replacement of the original *bizkaitarrismo* with the new *nabarrismo* has been seen to be compatible with the ambiguity around the organisational model of the future Basque State". Zabaltza Pérez-Nievas, Xabier. "De la *lingua navarrorum* al Estado vasco". *Contemporary History*, 47 (2013): 471-492.

95. "curious how people get angry when we defend the idea that our State is Nabarra, not Euskalherria"; "I am a Navarrese who wants to recover the State of Nabarra. I defend what we once had Nabarra").

96. Molina, Fernando; Pérez, José Antonio. "Introducción. La insoportable levedad de la nación en la historia vasca", *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la Historia vasca*, Fernando Molina, José Antonio Pérez, eds. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015: 28.

97. "the armed intervention of the troops of Ferdinand II of Aragon truncated [people's] hopes and represented not only the end of independence but also the distortion of the history of Navarre, which was re-written [...]". Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida*...: 18.



national that was destined for a different one, with a future as an independent nation. Ferdinand changed that destiny through force. Obviously, Aoiz's opinion is not acceptable from an academic point of view because it means one has to think in the opposite direction from a professional historian: the cause is in the future and the effect in the past. The same applies when he says that the chief of the Agramonts, Marshal Pedro of Navarre, was *el primer navarro víctima del alejamiento*, a man who remained a prisoner until his death *sin jamás jurar lealtad a los españoles*.⁹⁸ This effectively represents a comparison between Pedro of Navarre and the present-day ETA prisoners and the policy of dispersion applied to them. As a literary device it could be understood, but as a historiographical argument it is simply perverse.

5. Knowing the past

Having an impact on the narrative evoked by a whole people means manipulating that same people, because the narrative transcends the past and is projected towards the future, as Paul Ricoeur⁹⁹ had previously suggested. Intellectuals of different political leanings have worked on this task throughout history in a long and hard struggle, one which also occurs in Navarre nowadays but does not always seek to improve knowledge of history.¹⁰⁰

5.1 Looking for the hidden truth

A recent series of conferences organised by the Government of Navarre encouraged the participants to 'recover' the history of Navarre, which leads one to think that it had been either lost or gone astray. The argument is not new: the victimism behind the twisting of the historical narrative can be seen in the case of the conquest of Navarre from French authors who, in the 17th century, worked for the Bourbons to defend the unjust occupation of Navarre and the need for its reconquest, as shown by Alfredo Floristán.¹⁰¹ Although this interpretation has always been present, it is after Franco's rule and in full democracy when the integrity of history professionals (i.e. academics) is challenged by pro-Basque authors. For Tomás Urzainqui or Pedro

98. "the first Navarrese victim of separation"; "without ever swearing loyalty to the Spanish". Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 23. In reality, the claim is inaccurate, because Pedro of Navarre did swear loyalty to Ferdinand II of Aragon in 1512 (surely obliged by circumstances), although he did maintain a rebellious stance later [Fortún, Luis Javier. "Derrumbe de la monarquía...": 264-265; and Monteano, Peio. *La guerra de Navarra...*: 50-52]. Differs on the validity of the document Esarte, Pedro. *El mariscal Pedro de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 24-31.

99. Ricoeur, Paul. *Temps et récit*. Paris: Seuil, 1984: II, 28-29.

100. Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari. "Prácticas discursivas...": 64.

101. Floristán, Alfredo. "Los debates sobre la conquista...": 50.



Esarte there seems to be an academic conspiracy aimed at concealing the real history of Navarre.

This *catilinaria historiográfica*¹⁰² has particularly been denounced by Pedro Esarte in *Quién es cada quién. Nor, nori, nork* ("Who's who"), in which he disparages all academic historians. He has viciously insulted Isabel Ostolaza, Alfredo Floristán, Eloísa Ramírez, Ángel Martín Duque, Mercedes Galán and Juan Mari Sánchez Prieto, or the archivists Luis Javier Fortún and Peio Monteano, among others. Some of his usual comments consist of making lists, with derision, or the *curriculum vitae*'s of all these people to question their authority and the way in which they obtained their tenures. Accusations of cynicism, hypocrisy, falseness or shamelessness are the usual tone on this blog, which the publishing house Pamiela still maintains partially active.¹⁰³

An embarrassing scene that shows the virulence of this kind of attack took place in July 2012 on the TV channel Kontra,¹⁰⁴ in which a debate took place on the conquest of Alava and Guipuzcoa in 1200, with Eloísa Ramírez and Fermín Miranda as university professors or 'official' historians, and Tomás Urzainqui and Iñaki Sagredo as representatives of their corresponding stances. The accusation of historical manipulation against the first two by Urzainqui and Sagredo (and against all academic historiography) was present throughout the debate, while Eloísa Ramírez and Fermín Miranda tried to argue based on the complex context of lords and vassals of 1200. Urzainqui added that the 'lies' —of Ramírez and Miranda, one imagines— were because they wanted to conceal the conquest of the two parts of Navarre: the one lost in 1200 and the one conquered in 1512.

102. "historiographical conspiracy". Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. "¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses?...": 845; analysing Urzainqui's reply to Juan José Larrea, he points out that *los historiadores que tratan sobre Navarra en general, y sobre la conquista e incorporación en particular, se dividen entre los que admiten que existe una historiografía navarra 'propia' y la que los navarros, o parte de ellos, consideran ajena, por española. No se trata de entrar en el debate que esta dicotomía plantea, sino de confirmar la contundencia del argumento que funciona como premisa anuladora de cualquier planteamiento crítico* ("historians that work on Navarre in general, and on the conquest and incorporation (into Castile) in particular, are divided between those who admit the existence of an 'own' historiography of Navarre that the Navarrese, or a part of them, consider alien because it is Spanish. It is not a question of entering into the debate on this dichotomy, rather they confirm the categoric nature of the argument that works as a premise that rules out any critical approach").

103. The article of 22 June 2012 about Alfredo Floristán: Esarte, Pedro. "Quién es quién, cada quien (VI): Alfredo Floristán", Pamiela Etxea. 22 June 2012. 1 June 2017. <<http://www.pamiela.com/bloga/?p=2558>>, about Peio Monteano: Esarte, Pedro. "El análisis a un libro desde la óptica de la crítica", Nabarralde. 21 October 2010. 1 June 2017. <<http://nabarralde.com/es/component/content/article/5611>> or the one addressed to Professor Sánchez Prieto: Esarte, Pedro. "Quién es quién, cada quien NOR, NORI, NORK (IV). Del juicio del profesor José M^a Sánchez Prieto a la Guerra entre navarros", Nabarra possible. 1 June 2017. <<http://nabarraposible.blogspot.com.es/2012/06/quien-es-quien-cada-quien-nor-nori-nork.html>>. Some of these articles can not longer be seen online because they disappeared from the Nabarralde website at the time of writing this article, so it is difficult to quote them completely, especially the most aggressive ones.

104. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1ss8JvhNPo>> (Consulted 1st June 2017).



The idea seems to be explicitly put forward in the questions of the interview held in 2015 with Pedro Esarte in *Diario de Noticias*,¹⁰⁵ implicitly admitted by such a serious historian as Peio Monteano¹⁰⁶ and expressed categorically and insultingly by Jose Mari Esparza (Txalaparta), claiming that *los departamentos de Historia de nuestras universidades rebosan, mucho más que en otras disciplinas, de maleantes, de cronistas oficiales, de vagos que no han desatado un legajo en su vida, y de guardaespaldas [...] del orden establecido*.¹⁰⁷

It is illustrative that the cartoonist César Oroz —of the conservative newspaper *Diario de Navarra*— also embraced the historicist cause led by Urzainqui and Esarte, including their conspiracy theory. His comic on the Conquest of Navarre seeks to create a humorous turn in its title, referring to the hiding of the history of Navarre: *¿Por qué lo llaman anexión cuando quieren decir conquista?*¹⁰⁸ Given his success, there is no point now in explaining the complementary nature of the processes of military conquest and legal incorporation, and the absence of the concept of ‘annexation’ in the historiographical debate.

References to the concealment of the word ‘conquest’ (attributed to professional historians) have been systematically made, to the extent that one of the spokespersons of *Nafarroa Bizirik* boasted: *Fue una batalla ideológica que ganamos por KO [...], puesto que la historiografía oficial tuvo que reconocer que en 1512 Nafarroa sufrió una conquista y una ocupación militar y no una amistosa adhesión a Castilla*,¹⁰⁹ as did Floren Aoiz in 2012 on the TV station Kontra: *las posiciones de negación de que fuera una conquista son insostenibles*.¹¹⁰

This is another of the points that we feel it is necessary to refute, because if we review the academic historiography —from José María Lacarra onwards— we

105. *Diario de Noticias*. “Mirarte. Cultura, ocio y comunicación (entrevista a Pedro Esarte)”, *Diario de Noticias*, 2 August 2015: 66-67. Esarte is presented as “part of the group of historians who have challenged the official discourse on the Conquest”.

106. Monteano, Peio. “1522. Navarros contra Amaiur”, *Diario de Noticias*, 26 August 2012: 24. Monteano claims that, “on one hand, there is reticence to admit that the union with Spain was imposed by arms. On the other, that a fracture among the Navarrese themselves was created”.

107. “the history departments of our universities are full, and much more than in other disciplines, of crooks, official chroniclers and lazy people who have not done a decent day’s work in their lives, as bodyguards [...] of the established order”. Esparza Zabalegi, José Mari. “La lucrativa industria de la Historia”, *Diario de Noticias*, 27 August 2014: 18. The letter is part of a debate that started with a footnote quote in a book by Fernando Molina, begun by Víctor Moreno, “Historiadores Buenos y malos”, *Diario de Noticias*, 21 July 2014: 24 and answered by Fernando Molina “Historia y nación: subordinación equívoca”, *Diario de Noticias*, 16 August 2014, 16; followed by others from Víctor Moreno, “¿Verdades sagradas?, ni de coña?”, *Diario de Noticias*, 20 August 2014: 18 and 28 August 2014, and the aforementioned José Mari Esparza.

108. “Why do they call it annexation when they mean conquest?”. Oroz, César. *¿Por qué lo llaman anexión cuando quieren decir conquista?* Pamplona: Grupo AN, 2012.

109. “It was an ideological battle that we won by a knock-out [...], because official historiography was forced to recognise that in 1512 Nafarroa suffered a conquest and a military occupation, not an amicable adhesion to Castile”. Díaz, Martxelo. “Nafarroa Bizirik volverá a colocar los monolitos atacados” *Naiz*. 23 December 2015. 12 June 2015 <<http://www.naiz.eus/eu/actualidad/noticia/20151223/nafarroa-bizirik-volvera-a-colocar-los-monolitos-atacados>>.

110. “the positions that deny that it was a conquest are unsustainable”.



have not located any historian of those called ‘official’ by the authors of *Nabarralde* that does not use the word ‘conquest’ in an explicit manner. As we understand it, this is the biggest manipulation of the history of Navarre that exists at present: the appearance of a conspiracy theory created —*ex profeso*— against the leading experts in the field of history in Navarre.

The idea of a conspiracy by official or ‘pro-regime’ historians has led to great indignation on the part of the authors on the other side: Aoiz, Pescador, Urzainqui, Sorauren, Asirón and Esarte... They all coincide by starting their narrative saying something that is not true: the false theories put forward over the centuries to conceal the ‘real history’ of Navarre. *Nos han mentido* is the phrase that the document of *Nabarralde* on the conquest of Navarre uses to denounce their particular historiographical vision.¹¹¹ In fact, in almost all the cases the narrative of these authors is playing the victim card and is elaborated ‘in opposition’, rejecting the claims of the disparaged authors. Floren Aoiz says that the issue of the conquest of Navarre *ha sido objeto de manipulaciones y mentiras [...] ya que los conquistadores han tenido casi 500 años para justificar su presencia aquí*.¹¹² For Aitor Pescador, *Navarra careció de una memoria histórica que nos permitiese conocer la visión de los navarros sobre todo lo acontecido*, thus attributing to all the people in Navarre a standard *memoria histórica*.¹¹³ Pedro Esarte criticises the *manipuladores de la pluma y tergiversadores en el ámbito de la enseñanza*,¹¹⁴ and claims that *el relato histórico se halla controlado todavía hoy por los gobernantes a través de la política de subvenciones*.¹¹⁵

Nabarralde and *Nafarroa Bizirik* thus present themselves as advocates of historical truth in a heroic struggle to give a people its history back. This fits in nicely with our contemporary, popular and Twitter-type way of doing things, of understanding history, as Jerome de Groot¹¹⁶ demonstrated by commenting on the work of historians in Hollywood productions,¹¹⁷ where the heroic historian takes on those who wish to conceal history and relics from the people.

111. “They have lied to us”. Marcilla, Rubén. *La Conquista de Navarra*...

112. “has been the subject of manipulations and lies [...] as the conquerors have had almost 500 years to justify their presence here”. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida*...: 432.

113. “Navarre lacked a historical memory that would have enabled us to learn about the vision of the Navarrese on everything that happened”; “historical memory”. Pescador, Aitor. 1512. *El año de la guerra*...: 10.

114. “manipulators with pens and the twisters of the truth in the field of education”. Esarte, Pedro. *El mariscal Pedro de Navarra*...: 9.

115. “the historical narrative is still controlled today by the ruling class through subsidies”. Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el Falsario*...: 15.

116. De Groot, Jerome. *Consuming history*...: 49-58.

117. This was one of the criticisms put forward by Juan José Larrea of *La Navarra marítima*, in which the authors presented themselves as authentic discoverers of a historical truth that had been concealed for centuries. Professor Larrea exposed the ideas of *La Navarra marítima*, showing that they were not new, (quite the contrary) and antiquated. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. “¿Entre Agramonteses and Beaumonteses?...”: 844-845.



Pedro Esarte specifically refers to *la verdad sobre las llamadas guerras civiles del siglo XV*, pointing out that *simplificar el conflicto a disputas civiles, es tergiversar la realidad*,¹¹⁸ which eliminates the possibility of debate. In other words, if one speaks about civil wars in the 15th century—including one of the like-minded authors like Aitor Pescador—it is not accepted that the author is wrong, has a different point of view or simply expresses disagreement: whoever talks about civil wars between Agramonts and Beaumonts twists the truth and deliberately lies with a political purpose in mind. Floren Aoiz shares this approach when he claims that *cualquier otra visión diferente de la idea de conquista obedece a criterios políticos interesados*.¹¹⁹ Likewise, Mikel Burgui refers to *Historia que no nos enseñaron*¹²⁰ on the Nabarralde website. This idea, found in the writings by disseminators of history that also impregnates the social representation of the history of Navarre, is also reflected in the verses of the previously mentioned popular song by Fermín Balentzia:

*La Historia la hace el pueblo
Y la cuentan contrabandistas
Cuentan lo que les conviene
Y lo adornan de mentiras.*¹²¹

As a result, the task of these authors would be to recover the ‘memory of Navarra’, as if the Navarrese suffered from an amnesia that they can cure because the evil has been perpetrated, precisely, by professional historians. Indeed, the claim they stake has more to do with memory than history. Therefore, these authors assume the task of fostering that memory, that selection, and will intervene to make the past more present.

5.1.1 Remembering

Given these “omissions” by academic historiography, the first thing many of them did was to ‘recall’. This is interesting, because when speaking of memory and reminiscence, the collective past becomes part of the identity of an individual who, obviously, never lived the events (those of 1512).

118. “the truth about the so-called civil wars of the 15th century”; “simplifying the conflict in terms of civil disputes is a distortion of reality”. Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el Falsario...*: 17.

119. “any other vision that differs from the idea of conquest is down to self-interested political criteria”. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 434.

120. “the history they did not teach us”. Burgui, Mikel. “La historia que no nos enseñaron. Reflexiones en el 500 aniversario de la conquista de Navarra”, *Nabarralde*. 20 June 2012. 1 June 2017. <<http://nabarralde.com/es/txokoa/8601-la-historia-que-no-nos-ensenaron-reflexiones-en-el-500-aniversario-de-la-conquista-de-navarra>>.

121. The song can be heard in Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gD2_5W2IbXM>. (Consulted 1st June 2017).



The success of these propositions by *Nabarralde* is seen in the great achievements of the publishing houses Pamiela, Txalaparta and Txertoa, and in the political support for these publications by pro-independence formations. The success can also be seen in the bibliography of this very study, in which many works published by Pamiela/Txertoa/Txalaparta can be found, particularly between 2011 and 2013. According to data provided to us by Pamiela,¹²² the print runs for each edition are between 500 and 2,500 copies, depending on sales forecasts and the author's capacity for communication or dissemination. The company publishes both scientific studies and works for a more general public, with publications by academics and history enthusiasts, sometimes in the same collection.

Among these publications, *La Navarra Marítima* by Tomás Urzainqui has had 11 editions, and the book *Navarra, 1512-1530* by Pedro Esarte—with no less than 911 pages—has been reprinted twice. The collective book by various authors of *Nabarralde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik*, titled *1512. 500 años de conquista*, has been reprinted (2,000 copies) after an initial run of 7,000 in 2009, according to data provided by the publishing house, although we are speaking of a collective monograph. These figures contrast with the 350 copies printed of Isabel Ostolaza's book on Ferdinand II of Aragon in 2011, the 600 copies of the Mediaeval Studies Week of Estella dedicated to the conquest of Navarre, or the 1,500 copies that were exceptionally printed of the concise work of Alfredo Floristán and Mercedes Galán, published in 2012 by *Diario de Navarra* and distributed together with the newspaper.¹²³ The last two were published by the institutions or with their participation, with contributions by various authors from the academic world.

Just the difference in the number of monographs generated in the academic world on one hand (5 between 2011 and 2013), and by the authors under the aegis of Pamiela on the other (32 between 2011 and 2013), shows the difference in interest on the subject. As does the political affiliation of some of these authors: Floren Aoiz, a former parliamentarian and leader of *Herri Batasuna*, Joseba Asirón, Mayor of Pamplona for *Euskal Herria Bildu*, Tomás Urzainqui, founder of the party *Libertad Navarra*, or Aitor Pescador, a member of the *Geroa Bai* coalition. This is not the case in reverse for the academic historians. This led Fernando Molina to speak of a *lucrative industria de la identidad que fabrica productos de memoria para consumo exclusivo de lectores abertzales*.¹²⁴

122. We would like to thank Pamiela for the figures on print runs and editions.

123. I would also like to thank the Government of Navarre for the figures provided in its publications.

124. "lucrative industry around identity that manufactures memory products for the exclusive consumption of pro-independence readers". Molina, Fernando. "Historia y nación: subordinación equívoca", *Diario de Noticias*, 16 August 2014: 16: This received a furious reply from Jose Mari Esparza Zabalegui, "La lucrative industria de la Historia", *Diario de Noticias*, 27 August 2014: 18.



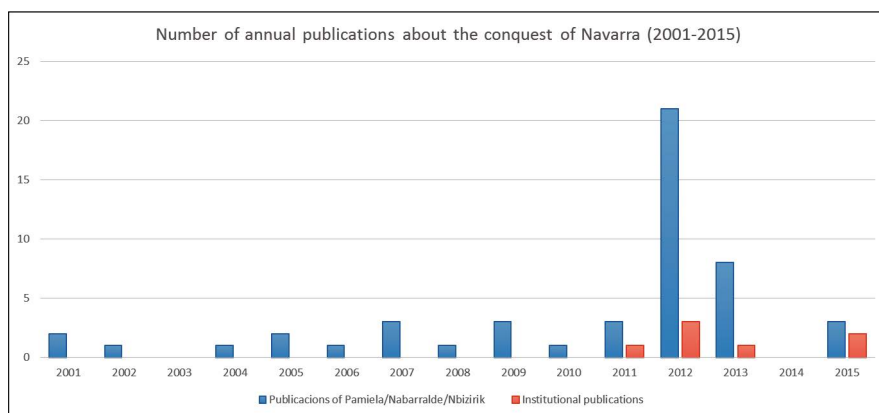


FIGURE 1. NO. OF PUBLICATIONS PER YEAR ON THE CONQUEST OF NAVARRE (2001-2015)

5.1.2 Forgetting

In the same way that it is of interest to remember some episodes of the past, the same applies to forgetting others. Thus, the civil conflict of the second half of the 15th century has disappeared from some digests, as is the case Mikel Sorauren's —and many others— in which a giant leap is made between the death of the Prince of Viana (1461) and the years prior to the conquest. Mikel Sorauren says that *la crisis que representa la guerra civil es innegable que guarda relación directa con el debilitamiento del Estado en cuanto tal. No obstante, resulta exagerado deducir de ello la inexorable pérdida de la independencia como solución al conflicto* as a result.¹²⁵ In other words, the conquest of Navarre is not an effect produced by the civil war between the Navarrese, it is rather an external aggression that does away with the “independence” of the kingdom. We will not come back to this question, as we have dealt with it above.

As happens with the events prior to the conquest, which are forgotten, something similar occurs with everything that transpires later in Navarre. The reality is that the tensions between Agramonts and Beaumonts gradually disappeared during the 16th century,¹²⁶ perhaps largely due to the knowledge that Ferdinand II of Aragon had of Navarrese politics and the traditional contacts between the Crown of Castile and the nobles on both sides. It is also forgotten that the Navarrese nobles and merchants took advantage of their status as subjects of the Spanish Crown, sometimes with great economic and social success. Basically, the authors of *Nabarraalde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik* start

125. “the crisis represented by the civil war is undeniably directly related to the weakening of the State as such. Nevertheless, it would be an exaggeration to deduce that the inexorable loss of independence was a solution to the conflict”. Sorauren, Mikel. *Historia de Navarra, el Estado Vasco*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 1999: 151.

126. Floristán, Alfredo. “Honor estamental y merced real. La configuración del brazo militar en las Cortes de Navarra, 1512-1828”, *Príncipe de Viana*, 66/234 (2005): 135-196.



from a preconceived —and unproven— idea that considers the conquest as something negative in political, economic and social terms. As this is a prior assumption, these authors do not try to prove it, and their studies do not usually go further than 1522.¹²⁷

6. Changing the past

The ultimate intention of the studies of *Nabarralde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik* is to change society's perception of Navarre's past and construct social representations of history that are favourable to Basque nationalist thinking. There are also some attempts to present a "pro-Spanish" version of the history of Navarre, although these are much less important nowadays from the quantitative point of view¹²⁸ in terms of publications, sales, presence in the media, social networks, internet or educational media.¹²⁹ The only monograph of this kind has a title that is questionable in itself:

127. Orduna Portús, Pablo. "Participación de las elites en las instituciones del Reino de Navarra (ss. XVI-XVIII)", *Tiempos Modernos. Revista electrónica de Historia Moderna*, 18 (2009) <<http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/144/195>> (Consulted 2nd June 2017); Vázquez de Prada, Valentín. *Mercaderes navarros en Europa. Siglo XVI*. Pamplona: Government of Navarre, 2015.

128. In this regard, Jon Arrieta Alberdi says: *si hay una tendencia 'navarrista', la producción que lo caracteriza se centra actualmente bastante en la obra de carácter ensayístico desplegada por Jaime Ignacio del Burgo. En la posición opuesta la producción de los últimos años es muy numerosa, y presenta claros caracteres definitorios* ("if there is a 'pro-Navarre' tendency, it is mainly based on the essays of Jaime Ignacio del Burgo. Publications in recent years expressing the opposite opinion are very numerous, with clearly defining features"). Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. "¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses?...": 859. We should point out that while these theories are not very well-represented in cultural media, the social networks have picked up on some of these pro-Navarre arguments by 'democratising' the possibility of disseminating personal historiographical interpretations and removing the author's responsibility through the anonymity allowed by the internet. Although we have not monitored these interpretations closely, we could possibly speak of a residual 'navarrism' that is perhaps 'clandestine'. This happens, for example, when referring to the participation of troops from Gipuzcoa and Álava in the conquest of Navarre, which is historically proven. However, it is put forward with a clear present-day aim that highlights the division between the Navarrese and the Basques and the 'collaborationism' of the latter in the conquest. On Twitter @stalingradoFC said on 16 December 2015 that *A Quipuzcoa (sic) le fue bien en la conquista (sic) de Navarra* ("It went well for Quipuzcoa (sic) in the conquesta (sic) of Navarra"); @zaldizoro wrote on Twitter on 7 November 2016 that *les salió bien a los vascongados la jugada de la conquista de Navarra. 5 siglos después a recoger los frutos* ("the manoeuvre of the conquest of Navarre went well for the Basque provinces. Five centuries later, reap the rewards"); in *Forotafalla* in 19 March 2007, where Andawa (Alias) said *Todo hay que decirlo, las tropas guipuzcoanas se ofrecieron voluntarias para ir a la cabeza de la conquista de Pamplona* ("It has to be said, the Guipuzcoan troops offered themselves as volunteers to head the conquest of Pamplona") <<http://www.forotafalla.com/viewtopic.php?f=8&t=12218&sid=5fb1053bec6961fdf6d8da9985bf7f9d>> (Consulted 2nd June 2017).

129. We should also point out that some marks of historiographical approaches tinged with Spanish nationalist tones continue to be seen in the educational world (curricula and textbooks), e.g. in the studies by Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. "Pervivencias escolares de narrativa nacional española: Reconquista, Reyes Católicos e Imperio en libros de texto de historia y en relatos de estudiantes", *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, 6 (2017): 165-201.



Aspectos militares de la anexión de Navarra.¹³⁰ We understand that the military aspects of a conquest can be considered, but not an ‘annexation’.

In this context of political struggle, historical symbols have acquired crucial importance, and it is no coincidence that one of the most disputed laws in Navarre in recent years—in one or the other direction—has been the Law of Symbols. In the meantime, the relics of the past have been protected, reconstructed, duplicated, emulated and commemorated or celebrated in an attempt to make them symbols or ‘hooks’ through which the past can be changed and a certain vision of it fostered.

6.1 Protecting

Following the failed attempt to recover the kingdom in 1516 by King John III of Navarre, Cardinal Cisneros gave one of the orders that has caused most rivers of ink to flow in Navarre: the destruction or dismantling of the kingdom’s castles, at least their main defensive structures.¹³¹ This constituted an affront to the heritage of Navarre, and was something that the current Mayor of Pamplona, Joseba Asirón, considers *iba más allá de lo puramente militar. Los castillos habían conformado durante siglos el paisaje más caracterizado de los pueblos, como símbolo de la autoridad y la legitimidad medieval. Al hacerlos desaparecer, se pretendía invisibilizar al propio estado navarro*. Asirón concludes by saying that *El derribo de las murallas, consecuentemente, hay que entenderlo en clave política y moral: se trataba de quebrar la voluntad de los navarros*.¹³² Iñaki Sagredo also wrote in *Diario de Noticias* that a Navarre without castles had become *una Navarra sin orgullo*.¹³³

One of the first initiatives coinciding with the closeness of the fifth centenary of the conquest that took place in Navarre was precisely that of Iñaki Sagredo,¹³⁴ who began a series of studies on the castles of Navarre with the help of ultralight aircraft flying over the locations of the one-hundred-plus castles he managed to locate. His

130. Ruiz Vidondo, José M^a. 1512-1521. *Aspectos militares de la anexión de Navarra. Aportación de la Provincia de Guipuzcoa, el Señorío de Vizcaya y las Hermandades of Álava a la conquista de Navarra*. Mutilva Baja: Editorial Evidencia Médica, 2012.

131. The process is explained in detail in Martinena, Juan José. *Castillos reales de Navarra. Siglos XIII-XVI*. Pamplona: Government of Navarre: 97-107.

132. “went beyond purely military considerations. Castles had been the most common feature of towns and villages for centuries, as a symbol of mediaeval authority and legitimacy. By making them disappear, the intention was to make the very State of Navarre invisible”; “The demolishing of the walls should, therefore, be considered in political and moral terms: it was an attempt to bend the will of the Navarrese”. Asirón, Joseba. “Culmina la destrucción de los castillos”, *Nabarralde*. 10 June 2012. 26 March 2017 <<http://www.nabarralde.com/es/1512-cronica/8546-culmina-la-destruccion-de-los-castillos>>.

133. “a Navarre without pride”. Sagredo, Iñaki. “Navarras sin castillos, Navarra sin orgullo”, *Nabarralde*. 8 April 2012. 26 March 2017 <<http://nabarralde.com/es/1512-cronica/8173-navarra-sin-castillos-navarra-sin-orgullo>>.

134. Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2015: V; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2009: IV; Sagredo, Iñaki. *El castillo de Amaiur a través de la Historia de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2009; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2007: III; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2007: II; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2006: I.



work conveys the notion that the destruction of these castles by order of Cardinal Cisneros aimed at erasing the memory of the independence of the kingdom. It was therefore an eminently political decision, not just a straightforward military tactic. Like Josu Santamarina, we believe that *el propio hecho de documentar y aglutinar todos estos castillos bajo un mismo discurso, forma parte de un proceso de recuperación nacional*.¹³⁵

Sagredo offered local councils the possibility of making the existence of a mediaeval castle in their municipality known, through talks and acting as a broker between the councils and an archaeology company.¹³⁶ As he says, his aim was to *abrir la historia que no se conocía y despertar la historia de Navarra y un sentimiento sobre lo que fuimos*. He adds, *Mi trabajo ahora es estar castillo por castillo y establecer un vínculo con las personas que viven en los pueblos de alrededor, explicarles la Historia de los castillos*. This is very interesting from the perspective of the protection of these relics, as Lowenthal pointed out. The idea was to identify each town or village with its relic, its castle, and to teach the correct interpretation of what happened there. One of the publishers in Pamplona, Txema Aranaz, considers that Sagredo's work *Es el trabajo más importante que se ha hecho en Navarra al respecto, pero este tipo de publicaciones que buscan la verdad y que van contra la línea oficial marcada por las instituciones, la universidad del Opus e incluso la Universidad Pública, no tienen el eco que se merecen*.¹³⁷

In this regard, another very interesting—and indignant—perspective is seen in an article by the pro-independence politician Patxi Zabaleta in the newspaper *Gara* in 2012, saying that *los auténticos y verdaderos navarristas de los siglos XVIII, XIX y XX, sentían un odio al Cardenal Cisneros muy superior a cualquier otro*.¹³⁸ Or Mikel Burgui's comment in *Nabarralde*, where he says: *También leí que Cisneros mandó derribar los castillos de Navarra... Vaya, vaya. Cisneros. Así que ese tipo pudo ser el que mandó tirar el castillazo de Ujué. De inmediato le cogí una ojeriza de aúpa al dichoso cardenal*.¹³⁹

135. "the very fact of documenting and grouping all these castles within a single discourse is part of a process of national recovery". Santamarina Otaola, Josu. "Más acá de la frontera...": 257.

136. Ciriza, Nieves. "Iñaki Sagredo, conquista por aire los castillos del Viejo Reyno de Navarra: LA ENTREVISTA", *Pirineo*. 26 February 2007. 26 March 2017. <<http://www.pirineo.com/especial-pirineo/inaki-sagredo-conquista-aire-castillos-viejo-reyno-navarra-entrevista>>.

137. "open up a history that was unknown and revive the history of Navarre and a feeling of what we used to be"; "My work now is to go from castle to castle and establish a link with the people that live in the surrounding villages and towns, explaining the history of the castles"; "is the most important field study done in Navarre, but this kind of publication seeks the truth and goes against the official line marked out by the institutions, the Opus Dei-backed Universidad de Navarra and even the Universidad Pública, and does not enjoy the success it deserves". De Carlos. Idoia.; Cascante, Patxi. "Entrevista a Iñaki Sagredo", *Diario de Noticias*, 26 March 2015: 61. <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2015/03/26/ocio-y-cultura/cultura/sagredo-quiero-despertar-un-sentimiento-sobre-lo-que-fuimos>>.

138. "the real and authentic navarristas of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries hated Cardinal Cisneros much more than anyone else". Zabaleta, Patxi. "El desmantelamiento de los castillos y los testamentos de los Austrias", *Gara*. 4 May 2012. 19 September 2017 <<http://gara.naiz.eus/paperezkoa/20120504/338539/es/El-desmantelamiento-castillos-testamentos-los-Austrias>>.

139. "I also read that Cisneros ordered the demolition of the castles of Navarre... Well, well, Cisneros. So, he might have been the guy who ordered the destruction of the incredible castle in Ujué. I immediately felt great animosity towards the damned cardinal". Burgui, Mikel. "La historia que no nos enseñaron. Reflexiones en el 500 aniversario de la conquista de Navarra", *Nabarralde*. 20 June 2012. 1 June 2017



In 2012 a second initiative appeared, in this case coinciding with the ceremonies held to commemorate the 5th centenary of the conquest of Navarre, for which the *Nafarroa Bizirik* foundation was set up (2010) by the pro-independence Left.¹⁴⁰ Apparently, it was Joseba Asirón himself who proposed the placing of commemorative boundary stones in some castles in Navarre.¹⁴¹ The first must have been the one placed in January 2012 in Aitzorrotz castle in Eskoriatza (Guipuzcoa). In an initial phase, boundary stones were placed in around twenty castles, followed by a second phase (2013) until forty were installed.¹⁴² In 2013 a trekkers' guide was published to advertise these castles and encourage people to visit them.¹⁴³ A small festive ceremony was organised for the laying of each boundary stone, and work was done to improve the paths leading to the castles from the villages or towns. The funding generally came from the local authorities (municipal councils and parish councils), which provided the money and issued the relevant permits. Depending on the political profile of each place, the stones could either be financed or their installation just authorised.¹⁴⁴

On 30th May 2012 Bildu's group in Huarte Town Council invited the remaining members of the council "to the inauguration ceremony of the stele commemorating the 500th anniversary of the conquest of Navarre. This ceremony, to which mayors and councillors of sister towns and neighbouring villages, parliamentarians, etc. will take place on Saturday 9 June next to the ruins of the castle located on top of Mount Ohiana".¹⁴⁵

The monoliths would have cost between 1,000 and 2,000 euros (including installation), as announced by the *Nafarroa Bizirik* foundation in a press conference on 24th December 2015.¹⁴⁶ For example, the figure requested from Huarte Town Council—which was not granted—was 900 euros. If we multiply € 1,500 (the cost

<<http://nabarralde.com/es/txokoa/8601-la-historia-que-no-nos-ensenaron-reflexiones-en-el-500-aniversario-de-la-conquista-de-navarra>>.

140. Explains this process in detail Santamarina Otaola, Josu. "Más acá de la frontera...": 256-258.

141. Guerra, Pello. "Mojones en los castillos para recorder la historia", Nabarralde. 2 April 2013. 26 March 2017 <<http://nabarralde.com/es/component/content/article/10031>>. Joseba Asirón's idea would be related to the placing of the monument in the castle of Maya in 1921, which created a bitter historiographical and political controversy between Arturo Campión and Víctor Pradera as part of the statutory debate. Sánchez Prieto, Juan M^a. "Prácticas discursivas y construcción política...": 77-82; Olábarri, Ignacio; Sánchez Prieto, Juan M^a. "Un ejemplo de Richtungskampf en la historiografía navarra contemporánea", *Symbolae Lvdovico Mitxelena Septvagenario oblatae*, José Luis Melena, ed. Vitoria: Universidad del País Vasco, 1985.

142. Sagüés, Manuel. "Castillos del reino. Cien mojones para la verdadera historia", *Diario de Noticias*, 5 June 2013: 40. This information can be found online on the website of *Askatasunaren Bidea* (6 June 2013), Sagüés, Manuel. "Castillos del reino. Cien mojones para la verdadera historia", *Askatasunaren Bidea*. 6 June 2013. 2 June 2017 <http://askatasunaren-bidea.blogspot.com.es/2013_05_06_archive.html>.

143. Feliu, Juan M^a; Sagredo, Iñaki; Asirón, Joseba; and Guerra, Pello. *Recorridos a los castillos del Reino de Navarra*. San Sebastian: Herriar Berri, 2013.

144. Minutes of Huarte Town Council. 28 March 2012. 2 June 2017 <<http://www.huarte.es/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2016/03/ACTAS-2012-03-28-03-2012.pdf>>.

145. Minutes of Huarte Town Council. 30 May 2012. 2 June 2017 <<http://www.huarte.es/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2016/03/ACTAS-2012-05-30-05-2012.pdf>>.

146. "Los mojones atacados se arreglarán: 'Son lugares de memoria'", *Noticias de Navarra*. 24 December 2015. 2 June 2017 <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2015/12/24/sociedad/navarra/los-mojones-atacados-se-arreglaran-son-lugares-de-memoria>>.



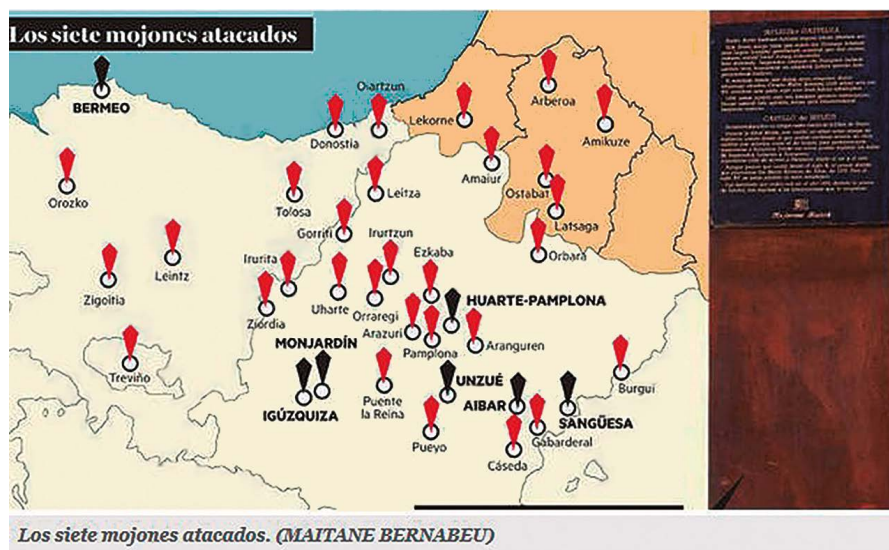


IMAGE 1. MAP OF THE BOUNDARY STONES PLACED BY NAFARROA BIZIRIK. THE SEVEN BOUNDARY STONES ATTACKED (IN BLACK). SOURCE: *DIARIO DE NOTICIAS*. 12/12/2015

of each of these steles, boundary stones, monoliths or *mugaris* [the term in Basque]) by 40 —the number placed— we are talking of 60,000 euros. The steles were made from corten steel and are 1.8 metres high (although a part is inserted in the concrete base, so the final height is 1.5 metres above ground level). Each one is decorated with “a plaque with an engraved text telling the history of the castle in question, written by someone from the locality who is an expert on the fortress or by the historians Joseba Asiron and Iñaki Sagredo”, as Sergio Iribarren, the coordinator of the project, explains.¹⁴⁷

The vicissitudes of the monoliths have not ended there, however, as in 2015 at least seven of them were vandalised by a far-right group that climbed up to the castles with a radial saw to cut the iron. It is the best sign of the importance given to these symbols. For *Nafarroa Bizirik* they were ‘places of memory’;¹⁴⁸ for the far-right groups, objects that needed to be eliminated at all costs. In any case, this strange controversy of steel and concrete has once again unleashed the victimism we mentioned above, to the point of stating, as did the sculptor Peio Iraizoz, that *el Cardenal Cisneros y el Duque de Alba siguen vivos*.¹⁴⁹

The initiative by *Nafarroa Bizirik* was purely political, because pro-independence territoriality was present in its conception. It took the borders of its ‘maritime Navarre’ or ‘Navarra entera’ to Alava, Guipuzcoa and Vizcaya, wherever there was

147. Guerra, Pello. “Mojones en los castillos...”.

148. Guerra, Pello. “Mojones en los castillos...”.

149. “Cardinal Cisneros and the Duke of Alba are still alive”. Díaz, Martxelo. “Nafarroa Bizirik volverá a colocar los monolitos...”.

someone willing to accept the new pan-navarrist thesis, such as in San Juan de Gaztelugatxe (Bermeo). This was done under the excuse of recovering memory, something that seems impossible to us because nobody remembers the mediaeval period, we can only imagine, recreate and interpret it... Therefore, these actions involve the use of these relics—and even the creation of new commemorative relics—with the specific aim of fostering a biased vision of history. Indeed, the monument in Maya, laid in 1922, is now one of those ‘places of memory’ that is remembered and celebrated, in the absence of other more spectacular ones.¹⁵⁰

Furthermore, in 1996 a monument sculpted by Joxe Ulibarrena was inaugurated near Noain with funding from the Government of Navarre (3.5 million pesetas)¹⁵¹—regionalist at the time—to commemorate the so-called ‘Battle of Noain’ of 1521, another defeat of the army of Henry II of Albret, the son of John III of Navarre.

6.2 *Reconstructing*

The same spirit of recovery of memory is the one that has inspired the reconstruction work of the castles of Navarre, and more specifically the ones at Irulegui and Maya. The first is part of the list of castles that controlled the territory of the region in the Early Middle Ages, as studied previously by Juan José Martinena¹⁵² and later by Iñaki Sagredo. In contrast, the castle of Maya (Amaiur), which some, using a literary twist, have called ‘the Basque Alamo’, has certainly become an authentic emblem of Navarrese resistance and legitimism. It does not seem to matter that there were more Navarrese attacking it than defending it: some authors only refer to the latter. True, the efforts of the defenders were as heroic as they were desperate, and enough to feed the epic dimension of the story and the different narratives. In our opinion, however, they lose sight of the reality: that it was a dispute between two factions of the nobility that managed to destroy the kingdom of Navarre.

The ruins of the castle of Amaiur have been excavated over ten years, then consolidated, museumised and recreated in the form of a model exhibited in a building located at the foot of the hill where the castle stands.¹⁵³ In 2012 it was released in jigsaw puzzle format by the pro-independence newspaper *Gara*, and it can still be bought online today. As Josu Santamarina points out, it does not seem right that previous conservative governments in Navarre until 2015 should not have given any support or visited the excavation of the castle of Amaiur. In our opinion, however, neither is it beneficial to convert Amaiur in the symbol of the tragic history of ‘Euskal Herria’, as stated in a report on the Basque TV station ETB

150. The process is explained, with extensive bibliography, by Santamarina Otaola, Josu. “Más acá de la frontera...”: 246-250.

151. About 21,000 euros.

152. Martinena Ruiz, Juan José. *Castillos reales de Navarra. Siglos XIII-XVI*. Pamplona: Government of Navarre.

153. For more details about the Amaiur site, see Santamarina Otaola, Josu. “Más acá de la frontera...”: 254-255.



in August 2015, reporting a visit by the President of the Government of Navarre, Uxue Barkos, to the excavations;¹⁵⁴ or as the ‘perpetual light of Navarre’, the title of an article that *Diario de Noticias* published on 24 January 2016.¹⁵⁵ Its political importance as a public symbol is unquestionable, however; the pro-independence Left coalition that ran for the general election in 2011 took its name: Amaiur.

6.3 Commemorating

Objects found in the dig have been used in the exhibition *Amaiur, el último Castillo* (“Amaiur, the last castle”), organised in 2016 in the Palacio del Condestable by Pamplona City Council. Within the exhibition, on a large canvas painted by Xabier Morrás, Joseba Asirón himself appears immortalised among the Agramonts who resisted in the castle of Maya. The inclusion of a portrait of the Mayor between the resisting legitimists commemorated in the painting was criticised fairly strongly, but it is very interesting from a psychological point of view because the author’s message is a very clear one: if pro-independence Joseba Asirón is one of the Agramonts who resisted in Amaiur against the Spanish army, it is very clear who the Beaumont-supporting traitors of today are.

The work of evoking or commemorating the major milestones in the conquest of Navarre has consolidated associations such as *Noaingo Bataila Gogoan Taldea*, dedicated to the annual recreation and commemoration of the French-Agramont defeat of 1521, together with the evocative monument erected in Salinas de Pamplona,¹⁵⁶ which led to a hike titled ‘gure ondarea, gure memoria’ (our heritage, our memory) in 2017. This is regularly done through hikes, tributes or seminars. Some of the best-attended ones were in 2012, stopping off at different places in the Basque Country and Navarre, especially the so-called ‘National March’ organised by *Nafarroa Bizirik* to claim that “Navarre is still alive, despite the conquest of 1512”.¹⁵⁷ In nearly all these events —as occurred with the laying of the boundary stones—the claim acquires a festive dimension with large crowds attending and featuring elements of Basque folklore (folk dancers, traditional characters of the culture of Navarre, bards, the recording of a lipdub [uploaded onto YouTube], folk and/or modern music, dance music and rural sports, etc.). In this way, the recreation of the

154. Garmendia. Marijo. “Amaiur, reconocimiento oficial 10 años después”, *Eitb*. 22 August 2015. 8 August 2017 <<http://www.eitb.eus/es/noticias/politica/videos/detalle/3426214/la-visita-uxue-barkos-amaiur-es-reconocimiento-al-trabajo/>>.

155. Sagüés Lacasa. María. “Amaiur: luz perpetua de Navarra”, *Noticias de Navarra*. 24 January 2016. 8 August 2017 <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2016/01/24/vecinos/amaiur-luz-perpetua-de-navarra>>.

156. Unai Beroiz, Amaia Marcos. “Homenaje a la resistencia navarra ante la conquista militar de Castilla”, *Noticias de Navarra*. 9 June 2017. 8 August 2017 <<http://m.noticiasdenavarra.com/2017/06/09/sociedad/navarra/homenaje-a-la-resistencia-navarra-ante-la-conquista-militar-de-castilla>>; “Salinas acoge este domingo un homenaje a la Batalla de Noáin”. *Noticias de Navarra*. 17 June 2017. 8 August 2017. <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2017/06/17/sociedad/navarra/salinas-acoge-este-domingo-un-homenaje-a-la-batalla-de-noain>>.

157. “Nafarroa Bizirik llama a la ciudadanía a apoyar su marcha”, *Diario de Navarra*. 14 June 2012. 8 August 2017 <http://www.diariodenavarra.es/noticias/navarra/mas_navarra/2012/06/14/nafarroa_bizirik_llama_ciudadania_apoyar_marcha_83639_2061.html>.



tragic history of Navarre is identified with Basque culture, which aspires to national standardisation and, through the public use of history, takes on a festive, protesting and nostalgic nature all at the same time.

7. Conclusions

Although the studies by Sánchez Prieto and others around a decade ago focused on the 'pro-Navarre' message, considering it predominant in the historiographical discourse, the situation has changed since then. On one hand, historiography in general has overcome the long-standing dilemma of the conquest (yes or no) of Navarre, and also there is a fairly wide-ranging consensus in the academic world on the events related to it. On the other, the revisionist discourse of *Nabarralde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik*, with a clear didactic and commercial vocation, has been greatly strengthened thanks to a number of social groups and has generated a 'pan-navarrist' historical explanation for the whole of Euskal Herria, one that does not perfectly fit the traditional pro-independence version. This new discourse has by no means run its course, it is in the process of creation, as new propositions—and contradictions—gradually appear. True, in a way these ideas fit into the traditional tragic nationalist narrative that tries to highlight the 'Basque conflict' and trace its origins back to distant periods in history.¹⁵⁸

The authors in the realm of *Nabarralde* seem to be motivated by the projection onto the past of positive and negative sentiments such as hope, enthusiasm, indignation, concern... The description of the historical moments as 'dreams' or 'wounds' clearly denotes a strong emotional link of the authors to the events of the past, one that leads them to take a stance—consciously or unconsciously—on the tensions arising from the conquest.

The main argument of these groups is the need to 'recover memory', and an insistence that the history of Navarre has always been written by the winners, who would naturally have concealed the historical truth. In this sense, they denounce a kind of 'conspiracy' to hide history from the people of Navarre by 'regime-friendly' historians. Any disagreement on a historical subject is interpreted in political terms and of a predetermined manipulation of historical reality, but never in terms of a purely historiographical debate. While it is true that, historically, there was a pro-Spanish or pro-Navarre bias in the interpretation of history until the early 20th century, since the historiographical school emerged with José María Lacarra academic historians have objectified their work to a great extent. This has even been interpreted in some circles as a victory of authors close to Basque nationalism. Nevertheless, none of them has been able to scientifically refute the historical paradigms they challenge, particularly because they often start from previous assumptions and a passion that makes scientific analysis difficult. Caricaturing

158. As points out Molina, Fernando. "El conflicto vasco". *Relatos de historia...*: 214-223.



the situation, the authors of *Nabarralde* and *Nafarroa Bizirik* present themselves as the new Indiana Jones of Navarre's history: they recover history, discover an academic conspiracy that aims at concealing the truth, combat the lies of regionalist 'officialness' and free the Navarrese people by showing them the historical truth so that it can struggle to bring about the 'deconquest'. The idea has taken root, and it is no coincidence that one of those authors, Joseba Asirón, has achieved political success by becoming Mayor of Pamplona and is the visible face of the pro-independence Left in Navarre. It has also been possible to see —although not quantify— the impact of their propositions on the social networks and digital fora.

Another important point is that the criticisms made of academic historians in Navarre come from people who —as their own *curriculum vitae*'s online reveal— often do not have a university background in history, and in some cases no university studies. Furthermore, they also have strong political interests that have an influence on their narratives. Historians do not usually talk of professional intrusion —and we do not wish to do so now— but at least it is admissible to denounce that such systematic and vicious criticism of Navarrese professional historians has come from people without academic qualifications (this also becomes clear when reading some of their writings).

In historiographical terms, one of the most-commonly used arguments is of considering Navarre as a State since the early 9th century with the advent of Íñigo Arista, and as a Modern State just before the conquest of Navarre. The thesis of Álvaro Adot has spread, to indicate that Navarre enjoyed a period of social and political peace that was truncated by the conquest. This historiography opts for the understanding of the conquest as an external aggression caused by the ambition of Ferdinand II of Aragon, which represents a practically mono-causal explanation of the phenomenon.

Finally, in our opinion, what is worrying is that the very conception of history as a science is challenged when the historical narrative is placed at the service of present-day political ideas. History should not aspire to find a single truth, as it is a science under construction, open to debate and subjected to the sudden appearance of new documentary evidence that destroys the construction of any past historian, however good he or she may be. The spreading of the idea of a history that manages to find the truth in a heroic way is a step backwards in the historical education of citizens, if we take into account any of the publications by social sciences experts. The path of history at the service of the construction of national States is very well-known, both by historians¹⁵⁹ and experts in the teaching of history.¹⁶⁰ This is a very undesirable way to proceed, but one that we are being firmly and successfully directed along, both through the publications of *Nafarroa Bizirik* and *Nabarralde* on the conquest of Navarre and the public uses of history that derive from them, in the social networks and the media, and out on the street.

159. Castillejo Cambra, Emilio. *Mito, legitimación y violencia simbólica en los manuales escolares de Historia del franquismo (1936-1975)*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2008.

160. To give a good example, the study Carretero, Mario. *Documentos de Identidad. La construcción e la memoria histórica en un mundo global*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2007, and the recent studies by Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. "Pervivencias escolares...": 165-201; and Sáiz Serrano, Jorge: López Facal, Ramón. "Narrativas históricas de estudiantes and profesorado en formación", *Revista de Education*, 374 (2016): 118-141.



CURIAL E GÜELFA, AN ITALIAN-CATALAN ROMANCE FROM THE 15TH CENTURY LACKING ‘ANOMALIES’ AND ‘MYSTERIES’

ABEL SOLER
UNIVERSITAT DE VALÈNCIA
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

The ‘anomalies’ (Jaume Riera, 1991) or ‘mysteries’ (Rosa Navarro, 2011-2016) that have allowed stating the hypothesis of a falsified Curial in the 19th century by Milà i Fontanals do not match with the criteria of palaeographers, philologists and other experts, who certify the authenticity of the only codex and the work it contains. Lola Badia and Jaume Torró prefer to speak about the ‘perplexities’ that a book that does not fit in the literary culture in the Catalonia in the middle of the 15th century has arisen for centuries in the literary criticism. If, alternatively, we search for the origin of the work in the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples—influenced by the Italian humanism— everything seems more credible.¹

KEYWORDS

Curial e Güelfa, Literary Falsifications, Milà i Fontanals, Chivalric Romance, Alfonso the Magnanimous.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Curial e Güelfa, Falsificationes Litterariae, Milà i Fontanals, Fabula caballeriorum, Alphonsus Magnanimus.

1. Used Abbreviations: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó; ASN, Archivio di Stato di Napoli; BHUV, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València; BnF, Bibliothèque nationale de France; CeG, Curial e Güelfa. English translation by Àngel Company Albert.

1. Anomalies, mysteries and perplexities

In the *Curial* edited in 2011 by Lola Badia and Jaume Torró, the editors advised the reader about the singularity of the work and the presumed disturbing effects: *Des del seu adveniment al món de la lletra impresa l'any 1901, el Curial e Güelfa no ha deixat de desvetllar perplexitats. The criticism s'ha mogut entre la desorientació i l'entusiasme davant les successives hipòtesis que han pretès desentrellar tants enigmes*; we understand the ones of a work contained in just one manuscript or preparatory copy, lacking a title, signatures or an attributable authorship.² Where Badia and Torró speak about *enigmas*, the philologist and learned person Jaume Riera i Sans—in an article from 1991—listed a series of *anomalies* that brought him to, not just doubt about the authenticity of this work, but also to attribute it hypothetically to Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818-1884).³ The immediate press turmoil obliged the codicologists and palaeographers to make a speech about the undeniable and empirically stated authenticity of the manuscript, perfectly datable in the decade of 1440.⁴ Not taking into account these certifications (*Alguns experts en paleografia encara hi continuen —pobrets—, assegurant que només es podia escriure entre 1440-1450*),⁵ Riera proposed—without any success nor serious influence, we can say—to dismiss the *Curial* from the canon of Catalan classics. Later individual research and collective approaches (v. gr., the *Estudis lingüístics i culturals* about the work coordinated by Antoni Ferrando)⁶ have helped to discard the supposed anomalies and locate the text in the literary culture of the Italy of the first *Quattrocento*, and with the court in Naples of Alfonso the Magnanimous. This contextualisation follows with foundations the traditional hypothesis of the criticism from the

2. "Since its arrival to the world of the printed letter in 1901, the *Curial e Güelfa* has not stopped revealing perplexities"; "has moved between the disorientation and enthusiasm towards the succeeding hypotheses that have tried to figure out so many enigmas." *Curial e Güelfa*, eds. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró. Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2011: 9.

3. Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII, XIV i XV", *Actes del novè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes* (Alacant-Elx, 9-14 de setembre de 1991), Rafael Alemany, Antoni Ferrando, Lluís B. Messeguer, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1993: I, 425-491, especially 479-491.

4. See, among others, Mundó, Anscari M. [Manuel Mundó Marcet]. "Les vicissituds de 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Avui*, 19 setembre 1991: 31; Perarnau Espelt, Josep. "El manuscrit medieval del 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 11 (1992): 363-377; Hernández, Carmen; Ruiz de Elvira, Isabel. "Estudio sobre la encuadernación del ms. 9750 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid: 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 2 (1992): 373-377; Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. "Notes d'un paleògraf a propòsit del 'matritensis' 9750 de la Biblioteca Nacional: 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Caplletra*, 15 (1994): 75-88; Avenoza Vera, Gemma. "De nou sobre el ms. del 'Curial e Güelfa': una aproximació codicològica", *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre 'Curial e Güelfa', novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012: 3-20; Sánchez Hernampérez, Arsenio. "Nuevas observaciones sobre la encuadernación del Ms. 9750, 'Curial e Güelfa', de la Biblioteca Nacional de España", *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre 'Curial e Güelfa', novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012: 105-110.

5. "Some experts in palaeography still continue—poor them—stating that it could only be written from 1440 to 1450." Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 491.

6. Ferrando Francés, Antoni, ed. *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre 'Curial e Güelfa', novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012.



beginning of 20th century.⁷ Riera i Sans has not insisted in the hypothesis of the falseness but Rosa Navarro has done it, an author who considers the *Curial*—against the most diverse evidences and statements by experts and critics—as a book from the 19th century attributable to Milà. Being right or not, we must acknowledge the interest that the ‘doubts’ stated by these two scholars arise—all of them reasonable and suggestive—to formulate questions and open new research lines around this controversial chivalric romance.

2. Possible answers to the anomalies listed by Riera

2.1 A manuscript with unknown origin

As Jaume Riera states, *mai no s’ha pogut saber d’on procedia el manuscrit únic del Curial*,⁸ as the spine label that formerly identified it was lost, which is a common fact in medieval texts. This fact, regarding the *Curial*, stops being ‘mysterious’ since we know that the binding of the codex can be dated in Toledo, towards the end of the 15th century and it also presents concomitances with other books of the cathedral in Toledo. Some *makulatur* have been extracted, coming from recycled paper of trials from the noble house of the Fuensalida,⁹ a family allied to the king and the Infants of Aragon,¹⁰ and present in the Central-Italian campaign in the years 1446-1448.¹¹ Altogether, this can give cause for new ways of hypothetical interpretation about the—until recent years—unsuspected origin of the manuscript. We should take into account, moreover, the multilingual character of the Valencian and Italian court of the Magnanimous (1416-1458), where the presence of exiled Castilians—many of them bilingual or familiarised with the Catalan language and literature—was abundant and constant.

7. Most of the contribution of this article have further explanation in Soler, Abel. *La cort napolitana d’Alfons el Magnànim: el context de “Curial e Güelfa”*. 3 vols. Valencia-Barcelona: Institució Alfons el Magnànim-Institut d’Estudis Catalans-Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2017.

8. “it has never been possible to know the origin of the only manuscript of the ‘Curial’”. Riera Sans, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles XIII...”: 480.

9. Ferrando Francés, Antoni. “Precaucions metodològiques per a l’estudi lingüístic del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. 2 vols. Ferrando Francés, Antoni, ed. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012: 31-88, especially 39-40.

10. See: Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*. ed. Juan de Mata, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1947: 468-469 (chap. 341); Franco, Alfonso. *El condado de Fuensalida en la Baja Edad Media*. Cadis: Universidad de Cádiz, 1994: 68.

11. ASN, Tesorería general antigua, 1/IV, ff. 16r, 43v, 46v and 47r; Croce, Benedetto. *España en la vida italiana del Renacimiento*, transl. José Sánchez Rojas, Madrid: Mundo Latino, 1919: 65.



2.2. Castilian words and Castilian spelling

Riera considers *a very strange thing* the presence in the *Curial* of some words (*pennora, sennora*) *escrits a la manera castellana i té els reclams dels dos primers plects en castellà* (Quaderno primero, Segundo), *escrits de la mateixa mà que tot el text*. According to him, *la presència de trets gràfics i mots castellans en un còdex de lletra catalana* would be an unusual fact in the 15th century in Catalonia.¹² Moreover, it is commonly known that the scribes of chancery were used to change in handwriting texts in Latin, Castilian and Catalan, not finding as strange some eventual orthographic interference. On the other hand, the ‘way from Toledo’ of research opened by codicologists, apart from the presence of Castilian and bilingual readers in the court of Alfonso —starting with the monarch himself, who spoke Castilian—, make it explainable the marginal notes or the indications in the bookbinder in Castilian. Having discarded, therefore, the strangeness, it is worth advising that the marginal claims and a curious margin note *corrige* (which remained unnoticed to Riera) does not belong to the same hand that the body of the textual transcription. As it seems, they were added afterwards by someone who attributed himself legal authority on the manuscript and the work. This “someone” addressed in Castilian to a scrivener who, thanks to some linguistic clues (*rodas, tengas, reebas...*), could be Aragonese.¹³

2.3 A ‘modern’ punctuation

Ramon Aramon, who edited the *Curial* between 1930 and 1933, was very surprised of having found in the syntactic structure of the literary discourse in *Curial, una puntuación muy lógica, que facilita en gran manera su lectura*. Riera interprets that *es tracta d’una puntuació moderna*, and states that in the texts from the 15th century the writers *assenyalen les clàusules de dicció, però ignoren les comes*.¹⁴ He puts the example —among others— of the following sentence: *E axí ells[,] apartats Apol-lo[,] presos alguns rams dels arbres a ell consagrats[,] lo cap del dit Curial cenyí...*¹⁵ As it can be observed, what stands out is not any modernity, but simply a preference for the ablative absolute (*caught, detached*, as the nucleus of their respective complements, foregrounded to the beginning of the sentence) typical of an author who used to read Julius Caesar: another interesting clue to identify him. He acknowledges it

12. “a very strange thing”; “(*pennora, sennora*) written in the Castilian way and it has complaints of the two first sheets in Castilian (*Quaderno primero, Segundo*), handwritten in the same way as the rest of the text”; “the presence of graphical treats and Castilian words in a codex in Catalan spelling”. Riera Sans, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles XIII...”: 480.

13. The hypothesis of the Aragonese copist was used by Perarnau (1992) and developed by Ferrando, Antoni. “Introducció”, *Curial e Güelfa*, Antoni Ferrando ed. Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2007: 5-35, especially 8.

14. “A very logical punctuation, which favours its reading very much.”; “it is a modern punctuation”; “they point out the speaking clauses, but they ignore the commas.”

15. “And thus they[,] having moved Apol-lo away[,] having taken some bunches from the trees consecrated to him[,] wrapped the head of the mentioned Curial...”



himself (*Legit he en Tito Lívio la victòria..., e noresmenys la de Júlio e Pompeyo...*,¹⁶ CeG III.91), and Jaume Torró and Lola Badia note it.¹⁷

Another thing is the consideration that we could make about the commas as slash (/) that the writer uses to mark the *reciting* clauses as in the Italian way, because the *Curial* was a literary work written and thought to be recited: *E per ço us vull recitar...* (CeG I.0); *Qui totes les coses de la tristor dels dos amants volgués recitar..., volent scriure a vostra consolació e plaer, recitaré*¹⁸ (CeG I.14). The first one who used the slash (/) to set out the rules and provide rhythm to the text was Boncompagno da Signa, in his treaty about writing letters *Palma* (1198).¹⁹ In the 14th century was used by Petrarca and Boccaccio, and in the Italian 15th century its use was widespread. The Lombard grammarian Gasparino Barzizza, whose son—the humanist Guiniforte Barzizza—was strongly linked to the king of Aragon and his curia in the years 1432-1448, suggested in his *Doctrina punctandi* the use of this paragraphematic sign (/),²⁰ which with the arrival of the press would be transformed into the modern typographic sign of the comma (,).²¹ Some works by Gasparino were sent to Gaeta by his son in 1440, and would probably have an influence in the use that some scribes in the royal chancery made of this slash (/), generally to divide the different parts in a certificate. Leonardo Bruni (d. 1444) clamoured to the king Alfonso because his scribes and writers ignored these punctuation signs. Some years later, Filelfo was proud because some subjects of that king—praiseworthy exceptions—were used to punctuate their writings.²²

After all, this punctuation could not be unknown, not for the author of the *Curial* nor the transcription scribe of the *Matritensis* 9750. The singularity that the anonymous novel presents is that the author uses systematically this comma or pause sign to provide the rhetoric rhythm for reading it.²³ If the different editors of this work had paid attention to such an evident detail like this one of the *interpunctio* or *punteggiatura* in the Italian way, they would have—perhaps—punctuated some fragments of the text in a more appropriate way. And, certainly, some sterile

16. "I've read in Titus Livius the victory..., and furthermore the ones by Julius and Pompey...".

17. *Curial e Güelfa*, eds. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró...: 694-695.

18. "And for this reason I want to recite you..."; "The one who wanted to recite everything about the sorrow of these two lovers..., willing to write to your consolation and pleasure, I will recite".

19. Pini, Virgilio. "Buoncompagno da Signa", *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Treccani, 12 October 2016, <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/boncompagno-da-signa_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/boncompagno-da-signa_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>).

20. Tognelli, Jole. *Introduzione all'ars punctandi*. Rome: Edizioni del Ateneo, 1963: 19; Cignetti, Luca. "La [pro]posizione parenetica: criteri di riconoscimento e proprietà retorico-testuali". *Studi di grammatica italiana*, 20 (2001): 69-125, especially 74.

21. According to: Trovato, Paolo. *Storia della lingua italiana. Il primo Cinquecento*. Padua: Libreria Universitaria, 2012: 80 (first edition: Bologna: Il Mulino, 1994); the editions of Dante and Petrarch by Bembo from the years 1501-1502 were relevant for the suppression of medieval slash for the modern orthographic comma.

22. Mateu Ibars, Josefina; Mateu Ibars, M^a. Dolores. *Colectánea paleográfica de la Corona de Aragón (siglos IX-XVIII)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1980: I, 128.

23. As the copist who transcribed the works of Roís de Corella will do a century after in the *Cançoner de Mayans*.



discussions would have been avoided about which was the “homeland” of the Curial (*aquest llombart*, “this Lombard”, the writer says explicitly, *CeG* III.82), based on the position of a comma that the author puts, in fact, to avoid misunderstandings: *Fonch ja ha lonch temps / segons yo he legit >en Cathalunya< / un gentil hom* [blank space] *appellat...*²⁴ As Riquer already warned: we must bear in mind the idea that the author, who probably recited in Naples, remembers (or pretends remembering, according to a perverse medieval literary *topos*) that he had read the events of Curial the Lombard in a faraway Catalonia.

2.4 The Valencian Lexicon: Is It Another Anomaly...?

Having already checked some codicological, orthographical and palaeographical topics, Riera finds a *linguistic anomaly* in the fact that *Curial* presents —different from the literary texts from that time²⁵— evident Valencian lexical preferences.²⁶ Riera considers it, moreover, as an *engany de base* (“trick from the beginning”), for understanding that the work could be false and from the 19th century. He does not specify, in fact, what is the “trick” he refers to. Did Milà i Fontanals —the possible forger— fake he was an author from the Valencian golden age? Was he advised by some friend from Valencia, those that looked for *culleretes*, *raboses* and *oronelles* in the *séquies* of the *alqueries*, and marked the pitchers with *almànguena*...? Logically, the supposition of the trick is hard to admit, but not the warning about the fact that the *Valencianisms*²⁷ constitute another idiolect component more in a text with a culturally hybrid language, not exempt from several words from Castilian, Italian, French, archaisms and neologisms, altogether.²⁸ If that is the case, we will have to think —consequently— as Curt Wittlin does, in *a well-travelled novelist from the kingdom of Valencia, who had reasons to remain anonymous*.²⁹ In the learning and “travelling” journey of this author, a journey that necessarily goes through Valencia, he finds undoubtedly the cornerstone for a right cultural contextualisation and literary interpretation of *Curial e Güelfa*.

24. “It was a long time ago / according to what I have read >in Catalonia< / there was a gentle man [blank space] called...” (*CeG* I.1).

25. *No hi ha cap escriptor principatí del segle XV que presente les característiques lèxiques del Curial, ni cap escriptor valencià coetani que concentre en la seua obra un nombre de preferències lèxiques valencianes tan elevat com l'autor del Curial*, (“There is no writer in Catalonia in the 15th century that presents the lexical characteristics of *Curial*, nor any contemporary Valencian writer who concentrates in his work a number of Valencian lexical preferences as high as the author of *Curial*”), according to Ferrando Francés, Antoni. “Precaucions metodològiques...”: 81.

26. See, among others, Veny, Joan. “Valencianitat del ‘Curial’”, *Estudis lingüístics*...: 1089-1106, especially 1090.

27. Typical lexical words used in Valencian region (Translator’s Note).

28. Riera Sans, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles XIII...”: 481.

29. Wittlin, Curt. “Ressenya a Wheeler, Max W. (transl.) (2011), ‘Curial and Guelfa. A classic of the Crown of Aragon’. Translated into English by Max W. Wheeler. Amsterdam: John Benjamins (IVTRA Research in Linguistics and Literature, vol. 2)”. *Estudis Romànics*, 36 (2014): 614-617, especially 617.



To the anomalous valencianity of the *Curial*, Riera also added the anomaly of some neologisms. He put the example of the adjective *glomerós* (“swarming”), which appears in three occasions in the work and *no té paral·lel en cap llengua veïna*, a circumstance that *indica, ben clarament, que estem en presència d’una fictícia producció moderna*.³⁰ Not necessarily: it is a word taken from the original and Latin version of the *Historia destructionis Troyae* by the Italian Guido delle Colonne, which was the version that the anonymous writer consulted, instead of the Catalan version by Jaume Conesa.³¹ Where Guido writes *fuge subsidium*, the writer of the chivalric romance copies [*donar-se a*] *subsidi de fuyta* (“to find a way of escape”). And there Guido writes in *glomerosa multitudine pugnatorum* (original sentence, practically a hapax of his own and in the *Curial*),³² the author in question—and who cannot be Manuel Milà i Fontanals—applies it to combat situations against the new *teucris* of the humanists, the ‘Trojans’ of the 15th century in Italy,³³ of the kind: *desquaernen aquella multitud glomerosa dels turchs* (CeG III.91).³⁴ Conesa (*Històries troyanes*, 1367-1372) preferred to translate it for *ab gran multitud de combatents*;³⁵ the Castilian translator Pedro de Chinchilla (*Libro de la Historia Troyana*, 1443) preferred the alternative formula *con muy grand compañía de gente de armas*.³⁶

2.5 Horace and the literary culture of the anonymous author

Riera speaks ironically about the classical sources that the author of the *Curial* expresses to be aware of: *Fa tan bonic de tenir una menció d’Horaci a la nostra literatura, en una època que les altres pràcticament el desconeixien!*³⁷ In fact, the mention by *Curial* (*Cert és a mi que vosaltres fes companyia a Homero, Virgílio, Oràcio, Ovídio e a Lucano e a molts altres...*,³⁸ CeG III.28) depends directly on Dante (*Inf.* IV, 88-90): *quelli è Omero*

30. “has no comparison with any other neighbouring language”; “indicates—clearly—that we are facing a modern fictional production.”

31. Martines, Josep. “Aproximació a les novetats lèxiques i semàntiques del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *Estudis lingüístics...*: 941-998, especially 990.

32. “through a swarming multitude of fighters”. Delle Colonne, Guido. *Historia destructionis Troiae*. ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin, Cambridge (Mass.): Medieval Academy of America, 1936: 169.

33. See Bisaha, Nancy. “The New Barbarian: Redefining the Turks in classical terms”, *Creating East and West. Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004: 43-93.

34. “they disorganize that swarming multitude of Turks”.

35. “with a great multitude of fighters”. Delle Colonne, Guido. *Les Històries troyanes de Guiu de Columpnès; traduïdes al català en el XIV^{en} segle per en Jacme Conesa, y ara per primera volta publicades per R. Miquel y Planas*. Barcelona: Miquel Rius, 1916: 182.

36. “With great company of people with weapons”. Delle Colonne, Guido. *Libro de la Historia Troyana*. transl. Pedro de Chinchilla; ed. M^a. Dolores Peláez Benítez, Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1999: 229.

37. “It is so beautiful to have a mention of Horace in our literatura, in a time where the others virtually didn’t know about him!”. Riera Sans, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles XIII...”: 482.

38. “It is true for me that you are companions of Homer, Virgil, Orace, Ovid and Lucan and many others...”



*poeta sovrano / l'altro è Orazio satiro che vene; / Ovidio è 'l terzo, e l'último Lucano.*³⁹ Let's pay attention, moreover, in the orthographic influence of the Tuscan writer: *Orazio* > *Oràcio*. So, there's no need that the author of the Catalan novel had a direct knowledge of the classic.

2.6 *Curial and Don Quixote de la Mancha, before the lions*

It is true that the *Curial* displays some element in the plot—as an anecdote—in common with *Don Quixote*. Riera attributes it to a plagiarism of Cervantes by Milà i Fontanals suffering the 'Erasmus syndrome'. He quotes an essay by Manuel Montoliu⁴⁰ to compare *l'aventura de l'hidalgo manchego en la segona part del Quijote*⁴¹ with the fight of *Curial* with the lions in the 'farmyard' of the king of Tunisia in the book III of the novel. Both authors, Cervantes and—much more directly—the anonymous writer we are looking for, got inspiration from a medieval Castilian chronicle, as Anna Cortadellas⁴² explains. This Castilian chronicle also attracted attention to Beuter (Valencia, 1551): *Era valiente cavallero este infante don Henrrique (...). Le llamó el rey [of Tunisia] en un corral (...) Y salióse del corral (...) abriendo una otra de una estancia do havía dos bravos leones...*⁴³ The coincidences of this text with the *Curial* are eloquent, but Beuter wrote after the anonymous writer and some decades before *Don Quixote*.

2.7 *Is the Curial a modern novel? A disconcerting literary genre*

Jaume Riera stated his "disconcert" in the verification that the *Curial* presented some constructive, narrative and other elements that made the book a medieval *rara avis*, or even approached it to the modern novel. It was based on a critical comment by Sanvisenti that would be fortunate in successive approaches and editorial introductions to the *Curial*: the verification that this narrative is closer *alla formula*

39. Alighieri, Dante. *Divina Comèdia*, transl. Joan-Francesc Mira. Barcelona: Proa, 2009: 58-59 ("Homer is, the sovereign poet; Horace, / the satirist, the one that cometh next; / the third is Ovid, Lucan is the last", Langdon, Courtney. *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1918: I, 45).

40. Montoliu, Manuel de. "Curial e Güelfa", *Un escorç en la poesia i novel·lística dels segles XIV i XV*. Barcelona: Alpha, 1961: 47-70, especially 63-64.

41. "The adventure of the nobleman from La Mancha in the second part of *Don Quixote*". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 482.

42. Cortadellas Vallès, Anna. *Repertori de llegendes historiogràfiques de la Corona d'Aragó*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2001: 32.

43. "This infant Mr. Henrrique was a brave knight (...). The king [of Tunisia] called him in a farmyard (...) And he went out of the farmyard (...) opening another chamber where there were two brave lions..." Beuter, Pedro Antonio. *Segunda parte de la Corónica general de España, y especialmente de Aragón, Cathaluña y Valencia*. Valencia: Joan de Mey, Valencia, 1551: f. 129v (ll. II, cap. 46).



d'uno dei tipi del romanzo storico moderno.⁴⁴ Comas considered it an announcement of *la novel·la històrica del Romanticisme*.⁴⁵ Riquer observed that *l'autor del Curial escriu el que modernament en diríem una novel·la històrica*.⁴⁶ And Riera concluded: *...d'on resulta, és clar, que el Curial e Güelfa ha de ser posterior a 1826, data de la primera edició espanyola d'una novel·la de Walter Scott*. And, moreover, it contained according to him *elements de la novel·la de fulletó*.⁴⁷

These elements *de fulletó* ('of melodramatic novel') are what Sònia Gros⁴⁸ and other critics document as narrative techniques and the lyrical-rhetorical resources learnt from Boccaccio. Certainly, the novel contains technical and literary aspects (subtle irony, satire, parody of chivalry...) that announce what the modern novel would become afterwards, understood as a tradition that has its starting and brilliant point in *Don Quixote*. If Miguel de Cervantes had had access to *Curial e Güelfa*, he would have reprieved it from the fire, as he does in fact with *Tirant lo Blanc*. In short, the innovations and creative audacities of the anonymous writer should not be a reason to find it strange, but to make the scholars and lovers of Catalan literature be glad.

2.8 The heraldic 'burell' and the Neapolitan attire

Riera bases on Riquer⁴⁹ to consider that the colour *burell*⁵⁰ in the heraldic in the *Curial*, *no s'ha fet servir mai en heràldica*.⁵¹ He does not take into account that in the *Curial* —different from, for instance, the *Saintré* by La Sale— it doesn't matter so much the heraldic orthodoxy, but Dante's allegory, in the Italian way. The writer himself announces in the novel which knights and for what reason they will use *burell* colour, *si són amorosos de viudes, vèngan ab paraments burells e negres*⁵² (CeG I.26). These colours, adopted by Curial in praise of the widow Güelfa, were the ones that the widows at that time used to wear as a sign of mourning. It is obvious that

44. "to the formula of one of the kinds of modern historical novels". Sanvisenti, Bernardo. "Su le fonti e la patria del 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Studi medievali*, 1/1 (1904-1905): 94-106.

45. "The historical novel of Romanticism". Comas, Antoni. "Escolis a 'Curial e Güelfa'", *Assaigs sobre literatura catalana*. Barcelona: Tàber, 1968: 45-107.

46. "The Curial's autor writes what we would say in modern times a historical novel". Riquer, Martí de. "Curial e Güelfa", *Història de la literatura catalana*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1964: II, 602-631.

47. "...so we can conclude, clearly, that *Curial e Güelfa* must have been created after 1826, the date of the first Spanish edition of a novel by Walter Scott."; "elements of the melodramatic novel.". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 483.

48. Gros Lladós, Sònia. 'Aquella dolçor amarga'. *La tradició amatòria clàssica en el 'Curial e Güelfa'*. València: Universitat de València, 2015.

49. Riquer, Martí de. "Els metalls, les colors i les pennes en heràldica catalana", *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes*, 4, Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1981: 87-107.

50. The term *burell* refers to a dark color similar to a dark grey especially used in the clothing of poor people or as a sign of mourning and it has no translation into English (Translator's Note).

51. "has never been used in heraldry". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 483-484.

52. "If they are in love with widows, they must come with black or 'burell' clothes".



in the Catalonia of Gabriel Turell (*Arbre d'honor*, 1471) the *burell* colour was an ignoble colour, inappropriate for heraldic usage: *Del lehonat e burell (...): en armeria no són compresas*.⁵³ *Burell* colour was a grey reserved for the attire of poor people and begging clerks, or for mourning clothes. The Envy appears allegorised in *Curial* wearing *una roba burella de drap gros*⁵⁴ (CeG III.94). And the *semé* of fine gold of the fleurs de lis of *Rena(r)t d'Anjou* is downgraded heraldically into *renarts burells* ("burell color vixens"). However, we must take into account that, in the Italian refined court of the king of Aragon the *burell* colour was widely used according to the heraldic austerity and the connatural attire of the country.⁵⁵ Alfonso V ordered to bring from England fabrics of *frisó, coloris burell*, of great quality.⁵⁶ This fabric was known as the *burell blanquinós de frisó de Flandes*,⁵⁷ according to a document from 1437,⁵⁸ to distinguish it from the dark and coarse *burell*. In the autumn of 1450, the Magnanimous king sent purchasers to Flanders with the order to bring him *dues peces de drap de llana inglés, burell, del pus bell e ffi que trobar se porà e de la sort que-s diu no hix may de Inglaterra: tant és ffi! E que sia burell net, sens neguna mescla. E per aquesta rahó lo u los dos d'ells passaran en Inglaterra*.⁵⁹ The studies of the royal wardrobe in Castel Nuovo and the humanistic sources tell us that Alfonso the Magnanimous used to dress with black and *burell* colour,⁶⁰ like Curial. This is an indicator among many others that helps us to relate the genesis of the text in the court in Naples.

2.9 Allegorical heralds and young squires with badly cut tunics

The heralds with abstract names also attracted Riera's attention: *Bon panser, Venjança, Bonté*. He explains that, *si més no, durant el segle XV, no s'ha documentat*

53. "Regarding the lehonat and burell color (...): they are not military purposes". Turell, Gabriel. *Arbre d'honor*. Barcelona: Barcino, 1992: 71.

54. "A 'burell' clothing with thick fabric".

55. The merchants from Barcelona loaded fabrics *acolorats de roba scura, prout est usaticum pro partibus Sicilie*. See Carrère, Claude. *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés (1380-1462)*. Paris: Mouton et Cie., 1967: 151.

56. "Frisian, 'burell' color". Batlle Gallart, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973: 389.

57. "whitish 'burell' color of Frisian cloths from Flanders".

58. Colón Domènech, Germà. *De Ramon Llull al Diccionari de Fabra. Acostament lingüístic a les lletres catalanes*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2003: 157-165, especially 260.

59. "Two pieces of English wool fabric, 'burell' color, of the most beautiful and finest that can be found and the one that it is said it is never exported from England: it's so fine! And it's neatly 'burell' color, without any mixture. And for this reason one and the other will pass to England." ACA, Cancelleria reial, reg. 2658, f. 70v (Castel Nuovo in Naples, 19th November 1450).

60. According to Montalto, Lina. "Vesti e gale alla corte aragonese: I. Il tesoro e la guardaroba di Alfonso primo; II. La guardaroba di Ferrante, duca di Calabria, i III. La guardaroba di Isabella, duchessa di Calabria, e dei suoi figli". *Napoli nobilissima. Rivista d'arte e di topografia napoletana*, [New Series] 1 (1920): 25-29, 41-44, 70-73, 127-130 and 142-146 (especially 27), the king of Aragon used *...non gravi di ricami d'oro e di seta, non pesanti per sfarzo di pellicie (...); la clothes, di damasco o velluto nero o 'burello' (...); egli indossa di colore oscuro*.



cap herald que porti nom abstracte.⁶¹ But it's not like that, in fact: they were very common in the flamboyant Gothic Europe. In the Navarre of 1446, Riquer records a pursuivant called *Léal* ("Loyal").⁶² In 1450, the king of England sent another pursuivant to Burgundy with the name of *Bonreport*, which reminds us to the Bon Panser in *Curial*.⁶³ Around 1430, the king of Navarre, Juan de Trastámara, sibling of Alfonso the Magnanimous had a herald called Pamplona and a pursuivant called *Bonne Foi* ("Good faith"), an allegorical and abstract denomination very close in meaning to the one of Bonté in *Curial e Güelfa*.⁶⁴ *E così via*. We cannot find as strange some ironies of the kind *Ara pusch yo ésser apellat lo donzell de la cota mal tallada*⁶⁵ (CeG I.42). And even more when the author warns us that they were laughing at the one speaking: *Curial, sentint ço de què reyen, dix...*⁶⁶ Riera considers that the words by the Lombard are incoherent, because everyone knew that he was an armed knight and nobody *no podia prendre'l per donzell*.⁶⁷ However, what the author does is, simply, to allude parodically to a well-known character of the *Tristan en prose*, called *le chevalier à la Cote Mal Taillée*, as Badia and Torró explain.⁶⁸

2.10 Golden scourges and crossed swords

Un escut amb unes deixuplines, according to Riera, és introbable al segle XV.⁶⁹ Perhaps that could happen in Catalonia, but not in Milan, where Güelfa was the 'suzerain'. There, when the Ambrosian Republic was established (1447), the defenders of communal freedom raised the flag of saint Ambrogio carrying golden whips (the popular *staffile*), with which —according to the tradition— had expelled the Arian heretics and now scared away the enemies of the country. A new currency was coined with the same emblem and they were called *ambrosini*.⁷⁰ As it is known, the clergymen used as heraldic mobile goods some objects related to their religious profession: mitres, sticks, aspergillums, scourge for self-mortification, etc. We ignore if it is a coincidence, but in August 1447 the duchy palace in Milan was full of Catalan speakers —the flags of the coat of arms of the crown of Aragon fluttered on

61. "At least, during the 15th century, no herald has been named with an abstract name." Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 484.

62. Riquer, Martí de. *Caballeros andantes españoles*. Madrid: Gredos, 2008: 23 (first edition: Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967).

63. Ferguson, John. *English Diplomacy (1422-1461)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972: 188 and 202.

64. Ferguson, John. *English Diplomacy...*: 201.

65. "Now I could be named the page with the badly cut tunic".

66. "Curial —listening that they were laughing— says...".

67. "could consider him to be a page". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 484.

68. *Curial e Güelfa*, eds. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró...: 572-573.

69. "A shield with some whips... was imposible to be found in the 15th century". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 484.

70. Ghiglione, Natale. *La Repubblica Ambrosiana (1447-1450). S. Ambrogio, patrono e protettore dello stato dalla libertà*. Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2011.



the towers, before the communal revolution— and the paper with which a part of the *Curial*'s manuscript was transcribed (with watermarks of the *Biscia Viscontea*) was the same that the duchy administration in Milan used in 1447.⁷¹

Well, the coat of the scourges of the *Curial* doesn't have as much relation with Milan as with the Aragonese nobleman *Johan Martines de Luna*, lord of Illueca, protected in his young age by his uncle the antipope Benedict XIII, whose mortal remains he recovered in 1430 to honour them.⁷² The writer could have the impulse to associate the knight with the golden scourges of the pope Luna, perhaps alluding in a literary joke to what had been *Ecclesiae masrix* or *Ecclesiae flagitium* ("a whip of the Church"), according to a nickname traditionally applied by the papist legitimacy to the most obstinate and intransigent antipopes.

Un escut amb dues espases entrecruades, according to Riera, és més propi del general Prim que del rei Pere.⁷³ Perhaps he is right, but it was also a known symbol in Italy. We believe that the love story of *Curial* (< Imperial *Curia*, German Hohenstaufen, Crown of Aragon...) and the *Güelfa* (< the Church, Anjou of Naples, Italy...) is interfered or has allegorical connotations —as Antoni Ferrando⁷⁴ deduced— to commemorate the triumph of the king of Aragon in Naples (1442) and his adoption —by means of the agreements of Terracina with the Church (1443)— of the double succeeding legitimacy: [1st] as a heir of Conradin of Sicily for being the king of Aragon, and [2nd] as a heir of Charles d'Anjou, for being Joanna II of Naples' adoptive son. For that reason *Curial* visits consecutively Sicily and *Partenope* (Naples), at the expense of falling in a venial literary anachronism, making as coetaneous the reigns of Charles and Conradin. We must also remember that a novel of propaganda from Anjou like *Pierre de Provence* (Neapolitan court of René of Anjou?; 1437, in a first draft), presents a protagonist armed with the crossed keys of *Pierre*, who becomes the king of Naples. This work story contains some repeated plot elements —symptomatically— with episodes set in Tunisia in the *Curial*,⁷⁵ and uses symbols (the name of *Pierre*, and St *Pierre*, Provence, the keys of the Church...) that are linked to the vexillological and iconographic tradition of the Naples of the Anjou. There, the kings —the Anjou from Provence— were not only vassals of the pope of Rome, but also the defenders and *gonfalonieri* of the Church. For that reason they held, as the king Alfonso will hold, the crossed keys of St Peter Apostle to the battlefield. The author of the *Curial* could have interpreted that

71. Topic announced in Soler, Abel, "Iconografia italiana i literatura cavalleresca catalana: les al·legories de les arts liberals en *Curial e Güelfa*", *Linguaggi del metareale nella cultura catalana*. Veronica Orazi, Silvia Grassi, Lúcia Carol Geronès, Simone Sari, Isabel Turull, eds. Turin: Dipartimento di Lingue e letterature straniere e culture moderne dell'Università di Torino, 2016: 41-57.

72. Febrer Ibáñez, Juan José. *Peñíscola. Apuntes históricos*. Castellon de la Plana: Hijo de J. Armengot, 1924: 194-196.

73. "A shield with two crossed swords (...) is more typical of the general Prim than King Pere." Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 484.

74. Ferrando, Antoni. "'Curial e Güelfa': una història amorosa en clau?". *Dones i literatura entre l'edat mitjana i el Renaixement*. Ricard Bellveser, ed. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2012: II, 797-830.

75. As it has been stated by Babbi, Anna Maria. "Il 'Curial e Güelfa' e i romanzi francesi del XV secolo". *Estudis lingüístics i culturals...*: 139-156.



putting in the hands of *Pere* in the *Curial* —*lo rei d'Aragó* (“the King of Aragon”)⁷⁶— some crossed keys would have meant lowering the Crown of Aragon to a field of submission to Rome as the Anjou traditionally acknowledged, and also the author of *Pierre*. Being rebellious against this symbolical-political perspective, the writer *makes up* an allegorical flag of the king of Aragon according to the political dream of Dante expressed in *De monarchia*. Alighieri had into consideration the papal bull *Unam Sanctam* of the Neapolitan jurist Benedetto Gaetani (pope Boniface VIII, 1294-1303), where they spoke about two allegorical *Peter's swords*, and where the sword of the spiritual power (the *Guelph* Party, Rome) prevailed to the sword of temporal power (the *Gibellin* Party, the Imperial Curia).⁷⁷ For Dante —and for the anonymous author— it was the time when the temporal power of a monarch could take the reins of a peaceful Italy and would cooperate harmonically with the Church, but without being to be subdued to it. We notice how the writer promises an “award” to the love of Curial and Güelfa when the work begins, but ends up making the ‘lady’, at the end of the story, a mere feminine escort of the triumphant hero: the crowned *princeps*, Curial. This feasible allegorical reading —reserved to some listeners or learned readers in political and Dante’s issues— should be taken into account, as Ferrando advised, by those who aspire to a thorough interpretation of the literary intention of the anonymous writer and the reasons that led him to write it.

It is easier —and less cryptic— the explanation of certain heraldic emblems, like the golden wing that the duke of Orleans orders to make for the love of Lachesis, and that Riera also considers being strange and parodic.⁷⁸ In the Middle Ages the speaking wings —or not speaking ones— were common in heraldry: it appears, for instance, in medieval blazons of municipalities like *AL-cora*, *AL-baida*, *AL-coi*, etc. The noble family Villena from Valencia and Naples painted in their wall decorations a wing with a hand holding a sword, to depict the name of *Manu-El*, interpreted as *manu-ala* or *in manu, ala*.⁷⁹ Likewise, in the *Curial*, and in honour to the *verge alamanya* (“German virgin”) Lachesis (*CeG* I.40), the duke of Orleans will bring a green insignia (the colour of love) decorated with a golden wing. The *VER-ge ALA-manya* and the duke in love *D'OR-leans* justify the colour *VER-da* with an *ALA* (*MAGNA*) *D'OR*.⁸⁰

76. *Curial e Güelfa*, eds. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró...

77. Pertile, Antonio. *Storia del diritto italiano, dalla caduta dell'Impero Romano alla codificazione*. Padova: Istituto del Diritto Pubblico e delle Fonti del Diritto; Fratelli Salmin, 1892-1902: I, 302 and n. 39.

78. Riera Sans, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles XIII...”: 484.

79. See Mira, Eduard. “Sor Isabel de Villena / Elionor d'Aragó-Anjou. Heràldica i intencionalitat comunicativa”. *Dones i literatura entre l'edat mitjana i el Renaixement*. Ricard Bellveser, ed. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2012: II, 759-796.

80. Soler, Abel, “‘Cuer desirous’. Enigmes lírics i mots heràldics en el ‘Curial’”. *Tirant*, 19 (2016): 253-274, especially 260.



2.11 The alternation *tu/vos* and the Pallars from Mediona

The alternation that the author makes in the dialogues between *tu* and *vos*⁸¹ as a treatment is the one that corresponds to the Catalan language from the 15th century. The philologist Martí Mestre considers there is nothing to comment about.⁸² Both in *Decameron* —main literary referent for the anonymous writer of the *Curial*— and in *Tirant*, don't display many differences in this alternation. The fact that the envious courtiers or Curial himself treat their lord as *tu* (you), the marquis of Montferrat, responds to what was normal then in informal discussions. It is not, as Riera supposes, a distraction.⁸³ Nevertheless, in certain circumstances, for instance the meeting with a stranger, it was common to address him as *vos*, as a sign of politeness: *Cavaller, yo no us coneix, ne encara coneix aqueixa senyora, però, si axí és com vós diets...*⁸⁴ (CeG I.14).

It is not any *disbarat* ("folly"),⁸⁵ but a subtly hidden sarcasm, the fact that the writer makes the counts of Pallars descend from the house of *Madiona*/Mediona. The obvious joke —among many others contained in the work— takes the shape of a remark ironically addressed to certain dedicatee (if there was a real dedicatee and not a figurative one): *E sapiats que d'aquell linatge de Madiona són exits tots los de la casa de Pallars, e aquells eren cap e principi de tot lo linatge*⁸⁶ (CeG III.70). Anton Espadaler believes that this is an *elogi de la casa de Pallars, d'inequívoc sentit polític*,⁸⁷ which could be related to Hug-Roger de Pallars, general captain of Catalonia, or someone around him, in the context of the war against Joan II of Aragon (1462-1472).⁸⁸ Likewise, the complete absence of genealogical foundation of this remark disturbs⁸⁹ him: the Pallars lineage have —absolutely— nothing to do with Mediona or the Mediona. Antoni Ferrando sees here *una llicència literària (...), possiblement amb una finalitat que ara com ara se'ns escapa*.⁹⁰ Riera recalls a text by Beuter (16th century) where Guillem de Mediona appears and, after switching to a different topic, the author tells afterwards the legend of the son of an emperor who came to

81. Formal lexical item for *you*, with unnoticeable distinction in English (Translator's Note).

82. Martí Mestre, Joaquim. "Aspectes de morfologia nominal en el *Curial e Güelfa*". *Estudis lingüístics...*: 597-630, especially 611-615.

83. Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 484-485.

84. "Knight, I don't know you, nor I know that woman, but, if it is as you say..."

85. Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 485.

86. "And you must know that from that lineage of Madiona appeared all the ones of the house Pallars, and those were the beginning and ending of the whole lineage".

87. "a praise of the house Pallars, with a clear political sense".

88. Espadaler, Anton-M., "'Curial e Güelfa': El jo de l'autor i la història", *Estudis lingüístics...*: 277-286 (278). See, by the same author, Espadaler, Anton-M., "Sobre el lloc i l'ocasió del 'Curial e Güelfa'", *El (re) descobriment de l'edat moderna. Estudis d'homenatge a Eulàlia Duran*, Eulàlia Miralles, Josep Soler Vicens eds. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2007: 221-231.

89. Or, if not, it disturbed him many years ago. See Espadaler, Anton-M. *Una reina per a Curial*. Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1984: 74.

90. "a literary license (...), perhaps with a hidden purpose that we cannot reach". Ferrando, Antoni. "'Curial e Güelfa': una història amorosa...": 825.



Catalonia in Carolingian times, who *fue heredado del condado de Pallars, y por esso hazen las águilas con unas pajas en medio, que son de aquel linaje*.⁹¹ This learned reference does not relate —absolutely— Mediona with Pallars, but Riera considers it enough to think about a note by Beuter taken hazardously by Milà i Fontanals as the reason for this genealogical bond Mediona-Pallars.

In fact, as the *Llibre dels reis* and some other medieval chronicle that appeared afterwards explain, the Pallars were not —but the Cardona— the ones who —according to a legend lacking genealogical and documental foundation— were descendant from ‘the’ Madiona:

*E vengueren ab lo dit compte [Guifré el Pelós], entre ·ls altres nobles e cavalers, en Guillem de Mediona, qui depuys fo vescompte e era cavalier françés (...). E d'aquí avant (...) senyorejà Catalunya [Guifré] ·XXXIII· anys. E après poch de temps creà en Guillem vescompte de Mediona, qui depuys fo vescompte de Cardona.*⁹²

As a consequence, the house of Cardona would have descended from a legendary house of the viscounts of Mediona. Thus is also recorded in the *Flos mundi*, another well-known universal Catalan chronicle (ca. 1407; BnF, ms. Esp. 11) informed by the previous one and accessible in the Neapolitan library of the Magnanimous.⁹³ Perhaps, the Cardona from Naples repudiated —with documents and genealogies at hand— (as their descendants would do afterwards: *¡quan errado vaya el Flos mundi en esto!*, the genealogist Llobet will say with outrage in the 17th century)⁹⁴ about the probable mythical origin. Cardona is a great town and castle; Mediona, a tiny *varvassoria*⁹⁵ in comparison... By doing this, the writer would have played in that dispensable remark —as he does in many other cases— to the pseudo-etymological witticism (*Mà-d[i]óna < in manu donat o mihi donat*) to allude to the ruined Pallars —and not the learned and opulent Cardona-Villena from Valencia-Naples— as the true descendants from the house of Mediona.⁹⁶

91. “it was inherited from the county of Pallars, and for that reason they make the eagles with some straw in the middle, as they come from that lineage”. Beuter, Pedro Antonio, *Segunda parte...*, f. 24v.

92. “And with the aforementioned count [Guifré el Pelós], came among the other noblemen and knights, Mr Guillem de Mediona, who afterwards was viscount and was a French knight (...). And from then onwards (...) ruled Catalonia [Guifré] 34 years. And who soon after made Guillem become viscount of Mediona, who afterwards became viscount of Cardona”. *Llibre dels reis*, ed. Stefano M. Cingolani, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 243 (chap. 40, f. 268v).

93. *Dietari del capellà d'Anfós el Magnànim*, ed. Josep Sanchis Sivera, Valencia: Acció Bibliogràfica Valenciana, 1932: xx, comments that the autor of the diary that he is editing, and that is attributed —in some part— to Melcior Miralles, would have consulted the *Flos mundi* in Naples.

94. “¡the ‘Flos mundi’ is so much mistaken in this!” Llobet, Bernat-Josep. *Declaración del árbol de la genealogía y descendencia de los antiquísimos, nobilísimos y excelentísimos vizcondes, condes y duques de Cardona, en el Principado de Cataluña*. Barcelona: Antoni Lacavalleria, 1665: f. 4v.

95. From medieval Latin *vassus vassorum* (‘vassal of vassals’), it was the title that, in the Early Catalan feudal middle ages, was given to the owner of a fief from a great vassal, from whom he became a vassal (Translator’s Note).

96. See above the similar case of the lineage *Manuel de Villena*, interpreted as *in manu-ala* or *ala in manu*.



The sarcasm requires further historical-contextual explanation. Arnau-Roger IV of Pallars (1401-1451), count of Pallars Sobirà (1442-1451) and one of the great noblemen in Catalonia, kept the worst possible relationship with the king.⁹⁷ He didn't take part in the war in Italy (1432) and started a private "war" against the count of Foix (1433-1436) that obliged Queen Maria, deputy of Catalonia, to intervene strongly against him.⁹⁸ He fought afterwards, in a new dispute of parties or war between noblemen (decades of 1440-1450) with the Cardona from Catalonia, who were relatives of the Valencian Cardona living in Naples.⁹⁹ Totally in debt, confronted with the ruling queen, pursued by the creditors and strongly criticised by the Catalan Cardona, he set off with a small retinue towards Italy, and remained there for some years (1444-1447) maintained by Alfonso V. In the records of the royal treasury, the succeeding 'alms' or *donatius graciosos* provided by the king to the count, some of them in kind (*draps de seda e llana de Florència*, in February 1446)¹⁰⁰ so as to be able to be dressed according to his nobility rank. He was treated as *magnífich senyor* and *gran conestable del regne d'Aragó* ("Magnificent Lord" and "Great Constable of the Kingdom of Aragon"), but his theoretical magnificence vanished before the richness and elegance of any Neapolitan baron, of those who were accompanied by a small army, as if they were *condottieri*. The wages of the count of Pallars used to be quarterly wages of 50 golden ducats (a regular horse cost around 30 ducats) *per a son sosteniment* ("for his maintenance").¹⁰¹ It was the same salary that got — simultaneously — any of the king's pages, like Giovanni Antonio Caldora... So the beggar's surname of *Madiona* suited him very well. When he came back to Catalonia, in the summer of 1447, the count of Pallars arrived as poor as he had departed and quarrelled again with Queen Maria,¹⁰² so the king had to take the decision to send him to court for rebellion and confiscate his county (1449). He died soon after (1451) absolutely ruined.¹⁰³ The humanist Beccadelli portrays him as a maniac, who

97. Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey. Nobleza y guerra en el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 81, note 113.

98. Josep M. Bringué i Portella, "Arnau Roger de Pallars", *Diccionari d'història de Catalunya*, Jesús Mestre Campi, dir. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1993: 61; Earenfight, Theresa. *The King's Other Body. María of Castile and the Crown of Aragon*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010: 91-93.

99. The conflict derived now and then in urban factions, with peace and truces traceable in Sans-Travé, Josep-Maria dir. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, vol. 1 (1411-1539). Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994. The king was obliged to rule as a referee among dignitaries, as it can be observed in an episode from 1448 collected by Ametller Vinyas, Josep. *Alfonso V de Aragón en Italia y la crisis religiosa del siglo XV; obra póstuma de José Ametller y Vinyas, revisada y dada a luz por Jaime Collell*. Girona: P. Torres, 1903-1904: III, 678.

100. "silk and wool clothes from Florence". See Igual, David; Navarro, Germán. *La tesorería general y los banqueros de Alfonso V el Magnánimo*. Castellon de la Plana: Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura, 1994: 108, 112-113, 146, 161, 187 and following.

101. Mateu Llopis, Felipe. "Algunos documentos referidos a la gestión del tesorero de Alfonso V, Mateu Pujades, en Nápoles, y al 'itinerario' del rey (1441-1447)", *Hispania*, 3 (1940): 3-31, especially 26.

102. Earenfight, Theresa. *The King's Other Body*...: 91-93.

103. Chilà, Roxane. *Une cour à l'épreuve de la conquête: la société curiale et Naples, capitale d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416-1458)*. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III (PhD Dissertation), 2014: III, 252-253 <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01144965/file/2014_CHILA_diff.pdf> (Consulted 12th



even proposed the Magnanimous about a plot to murder the king in Castile. The king of Aragon answered *que, ni per Castella, ni per la senyoria de tota Spanya, ni per lo imperi del món, él permetria ni consellaria tan gran e detestable cas que li paria; que seria nafrar e ensutziar la glòria sua e ofenrrre a Déu volent tal manera de victòria*.¹⁰⁴ This fellow from Pallars could not be very appreciated in Naples.

2.12 'E quals fades me fadaren...?'

Regarding rhetorical questions of the kind *quals fades me fadaren...*?¹⁰⁵ (CeG I.22 and III.28), we can do as Riera does and look for parallelisms in the works of the Catalan authors Joaquim Rubió (1862: *jo era... com un nin a qui han fadat malas fadas*)¹⁰⁶ or Marian Aguiló (1864: *poruc dels fats que em fadaren*).¹⁰⁷ However, just having a look at the 15th century we will find more direct and reasonable sources. As when Enric de Villena (Valencia, 1427) compared the Parcae with the fairies, as the anonymous writer does: *Dijeron los poetas que tres fadas eran que fadaban a todos los omes...*¹⁰⁸ Also, the anonymous Catalan writer of Seneca's *Tragedies*, a work also related with the Valencian court of the Magnanimous, says that the Moires are *tres fades* who, dominated the *fat* or men's destiny.¹⁰⁹ The Castilian Álvarez de Villasandino, protected of the constable Dávalos (a nobleman exiled in Valencia since 1422)¹¹⁰ wrote: *Mas non me fadaron a mi tales fadas / que no meresciese entrar en tal coro*.¹¹¹ The starting point of this Castilian expression can be found in the popular beginning of *Romance de la Infantina*, as follows: *Estas fadas me fadaron, / en haldas de*

October 2016); Sobrequés, Jaume; Sarobe, Ramon; Rella, Ferran. *Hug-Roger III. Epistolari de guerra i exili del darrer comte de Pallars (1451-1500)*. Barcelona: Base, 2008: 24.

104. "that, not for Castile, nor the sovereignty of the whole Spain, nor the empire of the whole world, he would never allow nor advice such a big and neglectable issue that was being born; which would mean injuring and making his glory get dirty and offending God wishing such a way of victory". Beccadelli, Antonio. *Dels fets e dits del gran rey Alfonso*. transl. Jordi de Centelles, Eulàlia Duran; eds. Mariàngela Vilallonga, Joan Ruiz Calonja, Barcelona: Barcino, 1990: 162-163.

105. "Which witches bewitched me?". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 485-486.

106. "I was... like a child who has been bewitched by evil witches". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 485-486.

107. "afraid of the fates that bewitched me". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 485-486.

108. "The poets said that three witches bewitched all men". Villena, Enric de. *Traducción y glosas de la Eneida de Enrique de Villena. Libro segundo*, ed. Pedro Manuel Cátedra. Salamanca: Biblioteca Española del Siglo XV-Diputación de Salamanca, 1989: II, 73.

109. Sèneca, Luci Anneu. *Tragèdies. Traducció catalana medieval amb comentaris del segle XIV de Nicolau Trevet*, ed. Tomàs Martínez Romero, Barcelona: Barcino, 1995: I: 123.

110. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "El 'Cancionero de Baena' como fuente historiográfica de la baja Edad Media castellana: el ejemplo de Ruy López Dávalos", *Cancioneros en Baena. Actas del II Congreso Internacional 'Cancionero de Baena'*. In *memoriam Manuel Alvar*, Jesús L. Serrano Reyes, ed. Baena: Ayuntamiento de Baena, 2003: I, 293-333.

111. "But those witches didn't bewitch me, nor they made me join their choir". Ochoa, Eugenio de, ed. *El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena (siglo XV), ahora por primera vez dado a luz*. Madrid: La Publicidad, 1851: 91.



*una mi tia...*¹¹² The *cancionero* poet Diego del Castillo, in *Parténope la Fulgente* (Naples, 1458), wrote (vv. 93-94): *¡Oh, maldita sea la fada, / cuytada que me fadó!*¹¹³ As it can be observed, it was a very common expression among the Castilian friends of the infants of Aragon who —like Castillo— would find good reception and shelter in the courts in Valencia, Gaeta and Naples. Moreover, the reiterative rhetorical phrase of *Curial quals fades me fadaren...*? is a syntactic calque of the Castilian *¿cuáles fadas me fadaron...*? It constitutes, therefore, the thousandth evidential element that makes us think in the court in Partenope of the Magnanimous as the birthplace of the anonymous chivalric novel: a work written in *lenguatge cathalà*, but permeable to Castilian and Italian loans.

2.13 Anvils of blacksmith and maternal uterus

The sentence *lo brogit del ferir era tan gran, que paria que fossen molts ferrers qui a grans colps ferissen sobre moltes encluses*¹¹⁴ (CeG II.47) attracted Riera's attention, which could be related —according to him— with a work of the *Jocs Florals* in Barcelona in 1862: *dantse forts y espessos colps que ressonavan en llurs armas com los dels martells sobre una enclusa*.¹¹⁵ Without neglecting the coincidence between these two authors, one from the 15th century and the other one from the 19th century, we must warn that the author from the 15th century was a reader of Macrobius and the sentence in question —perhaps in both cases— could be inspired in the anecdote of the classic about how Pythagoras made up the idea of the musical harmony of the spheres. He says that, certain day, *cum enim casu praeteriret in publico fabros ignitum ferrum ictibus mollientes, in aures eius malleorum soni certo sibi respondentem ordine repente ceciderunt*.¹¹⁶

Similar coincidences happen with anecdotes taken from the classics, which Riera finds in authors from the 19th century. For instance, *la imatge del qui es refugiaria, si pogués, en el ventre de la seva mare*,¹¹⁷ appears in *Curial* and in *L'Atlàntida* [1877] by Verdaguer. The author of *Curial* said that, *si Honorada, sa mare, fos stada present, dins lo seu ventre, si pogués, o almenys davall les sues faldes, vergonyosament fugint,*

112. "These witches who bewitched me / in my aunt's skirt". See Suárez López, Jesús. "Romance de la Infantina y el caballero burlado". *Lletres asturianes. Boletín Oficial de l'Academia de la Llingua Asturiana*, 31 (1989): 121-132.

113. "Oh, damned be the sorrowful witch / who bewitched me!" Simó, Lourdes. "'Parténope la fulgente', de Diego del Castillo, y el género de la elegía epistolar en la poesía cancioneril del siglo XV". *Revista de poética medieval*, 6 (2001): 87-114, especially 104.

114. "the screams of the injuries were so big, that it seemed that there were many blacksmiths beating on many anvils".

115. "hitting so strongly that it sounded in their weapons as hammers on anvils." Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 486).

116. Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius. *Commentarii in Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis*. Ludwig von Jan ed., Quedlinburg-Leipzig: Gottfried Bass, 1848: 133.

117. "the image of the one who would take refuge, if he could, in his mother's belly".



*esglayat, se fóra amagat de por*¹¹⁸ (CeG III.24). He was recalling —as Verdaguer?— a reading of Justin,¹¹⁹ of Plutarch or, even, an anecdote in *Iliad*, in the translation done in Naples by Valla, as Jaume Torró¹²⁰ proposes or suggests. We don't think it is advisable, therefore, to resort to friar Cinto or the *Jocs Florals* to search for parallelisms.

2.14 'Alguns digueren que era àguila, altres milà'¹²¹

At certain moment of the action, Curial *tragué un elm molt bell e rich ab un leó qui tenia en les mans un ocell: alguns digueren que era àguila, altres milà*¹²² (CeG I.17). Riera makes the interpretation that this is the author's signature of Manuel Milà, who wanted to falsify the work but leaving clue or hint. What the anonymous writer from the 15th century does is, in fact, using a typical symbolism of moralists and medieval preachers, and Dante's, and of anyone in the Middle Ages to portray the idea that Curial is in a big dilemma: the Güelfa (the lion) tries to make him evolve virtuously: from knight (falcon), to a sovereign prince (eagle). It will be the moral responsibility of the teenager, therefore, to avoid falling in vice and depravation, which can make of him a vile *kite bird*. Well, the one who will judge at the end of the story if he is an eagle or a kite —the bird held by the lion— will not be him, unable of looking at his own crest, but the spectators. This idea of the thousand eyes that look and assess if the prince is a vile man —unworthy to reign— or a virtuous one —according to the moral principles of the philosophers— is a *topos* from the humanistic treatises of the kind *speculum principis*, which could be of interest for the author.¹²³ For the heraldic specialists (Turell, *Arbre d'honor*, 1471) the kite

118. "if Honorada, his mother, would have been present, if he could, he would have hidden in her belly or at least under her skirt, escaping shamefully and terrified".

119. Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *Dido en la literatura española: su retrato y su defensa*. London: Tamesis Bocks, 1974: 112; Plutarque. "Actions corageuses et vertueuses des femmes", *Oeuvres morales de Plutarque, traduites du grec par Ricard*, Paris: Lefèvre, 1844: I, 571-620; Plutarch. *Oposcoli brevi di Plutarco, volgarizzati da Marcello Adriani*. Francesco Ambrosoli ed. Milan: Fratelli Sonzogno, 1826: II, 203.

120. Badia, Lola; Torró, Jaume. "Ambient internacional i cultura de cort en 'Curial e Güelfa': primer suplement a l'edició de Quaderns Crema 2011". *Mediaeval Studies in Honour Curt Wittlin*. Lola Badia, Emili Casanova, Albert Hauf, eds. Alacant: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana, 2015: 51-66, especially 58-63. More details in Torró Torrent, Jaume, "Il romanzo cavalleresco tra letteratura antica e i romanzi cavallereschi francesi e borgognoni", *L'immagine di Alfonso il Magnanimo tra letteratura e storia, tra Corona d'Aragona e Italia*, Fulvio delle Done, Jaume Torró, eds. Florence: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016: 221-240.

121. "Some said it was an eagle, others that it was a kite".

122. "brought a very beautiful and rich helmet with a lion holding a bird with the hands: some said it was an eagle, others said it was a kite".

123. Cappelli, Guido M. "La otra cara del poder. Virtud y legitimidad en el humanismo político", *Tiranía. Aproximaciones a una figura del poder (Actas del Seminario Internacional "Los límites del poder: figuras del tirano")*. Guido M. Cappelli, Antonio Gómez Ramos, eds. Madrid: Dykinson, 2008: 97-120, especially 115-118.



was an ignoble bird, as opposed to the noble eagle, *coratjosa, brava e sforçada*.¹²⁴ In the blazons, the eagle, the falcon and the sparrow hawk are looking up; whereas the kite is looking down.¹²⁵ The vileness of the kite appears again in Giovanni di San Giminiano (1570);¹²⁶ in *L'escoufle*, a *roman* attributed to Jean Renart (author of *Roman de la Rose*); in Ausiàs Marc (chant 64, vv. 25-28);¹²⁷ in Lluís del Milà (*El Cortesano*, Valencia, 1561),¹²⁸ etc. This opposition kite *vs.* falcon-eagle, popular in the 15th century would inspire, however, the allegoric crest of the Italian knight in the novel. And the spectators of the chivalric tournament, which would also represent for Curial an *inner* tournament (the teenager who must know himself), didn't have a clear idea if the young knight (falcon) would become a prince (eagle) or would waste himself (kite). The moral dilemma has nothing to do with any encrypted signature, but with the indecision of the young man between the Güelfa (virtue) and Lachesis (vice). Albert Hauf appeals to *Peraldus* to explain that the kite birds were a metaphor of luxurious men that let themselves be seduced and hunted by 'laces' of the *fembres pecadrius* ("female sinners").¹²⁹ Thanks to the Vicent Ferrer's sermons we know that the metaphor of the kite bird as a lustful man was popular in Valencia around 1400: *¿Pensau-vos, mes filles, que Déus vos haje donades les mamelles per mostrar les frexures als milans, com a putanes?*¹³⁰

2.15 'Manca de procacitat i de cultura teològica'¹³¹

Willing to issue a careful opinion about the literary quality of the *Curial*, Riera thinks that are *trets negatius* [*sic*] of the *Curial* the *manca de procacitat i de cultura teològica*¹³² that the author shows, in contrast to his varied—and even surprising—

124. "corageous, brave and hardworking". Turell, Gabriel. *Arbre d'honor*. Barcelona: Barcino, 1992: 62-63.

125. Turell, Gabriel. *Arbre d'honor...*, prints 1 and 2, respectively.

126. Di San Giminiano, friar Giovanni. *Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus locupletissima*. Cologne: Giovanni Arnoldo Cholini, 1570: 119. Quoted by Hauf, Albert. "Sedució (Làquesis) versus elecció i gràcia prevenint (Güelfa): El dilema de Curial (Mt 6, 22-24)", *Estudis lingüístics...*: 327-362, especially 337, note 16.

127. Pagès. Amédée. *Ausiàs March i els seus predecessors*. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1990: 233.

128. Milà, Lluís del. *El Cortesano*, ed. Vicent-Josep Escartí, Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2010: 235.

129. Peyralt, Guilhem. *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* [ca. 1236]. Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1571: II, 63b. Quoted by Hauf, Albert. "Sedució (Làquesis) 'versus' elecció i gràcia prevenint (Güelfa): El dilema de Curial (Mt 6, 22-24)". *Estudis lingüístics...*: 327-362, especially 348.

130. "Do you believe, my daughters, that God has given you your breasts to show your insides to the kite birds like whores?" in Ferrer, Vicent. "Sermo Navitivitatis Virginis Mariae", *Sermons*. Gret Schib, ed. Barcelona: Barcino, 1971-1988: III, 257. Quoted by Hauf, Albert. "Sedució (Làquesis) 'versus' elecció...": 349.

131. "The lack of insolence and theological culture". Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 486.

132. "negavite features [*sic*] of the Curial the lack of insolence and theological culture" Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 486.



literary culture.¹³³ Should —the anonymous writer— be indecent, like Joanot Martorell? Or an expert in theology like Antoni Canals? Not necessarily. What Riera defines as *negative* features (the subtlety in the language, the restrained eroticism, the pagan and worldly focusing...), because they discard the novel as a genuine medieval work, portray it, on the other hand, as a fresh and innovative text. And the truth is that the *Curial* follows the ideological guidelines of the Italian humanism, and we could even define it as a text of *humanistic chivalry*, like the epic poems of the Florence of the Medici, where chivalry and pagan mythology merged. It is not strange, as a consequence, that Riera resorts to quote Lola Badia: *Poesia i filosofia són per al nostre anònim dos vessants complementaris i en certa manera simètrics del saber, que desitja veure ben arrelats en el seu protagonista (...). Poesia i filosofia convergeixen cap a un mateix ideal ètic.*¹³⁴ This attitude has nothing to do with 19th century's attitude, nor with the Barcelona of Milà i Fontanals, but with the Italy of the *Quattrocento*; a country where —as Kristeller explains— *los humanistas eran identificados a menudo como oradores, o como poetae et oratores, antes de que el término humanista hubiera entrado en uso.*¹³⁵ Thus it is explained the fact that the unknown author of the *Curial* crowns symbolically his *alter ego* with paper as the *millor e pus valent entre los cavallers, e major de tots los poetes e oradors qui vuy són*¹³⁶ (CeG III.34), because chivalry and humanism were compatible for him.

3. Weirdness and mysteries: Rosa Navarro's contribution

Twenty years after Riera formulated his controversial theory, which is hard to sustain nowadays, Rosa Navarro Durán continued it with the objective of increasing the possible evidences that would conclude that Milà i Fontanals was the author of the novel. The *Curial*, qualified once again as an *extraña novela* ("strange novel"), would have many other *misterios a desvelar* ("mysteries to be

133. Riera Sans, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles XIII...": 486.

134. "Poetry and philosophy are for our anonymous autor two complementary sides —and in a certain way simetrical— of knowledge, that he wishes to be rooted in his protagonist (...). Poetry and philosophy merge towards the same ethical ideal". Badia, Lola. "La segona visió mitològica de Curial i notes per a una interpretació de l'anònim català del segle XV", *Actas del I Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Santiago de Compostela, 2 al 6 de diciembre de 1985)*, Vicenç Beltrán, ed. Santiago de Compostela: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1988: 157-176. Badia, Lola. "La segona visió mitològica de Curial i notes per a una interpretació de l'anònim català del segle XV", *Curial i Güelfa. Estudis de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes. XIV*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1987: 265-292, especially 279.

135. "the humanists were usually considered as orators, or like 'poetae et oratores', before the word humanist was widely used". Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "El territorio del humanista", *Historia y crítica de la literatura española, 2. Siglos de oro: Renacimiento*. Francisco Rico, dir., Francisco López Estrada, ed. Barcelona, 1980: 34-44, especially 39.

136. "the best and bravest among the knights, and the greatest of all the poets and orators nowadays" Kristeller, Paul Oskar. "El territorio del humanista...": 39.



revealed").¹³⁷ The scholar, in successive contributions on this topic, has assumed and defended the basic hypotheses by Riera (*extrañezas del códice*, "weirdness in the codex", and other misunderstandings), and has tried to complete them with good sense of humour and some doses of reading perspicacity. She finds it strange, for instance, that the *Curial*—examined by Milà in 1876—was not published by Antoni Rubio until 1901. She should have taken into account the slowness of the publishing processes prior to 1900, and the difficult biographical circumstances of Rubió, which obliged him to delay the edition some years. All this has been treated thoroughly by Eulàlia Miralles and Rafael Roca in a conference about *Curial* held in Verona (October 2016).¹³⁸ And we don't find anything that escapes from normality.

3.1 'Hoc', Andrea and the mountain of Montserrat

According to Rosa Navarro, the affirmative adverb *hoch* ("yes"), instead of *sí*, wouldn't be typical of an author that *se afirma... fue un valenciano que estuvo en la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo de Nápoles*, but someone from Gascony or Languedoc, not from Valencia.¹³⁹ As medievalists and linguists are aware of, *hoc* was a common way to affirm as common in Languedoc as in Valencia in the 15th century, not only in informal environment, but also in formal and notarial registers. Let's make Ausiàs March's testament serve as an example: *dixeren concordantment que "hoch", e yo, dit notari, ab aquells. E que l'havien vist criar en la vila de Gandia*.¹⁴⁰

Andrea, in Italian, was and it is a male name. And *no es posible que un catalán de la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo en Nápoles, como se afirma, pueda ponerle ese nombre a dama tan destacada en la obra*.¹⁴¹ The lady does not stand out in the work's plot, nor is strange

137. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña novela: 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Clarín. Revista de nueva literatura*, 96 (2011): 3-11; Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Pistas literarias para desvelar el misterio del 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Subverso. Isla de libertad crítica, literaria y cultural*, *Subverso. Isla de libertad crítica, literaria y cultural*, 30 March 2013. 10 November 2016 <<http://www.subverso.es/?p=1164>>; Navarro Durán, Rosa. "El general Curial y la literatura". *Clarín. Revista de nueva literatura*, 108 (2013): 6-10; Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange de gothique et de Renaissance". *El texto infinito. Tradición y escritura en la Edad Media y el Renacimiento*. Cesc Esteve, ed. Salamanca: SEMYR, 2014: 191-225; Navarro Durán, Rosa. "The Gothic Novel 'Curial e Güelfa': An erudite creation by Milà i Fontanals". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 8 (2014): 53-94.

138. Roca, Rafael. "Quan i de quina manera Manuel Milà i Fontanals localitzà el 'Curial e Güelfa', 'Curial e Güelfa'. *La cavalleria umanistica italiana nel XV secolo. Convegno internazionale (Verona, 10-12 ottobre 2016)*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017, forthcoming; Miralles, Eulàlia. "Sulle prime edizioni catalane del 'Curial'", Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017, forthcoming.

139. "as it is said... was someone from Valencia who was in the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 4.

140. "agreed to say 'hoch' (yes), and I, the mentioned notary, with them. And that they had seen him being brought up in the city of Gandia." Reproduced by Garcia-Oliver, Ferran. *En la vida d'Ausiàs March*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1998: 262 (doc. No. 3 in the appendix).

141. "it's not possible that a Catalan from the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous in Naples, as it is said, can put that name to such an important lady in the book". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 4.



that the author —an admirer of Boccaccio and living in Naples— wanted to pay homage to Andrea Acciaiuoli, the only lady in medieval Italy, a notorious resident in the Neapolitan court of the 14th century, who, for more details, anecdotally had this male name. The author from Certaldo dedicated *De mulieribus claris* (ca. 1361-1362) to her, a catalogue of women with strong character, and took the chance to relate the etymologically ‘manly’ name of *Andrea* —countess of Montedisorio in the 14th century— with the moral strength of the dedicatee, which was exceptional in the ‘weak sex’. The same strength would have the *Andrea* of the *Curial* when she reduced her husband to a puppet, to an *efeminat* man (‘submissive to women’): *tant se era enamorat lo marquès de Andrea, sa muller, que ja no curava de degú, ans oblidava totes altres coses*. And *Curial per lo dit afeminat senyor era més en oblit*¹⁴² (CeG I.3). It is a satire and also a homage to Boccaccio.

Nevertheless, *Monferrato* does not admit any graphic misunderstanding with *Montserrat*, as Navarro proposes. So as to, where it is written “marquis of Montferrat” cannot “verse” *también la palabra “Montserrat” con ese alta*.¹⁴³ If you consult the manuscript, you will confirm it. And it is also uncertain that the French novel *Saintré* was a source for the *Curial*. Despite a coincidence in the plot that could be accidental (the *topos* of a powerful lady that favours a young page, in debt of the courtier lyrical poetry), we haven’t found any intertextuality nor points of coincidence. Moreover, La Sale seems that finished his work after the *Curial*. Regarding the *Novellino* as a source, this is not a new discovery. As Navarro says, Menéndez Pelayo already spoke about it, and this relation between both texts has been stated by several critics.¹⁴⁴ For the literary *topos* of recognising someone thanks to a song that reveals it, we don’t need to resort to the *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón*, a Spanish work by an author who lived after than *Curial*’s author. We could easily go back to the past, up to the times of the famous Blondel de Nesle, a poet who knew the anonymous writer of the Catalan story, even if it was just for the slogan *ami sans amie*.¹⁴⁵

142. “the marquis was so much in love with Andrea, his wife, that he didn’t look after anybody, but he forgot all the other things. And *Curial* was forgotten by that effeminate lord.”

143. “‘be seen’ also the word “*Montserrat*” with a long ‘s’”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “Misterios de una extraña...”: 4.

144. Sansone, Giuseppe-E. “Medievalismo del ‘*Curial e Güelfa*’”, *Studi di Filologia Catalana*, Bari: Adriatica editrice 1963: 205-242, especially 211 [first edition: “Medievalismo del ‘*Curial e Güelfa*’” *Discorso inaugurale dell’anno accademico 1961-1962, letto il 18 novembre 1961*. Bari: Università degli Studi di Bari, 1962 without pages]; Ferrando, Antoni. “Sobre el marc històric de ‘*Curial e Güelfa*’ i la possible intencionalitat de la novel·la”, *Actes del Col·loqui Internacional ‘Tirant lo Blanch: l’albor de la novel·la moderna’ (Ais de Provença, 21-22 d’octubre de 1994)*, Jean-M. Barbera, ed. Barcelona: Centre Aixois de Recherches Hispaniques-Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana- Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 1997: 323-369, especially 335; Butinyà, Júlia. *Tras los orígenes del humanismo: el ‘Curial e Güelfa’*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2001: 64; Monson, Don A. “De la chanson par la ‘razo’ à la nouvelle: ‘Atressi cum l’orifanz’”, de Rigaut de Barbezieux et ses commentaires narratifs médiévaux”. *Medioevo romanzo*, 16 (1991): 271-284; Badia, Lola; Torró, Jaume. “El ‘*Curial e Güelfa*’ i el ‘comun llenguatge català’”. *Cultura Neolatina*, 74/1-4 (2014): 203-245, especially 209-210.

145. “a boyfriend without a girlfriend”. See Soler, Abel, “‘Cuer desirous’...”: 261-263.



3.2 'París e Viana' and 'Tirant lo Blanc'

It is also known that the affair of *París e Viana*, the couple explicitly quoted in the *Curial*, contains elements in common with the story object of study.¹⁴⁶ And we don't have to think about Milà i Fontanals, as we know that the novel appears registered in 1417 in the Royal Palace in Valencia.¹⁴⁷ There could have met Joanot Martorell and the anonymous writer of the *Curial* in the decade of 1420. But from this fact to put this title of an epigraph as *La fuente esencial*¹⁴⁸ [of the *Curial*]: "*Tirant lo Blanc*", there is a great difference. Understandably, Rosa Navarro has put all her efforts in finding parallelisms between both works, but the result is reduced to some shared topics among all literature of Arthurian tradition: the fight of the knight with giants or zoomorphic characters, the lady's piece of clothing that the knight shows in a tournament, the shipwreck as a metaphor of the spiritual or moral falling, and little more. The *Curial* and the *Tirant* were two works written in different peninsulas and by two men with very different mentalities,¹⁴⁹ despite the comparative insistence of Navarro: *Si Tirant se llama así porque su padre es señor de la marca de Tirania, Curial se llama de esta forma tan curiosa porque es hijo... de la curia*.¹⁵⁰ Another wise reflection but as difficult to verify as the previous one, it deserves the name of Arta *tal vez cobrase sentido si lo asociáramos al gascón D'Artagnan de Alexandre Dumas*.¹⁵¹ It does not escape to Navarro the anecdotic coincidence between both authors, already noticed by the editors in the last century: the fact of *esclatar-li la fel* ("exploding the bile") to someone as a cause of a sudden death. Let's pay attention: *la fel* (bile), in feminine, as in Valencian way; not as in most of the Principality. Perhaps, it was a common

146. According to Pellissa Prades, Gemma. "'París e Viana i Curial e Güelfa': un estudi comparat". *España y América en el bicentenario de las independencias*. Francisco Fernández, Lucía Casajús, eds. Castellon de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2012: 531-548, especially 531, moreover, these elements in common don't reveal any special or precise dependance of *Curial* from *París e Viana*. See also Ferrando, Antoni. "La traducción catalane de la 'Història de les Amors de París e Viana'", *Pour une histoire comparée des traductions. Traductions des classiques, traductions du latin, traductions des langues romanes du moyen âge et de la première modernité*, Dominique de Courcelles; Vicent Martines, eds. Paris: Droz, 2012: 123-135.

147. d'Alòs Moner, Ramon. *Documenti per la storia della Biblioteca d'Alfonso il Magnanimo*. Rome: Tipogr. del Senato, 1924: 403 (doc. No. 3).

148. "The essential source", Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 4.

149. See Ferrando, Antoni. "'Curial i Tirant', cara a cara". *La novel·la de Joanot Martorell i l'Europa del segle XV*. Ricard Bellveser, ed. Valencia: Institutió Alfons el Magnànim, 2011: II, 415-450; Soler, Abel. "La relació de Martorell amb la cort de Nàpols i la discreta presència d'Itàlia en 'Tirant lo Blanc'". *More about 'Tirant lo Blanc'. From the sources to the tradition. / Més sobre 'Tirant lo Blanc'. De les fonts a la tradició*. Anna Maria Babbì, Vicent-Josep Escartí, eds. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2015: 35-52.

150. "If Tirant is called like that is because his father is lord of Tirania, so Curial is called with this curious way because is son... of the curia", Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 4.

151. "perhaps it would be meaningful if we associated it to the Gascon D'Artagnan by Alexandre Dumas" (Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 6). The name of this lady is related with the rights that the duke of Calabria —Ferdinand of Aragon, son of the Magnanimous and a more than likely dedicatee of the 'Curial'— could allege in the woman's name in the despot are of Arta (Greece), a well-known state in the decade of 1440 in the court in Naples, due to the assistance expedition that were sent against the Turkish. But this is an issue that we defer, for being too long to be exposed here.



belief in the Valencian court of 1420-1430, as it appears in Martorell, the *Curial* and Marc.¹⁵²

3.3 Having fun with the parodic genius of the author

One of the attributable merits to the articles by Rosa Navarro articles is having listed some of the many parodic, satiric, ironic or directly burlesque episodes that the author tries to hide —or not— along a discourse that keeps in *seriofaceto*, ambiguous tone. Ramon Aramon had already spoken about that long time ago (*L'humorisme en el "Curial e Güelfa"*, 1936),¹⁵³ but without reaching to understand thoroughly the literary intention and relative modernity of the author, regarding this topic. Navarro enjoys the episodes that are *trágicamente divertidos* ("tragically funny"), like the fact that a lady who reads and studies *Aeneid*, helped by a learned knight, would show her eloquence afterwards, forged upon the classics: *¡Quién hubiera imaginado tales comentaristas!*¹⁵⁴ Well, obviously, Leonardo Bruni, in *De studis et litteris* (1424), dedicated to the learned lady Battista da Montefeltro, whose closing would serve as an inspiration for this episode.¹⁵⁵ And what about the *melocotonero mayor* ("bigger peach tree") in the feet of which 'Johan' will find Camar's treasure? Well, we just need to read *Decameron* (VII.1) to find there an orchard, someone called Gianni and a *pesco grosso* at the feet of which he also had to find something. The author of *Curial*, who takes inspiration from this work, translates the *unto bisunto* of the Tuscan original for the Valencian word *almànguena* ("red ocher"). Perhaps, he did it in deference to some listeners that could be mostly Valencian; as the courtiers in the Naples of Alfonso were mostly Valencian, where *Curial* was probably written.

*¡Hay que ver cómo besa Camar, casi con ventosa!, y ¡qué brazos de pulpo tiene!*¹⁵⁶ It is, obviously, a satirical parody of the *polypus* that the poet Ovid evokes when the nymph Salmacis (*Metam.* IV, 366) catches Hermaphroditus to make him copulate with her. With all this, the grotesque definition of the woman in love as *aquell magre cors e flach, penjat del coll*¹⁵⁷ of *Curial* links —to some learned listeners, and the Neapolitan court— with an epistle from Valla addressed to king Alfonso in 1444, where there was a verse from *Aeneid* (IV, 79: *Pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore*) that had been imitated by Ovid in the *Heroides* (I, 30: *Narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore*

152. March, Ausiàs. *Poesies*. Vicent-Josep Escartí, ed. Valencia: Alfons el Magnànim, 1993: 241, vv. 33-34.

153. Aramon Serra, Ramon. "L'humorisme en el 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch*. Barcelona, 1936: III, 703-723.

154. "Who would have imagined those commentators!" Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 7.

155. Bruni Aretino, Leonardo. *Opere letterarie e politiche*. Paolo Viti, ed. Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1996: 250. See also Cappa, Carlo. "Creatività e mellificazione. L'Anno europeo della creatività, tra avvenire e memoria". *La creatività: percorsi di genere*. Margarete Durst, M. Caterina Poznanski, eds. Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011: 11-38, especially 24.

156. "Let's see how Camar kisses, almost with a sucker! And such an octopus arms she has!", Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 7-8.

157. "that lean and slim body, hanging from the neck" (*CeG* III.59).



virii).¹⁵⁸ The author takes these worthy precedents to destroy them lyrically, and make his friendly listeners laugh. That, obviously, is wittily humanistic. And we must celebrate it without strangeness.

Navarro also notices the parodic character of the couples of relevant lovers that dance around the Güelfa, in the style that we find in the *Tirant* and other medieval works, including the Flemish tapestries. It is an ancient literary and artistic *topos*. *Podemos asombrarnos*, well, *al ver a Fedra e Hipólito* (*¿tal vez éste reconsideró su negativa en el Hades, y el autor del Curial se enteró?*), y ¡a Aquiles amenazando a su hijo Pirro!¹⁵⁹ Certainly, it is comic and revolutionary the intromission of the tragic couple Hypolitus-Fedra. Regarding the single Achilles, it could also be explained in the parallelism that the readers would establish between the new Achilles from the 15th century, a ‘totally single’ Magnanimous and the Pyrrhus who came by sea from Valencia (1438) to warranty the fall of the new Troy: the Naples of the Anjou. *Amenazar* here is a synonym of ‘challenging’ the son to make him study. We must know that the personal enterprise of the future Ferdinand I of Naples (the insignia of mount agate —not of diamonds as it is sometimes said— with the word *Naturae non artis opus*) was an evocation of the cameo of the mythic Pyrrhus of Epir, decorated with the heart of the muses directed by Apollo (the same image that the author deploys in the extense foreword to book III of *Curial*).

Most of the “mysteries” are solved when the text is well contextualised: in the court in Naples of Alfonso V of Aragon. We could think that Navarro did not understand properly the phrase having before the eyes *moltes bèsties en pastura* (CeG I.23).¹⁶⁰ This phrase, with erotic connotations, appears constantly in the *Novellino* by Masuccio, a courtier in Naples and a rival of Boccaccio. Curiously, it is shared by this author and *Curial’s* author, in the same cultural and reading environment, but in different languages and diverse literary approaches. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge Rosa Navarro —clever reader— the merit of having perceived *el toque genial de la parodia, que da tintes cómicos a la épica en el Curial*.¹⁶¹ She is right, indeed, when she mentions the influx from the *Diàlegs dels déus* by Lucian of Samosata behind the comic and ridiculous language of the mythological episodes: *la Envidia, cuyos dedos eran sarmientos “ja de dos o tres anys podats del cep” (¡se puede apreciar la ironía lucianesca!)*.¹⁶² The enjoyable *imitatio* of Lucian —direct, Italian and humanistic— had already been noticed in 1936, for his surprise and incredulity, by Aramon i Serra but nobody had checked it since then.

158. Valla, Lorenzo. *Laurentii Valle epistole*, eds. Ottavio Besomi, Mariangela Rregoliosi. Padua: Antenore, 1984: 260 (doc. No. 27). See also Soria Olmedo, Andrés. *Los humanistas de la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo, según los epistolarios*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1956: 293-297.

159. “We can be amazed, well, when we see Fedra and Hypolitus (Did he perhaps reconsider his refusal in the Hades and the author of *Curial* was informed of that?), and to Achilles threatening his son Pyrrhus!”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “Misterios de una extraña...”: 9.

160. “many pasture beasts”.

161. “the genius touch of the parody, which provides comical hints to the epic in the *Curial*”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “Misterios de una extraña...”: 9.

162. “the Envy, whose fingers were vine shoots “two or three years after being cut from the vine” (we can notice the Lucian irony!)”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “Misterios de una extraña...”: 9.



The appearance of *Venus, cuya cabeza estaba ceñida por los ojos de Argos (tal vez Juno se los había prestado, aunque nada precisa la historia)*¹⁶³ is not the product of any learned joke, but a hint of interest about the Italian Neo-Platonism at that time. The conversion of Argos' eyes (the *Curial* points to Ovid, *Metam.* I, 720) into a crown of stars in Venus' head is a poetic resource of the Neo-Platonism, lacking a mythological foundation, to feature the Venus *Urània* ("Celestial") as a protector of pure love (*The Symposium*, by Plato) and marriage love (in substitution of Juno). The painters of the Italian Renaissance started to represent it like that. It is the famous topic of the *Venere con la corona di stelle* ("Venus with the star crown"). The anonymous writer of *Curial* agrees with the painters of the *Quattrocento* who, following the platonic association between celestial harmony and love harmony (*The Symposium*, 187a-188b),¹⁶⁴ spread the new representation of the celestial Aphrodite.¹⁶⁵

The suicidal Camar shouts: *Johan, aparella a mi los teus... christiana són e he nom Johana!*¹⁶⁶ (*CeG* III.66). In *La Celestina*, a subsequent work to *Curial*, Calisto exclaims: *¡Melibeo só!* ("I am Melibeo"). We notice an onomastics osmosis very typical of medieval and popular love literature (if he is *Flores*, it is normal that she is *Blancaflor*), that is unimportant. And if the corpse of the 'martyr' Camar from Tunis (ancient Carthage) appears tied *a un pal* ("to a post") and exposed to the lions is because it is a parody of the *Passio* (available then in Milan and Naples) Perpetua from Carthage, also tied to a post and exposed to the lions.¹⁶⁷ We don't need to resort to *Tirant* to explain it. And it is not very sensible looking for the sources of a novel from the 15th century like the *Curial* in works written afterwards like *Lazarillo de Tormes*, *Don Quixote* or *I promessi sposi* by Manzoni, because it appears in this last work someone called Ambrogio di Spinola from the 16th century that is a homonym to the corsair that appears in the *Curial*. The *Ambròsio de Spíndola* in the *Curial* was a Genovese corsair protected by King Alfonso V, who lost his ships in Gaeta (1437).¹⁶⁸ Being for some years after in the duchy in Milan (1446), provoked the entry of the Venetian army in Lombardy, and obliged the Magnanimous to move his armies and set off towards the north.¹⁶⁹ The literary revenge served in the *Curial* was more than obvious for the listeners in the court in Naples. The readers from the 21st century, however, need an explanation note to allow us to understand the inherent comicalness in this

163. "Venus, whose head was tight crowned by Argos' eyes (perhaps Juno had lent them to her, although it is not mentioned in the story)." Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 8.

164. Plato. *Diàlegs, volum VI. El Convit*, ed. and transl. Eulàlia Presas, Barcelona: Fundació Bernat Metge, 1983: 53-54.

165. There was an iconological transfer from the muse who protected the astronomy (Urania, mentioned by Plato; which was painted crowned with stars in the middle ages) to the reclaimed goddess of Love.

166. "Johan, match yours with me... I am a Christian and my name is Johana!".

167. Soler, Abel. "Perpètua de Cartago i Camar de Tunis. Sobre algunes fonts del 'Curial' accessibles a Itàlia". *Scripta. Revista internacional de literatura i cultura medieval i moderna*, 8 (2016): 90-104.

168. Zanotto, Francesco. *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia, illustrato*. Venice: G. Antonelli, 1861: IV, 201-202.

169. Cognasso, Francesco. *Il ducato visconteo e la Repubblica Ambrosiana (1392-1450)*. Milan: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1955: 369.



passage. But this comment, obviously, cannot be attributed —anachronistically— to Manzoni's work.

As Rosa Navarro confirms in a right way, the *Curial* is a *divertida y documentada novela*,¹⁷⁰ where the gods from Olympus swear among them like greengrocers, and where the ridiculous goddess Fortune *manifiesta conocimientos elementales de cocina*.¹⁷¹ She remembers, in this case, the sound of the paella when you stir-fry the meat. In the end, what can we say about *ese retrato del dios del mar que Luciano no hubiera podido imaginar...*?¹⁷² All these rhetoric questions are convenient and demand an answer, but the answer does not take us to a nineteen-century humour, but a humanistic and almost Renaissance one: the typical humour of a writer, *formed* in medieval and classical readings, who knows how to *deform* them skilfully, conscious of the creative freedom that the art of *poetar* provides him. *La extraña modernidad de la obra, o más aún..., la audacia narrativa de esta novela que se dice fue escrita antes que el "Tirant lo Blanc"*,¹⁷³ are things that literature criticism should celebrate instead of questioning it. The same way that we celebrate unanimously the brilliance —parodic and other kinds— that brought Miguel de Cervantes to give example of the deepness that fictional literature could reach at his time. The *Curial* is a link in the same chain.

Rosa Navarro insists in the comical topic when she states: *La parodia está presente en toda la obra (tanto en los episodios caballerescos como en los alegóricos y mitológicos), y tiene pinceladas geniales*.¹⁷⁴ Perhaps more than she can imagine. Just after, she looks for an explanation for the Sanglier who *spumava* through the mouth in the Sanglier des Ardennes of the *Quentin Durward* (1823) by Walter Scott,¹⁷⁵ instead of searching the source in the description of the Geoffroy in *Roman de Mélusine* (1404-1405) by Coudrette.¹⁷⁶ Or she speaks about the presence in Catalonia of the French general Philibert Curial (1774-1829) in the 19th century as a cryptic justification for the name of the hero in the novel.¹⁷⁷ It is also original the proposal of identification for the copyst of the *Matritensis* 9750 with some relative of Milà i Fontanals: *¿Su hermano Pablo, el pintor?*¹⁷⁸ Or the confusion with a modern pencil (*la caja del manuscrito está dibujada a lápiz*)¹⁷⁹ with the techniques for outlining in drypoint, typical of the professional scribes from the 15th century, like the one who transcribed the draft

170. "a funny and documented novel". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 8.

171. "shows elementary cooking knowledge!". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 8.

172. "a characterization of the god of the seas that Lucian would not have been able to imagine". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 8.

173. "The strange modernity of the book, ore ven more..., the narrative audacity of this novel that it is said it was written before *Tirant lo Blanc*". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Pistas literarias...": 1.

174. "Parody is present in all the work (both in the episodes of knights and in allegorical and mythological ones), and it has brilliant passages". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Pistas literarias...": 1.

175. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Pistas literarias...": 8-9.

176. See Coudrette. *Le roman de Mélusine*. Laurence Harf-Lancner, ed. Paris: Flammarion, 1993: 95.

177. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "El general Curial y la literatura...": 6-10.

178. "His brother Pablo, the painter?" (Navarro Durán, Rosa. "El general Curial y la literatura...": 6-10).

179. "The layout of the manuscript is drawn with pencil". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 193.



or unique codex of the work that has arrived to us.¹⁸⁰ Regarding the presumed endings in *-ba* in the verb forms of the past simple, it was already said some decades ago that they were an orthographic confusion of Agustín Duran, when he passed his notes to Milà, for having read some *v* of Catalan gothic writing —with a high initial stroke— as if they were *b*.

In general, the observations that —as an exceptional reader— professor Navarro makes about the *Curial* are interesting to help for the interpretation of aspects of the work that are unusual in the contemporary letters, for instance, the commented parodic bias. However, some of the explanation proposals are hypothetically risky or, moreover, epistemologically questionable: *Si 'curial' quiere decir 'cortesano', nada mejor que abrir las páginas de El cortesano, publicado en Valencia en 1561...*¹⁸¹ It is a possibility, but it would be better —for our understanding— avoiding the anachronism.

3.4 Dresses with laces, Valencian pilota ('ball') and torches for dinner

Among the repertoire of possible *extrañezas* ("weirdness") that Navarro thinks to find in the Italian-Catalan text, we find one about Lachesis, when she gives Curial a dress with laces and eyes —Petrarchesque emblems of worldly seduction. *Es justo reconocer* —she observes— *que la idea del bordado de los ojos y ojales es valenciana y no alemana*.¹⁸² She justifies it resorting to *El cortesano* (16th century), where the allegorised Desire is dressed with *terciopelo carmesí, con unos ojos en blanco mirando al cielo, broslados entre muchas alas de oro*,¹⁸³ attached to the slogan *El deseo siempre vela, mira y vuela*.¹⁸⁴ That finding would be interesting if the literary referent would have been prior to the writing of the *Curial*. But we must take into account that the ladies in the Neapolitan court of the Magnanimous were dressed *gonnelle di tela d'oro o d'argento, di broccato o velluto, seminate dalla propria "impresa"*,¹⁸⁵ and adorned by *anelletes grosses* ("thick rings") made of silver (in a certain way, *ulls*, "eyes") and *laços* ('laces'), according to descriptions from the years 1440-1450. Isabella, duchess of Calabria and prince Ferran's wife, had —for instance— a beautiful dress of *cordellines* ("strings") i *laços de seda* ("silk laces").¹⁸⁶ And this is not the only reference to dresses, fashion and traditions that lead us again to Naples.

180. See Avenzoa Vera, Gemma. "De nou sobre el ms. ...": 6-8.

181. "If 'curial' means 'courtier', the best is to open the pages of 'El cortesano', published in Valencia in 1561. ...Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 195.

182. "It is fair to acknowledge —she observes— that the idea of the embroidering of the eyes and buttonholes is Valencian and not German". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 195.

183. "Crimson velvet, with some eyes in white looking at the sky, embroidered among many golden wings". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 195.

184. "Desire always watches over, looks and flies". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 195.

185. "Skirts with golden or silver fabric, brocade or velvet, done by the same company". Montalto, Lina. "Vesti e gale...": 71.

186. Montalto, Lina. "Vesti e gale...": 143.



The game of *pilota* —yes, the current national sport of Valencian Country— was feverishly played by the knights in the 15th century including, obviously, the ones that escorted the king to Naples. But it was also a common sport in the north of Italy. So there is no need to relate it —as Navarro does— with *el juego de pelota muy canicular*¹⁸⁷ that the protagonists of the Renaissance opusculum by Lluís del Milà¹⁸⁸ practised in Valencia. As it was also a common practice —and we don't need to search for many far away literary sources on this topic— that the knights around the Magnanimous (Jordi de Sant Jordi, Santillana, etc.) used to play the harp.¹⁸⁹

Navarro also finds it strange, carrying on with aspects of the atmosphere, the decision of the anonymous writer when he introduces the infants Jaume and Frederic holding some torches in their hands to light the table where their father was having dinner, the king Peter III of Aragon: *e com s'enujaven acomanaven-les algun poch a cavallers notables qui de prop los staven, però com viandes venien o lo rey venia, ells prenien les torxes*¹⁹⁰ (CeG I.46). We don't need to resort to Walter Scott again but to the Italy before the *Curial*, where they joked about the recently achieved prosperity of the mercantile oligarchies from the north. Riccobaldo da Ferrara reminded this way the times of the king Frederic II of Sicilly (and Naples, predecessor to the Magnanimous), when austerity reigned in the palaces, and not the late-medieval comfort of easy-living:

*En aquellos tiempos, las costumbres y los hábitos eran rudos (...). Por la noche la mesa de la cena estaba iluminada por antorchas sostenidas por un niño o un sirviente; no se tenía por costumbre tener velas de sebo o de cera (...). Los hombres y las mujeres llevaban muy poca o ninguna plata como adorno de sus vestidos (...).*¹⁹¹

The scene of the torches in the *Curial*, precisely, takes place at the end of an episode where the writer devoted himself to refute the widely known poverty or austerity, which the Catalans were famous for in Italy. This subject spread specially thanks to the xenophobia and incorrect interpretation of Dante's verses about *avara povertà della Catalogna*¹⁹² (Parad. VIII, 77-78), that the writer fixed poetically in a positive and praising sense for the people born in the Principality.¹⁹³ Likewise, when this objective has been attained, he decides to adorn the episode with a last stroke

187. "A very canicular ball game". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 195.

188. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 199.

189. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', mélange...": 209.

190. "and as they got angry, they told some notable knights to hold them closely, but as the food came or the king came, they lit the torches".

191. "At that times, the traditions and habits were rough (...). At night the dinner table was lit by torches held by a child or a servant; they didn't use to have tallow or wax candles (...). Men and women wore little or any silver as adornment of their clothes (...)." Quoted by Hills, Paul, *La luz en la pintura de los primitivos italianos*, transl. Isabel Bennisar Madrid: Akal, 1995: 123 (English edition: Hills, Paul. *The Light of Early Italian Painting*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

192. "miserly poverty of the Catalonia".

193. Soler, Abel. "Italians contra catalans? Rerefons dantesc i circumstàncies històriques d'un episodi de 'Curial e Güelfa'", *Del manuscrit a la paraula digital. Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes / From Manuscript to*



of humour based on another subject, this one from Italy, about those ancient vain Italian men from the 15th century, so poor that obliged their children to hold torches while they were having dinner.

3.5 Verisimilitude, ironic subtlety and literary ‘private joke’

The priest in Don Quixote considered good to reprieve *Tirant* because *aquí comen los caballeros y duermen*.¹⁹⁴ As Navarro states, *en el “Curial” no solo duermen, sino que antes les preparan la cama; y no solo comen sino que cenan. No hay relato donde se detallen más los “sopars”: desde el comienzo hasta el final*.¹⁹⁵ This willingness of portraying verisimilitude and naturalness was shared with Martorell by the anonymous author of the *Curial*. Thus, when they bring one of the jerkins of the knight for Güelfa from Tunis, she sends Melchior to see *si hauria Curial lexat algun jupó en casa sua*, to check if both of them were *fets per a un cors*¹⁹⁶ (CeG III.41). These are details that are perfectly understandable for an enthusiastic reader of *Decameron*, and we don’t need to compare it with works from the 19th century. It isn’t anachronistic at all the irony of humanistic sign, that *está en todas partes* (“is everywhere”).¹⁹⁷ Or *ese sutil humor* (“that subtle humour”), typical of *vir facetus*, of a *cortigiano* from the Renaissance *avant la lettre*,¹⁹⁸ that the humanists of the court in Naples tried to recreate literarily to depict a human portrait of king Alfonso.¹⁹⁹ Or the meta-literary parody (false praises to *maestre Guido*) and literary parody that sometimes arises, which criticises harshly some excesses of ancient medieval literature: *Virats... peus e mans tallats volar a la terra, caps asclar, polmons e fetges pecejar, gemechs e crits*²⁰⁰ (CeG III.91). In the Italy in times of the *Curial*, the Arthuric chivalric stories were an obsolete poetic material, which was asking to be subjected to parody. Not for anything —as Rosa Navarro herself confirms— the ambivalent and subtle *narrador* —who cannot be Milà, we insist— *pregona su procedimiento con su genial invocación, al comienzo del libro tercero, no a las Musas (...), sino a las Piérides (...): “yo, axi en aquesta obra com en totes les coses que parle,*

Digital Word: Studies of Catalan Language and Literature. Manuel Pérez Saldañ, Rafael Roca, eds. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2017: 36-49.

194. “the knights eat and sleep here”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “‘Curial e Güelfa’, ‘mélange...’”: 209.

195. “in the ‘Curial’ they not only sleep, but they have their bed prepared before; and they not only have lunch but also dinner. There is not a story with a greater detail of the ‘dinner’: from the beginning to the end”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “‘Curial e Güelfa’, ‘mélange...’”: 209.

196. “if Curial would have left any doublet in his house, to check if both of them were done for a body”.

197. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “‘Curial e Güelfa’, ‘mélange...’”: 218.

198. Luck, Georg. “‘Vir facetus’: A Renaissance Ideal”. *Studies in Philology*, 55 (1958): 107-121.

199. Montaner Frutos, Alberto. “La palabra en la ocasión. Alfonso como ‘rex facetus’ a través del Panormita”. *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d’études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*. 4 December 2007. 26 June 2014 <<http://e-spania.revues.org/1503>; DOI: 10.4000/e-spania.1503>.

200. “The spotted ones... feet and hands flying to the ground, cracked heads, lungs and liver crushed, shrieks and cries”.



són imitador de les míseres es garrules filles de Pièrides".²⁰¹ Even this *captatio benevolentiae* is liable of a double reading or meaning, by a writer who will speak *rudament e grossera* ("rudely and roughly") about Greek-Latin myths.²⁰² Indeed, the author of the *Curial*—and regarding this we believe that professor Navarro is totally right—wrote a book *llo de parodia erudita, de diversión literaria, de ingenio (...); jugaba con la literatura confiando en que los lectores sabrían gozar como él* of this pleasure.²⁰³

3.6 Renaissance imitatio, wide world and Catalan chronicles

Revising a hypothesis in 2016, Rosa Navarro makes "the extraordinary scholar" Milà i Fontanals the "discoverer" of the *Curial*,²⁰⁴ a role attributable in fact to the librarian of the National Library in Madrid, Agustín Durán.²⁰⁵ She retakes arguments by her and Riera regarding the unknown identity of an author who *uses compound imitation—of various literatures—like a Renaissance bee*, a writing procedure unthinkable in the Catalonia from 1445,²⁰⁶ but not in the Italy of the humanists. For the *Curial*, specifically, we must relate it with the method of the Lombard Gasparino Barzizza, whose son, Guiniforte, had strong bonds with the court of the king of Aragon around the years 1432-1448. Gasparino recommended the Petrarchian *imitatio*, based on the Seneca image of the bees and honey, and provided some instructions to practice it: *addendo, subtrahendo, transferendo et immutando* ("add, subtract, transfer and transform").²⁰⁷ The author of the *Curial* followed them in an experimental and successful way, as it is unanimously acknowledged by the criticism. The opuscles of the grammarian circulated around the scribes' offices of Joan Olzina²⁰⁸ and Gabriel Altadell,²⁰⁹ courtiers—like the anonymous writer—of the Naples ruled by Alfonso.

201. "the narrator proclaims his procedure, with brilliant invocation, in the beginning of book three, not to the Muses (...), but to the Pierides (...): 'I, both in this work as in all the things I speak about, am an imitator of the miserable and chatterbox daughters of Pierides'". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "*Curial e Güelfa*, 'mélange...': 218.

202. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "*Curial e Güelfa*, 'mélange...': 222.

203. "full of learned parody, of literaray enjoyment, of witness (...); he played with literatura believing that the readers would know how to enjoy like he does". Navarro Durán, Rosa. "*Curial e Güelfa*, 'mélange...': 223.

204. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "The Gothic Novel...": 54-55.

205. See Roca, Rafael. "Quan i de quina manera...", forthcoming.

206. Navarro Durán, Rosa. "The Gothic Novel...": 58.

207. García Galiano, Ángel. *La imitación poética en el Renacimiento*. Kassel: Reichenberger- Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto, 1992: 85-86.

208. If not for Gasparino, for one of his most notable disciples. See Sabbadini, Remigio. "Notizie sulla vita e gli scritti di alcuni dotti umanisti del secolo XV raccolte da codici italiani (II)". *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, 6 (1885): 163-176, especially 166, is about some manuals of rhetoric imitation brought from Milan.

209. Hernando Delgado, Josep. "Del llibre manuscrit al llibre imprés. La confecció del llibre a Barcelona durant el segle XV. Documentació notarial". *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 21 (2002): 257-603, especially 268 i 294.



More things: the fact that the proverbial sentence *lo món és ample e gran* (“the world is wide and great”) coincides with another one by Shakespeare (*the world is broad and wide*) could be, according to Navarro, another ‘sign’ more that the author of the work lived in the 19th century.²¹⁰ However, the *Curial* is a text that collects multiples proverbs, metaphors, etc, coming from biblical or homilies’ repertoires, which —logically— appear randomly in subsequent works. In this case, it is the Gospel’s *topos* of *mundus amplius* that Jesus Christ uttered just before introducing himself saying: *Jo sóc el camí...* (“I am the way”, *Jo* 14:19). Precisely, this sentence happens just in the moment when *Curial* sets off as a wandering knight. The rest is just pure coincidence.

Following a questionable thesis by the criticism from the last century, Navarro wants to find in the *Curial* some echo from the Catalan chronicles of Desclot and Muntaner (14th century). Pamela Waley, Antoni Ferrando, Miquel Aguilar²¹¹ and other critics have proved that he did not acquaint himself with the Catalan chronicles at hand, but he preferred Italian sources. He would be aware of the Catalan works —in any case— for having listened to them in the court. As he didn’t want to be a chronicler, he reproduced some mistakes that are unthinkable in Catalan chronicles but repetitive in Italian sources. Even the plot of the *llegenda del bon comte (de Barcelona) i l’emperadriu*²¹² depends on a story with central European connection reachable in the north of Italy.²¹³ When Lola Badia stated in 1985 that the anonymous writer *coneixia clarament Desclot*,²¹⁴ she would do it for the inertia of previos publishings, not checked with intertextual evidences. For instance, the anonymous writer allows himself to speak ironically about the *molts auctèntichs e grans llibres per diverses, grans e molt solemnes doctors escrits*²¹⁵ (solemn doctors...?) where *los strènuus actes d’armes* (“the brave acts of arms”) of the king Peter III of Aragon are told (CeG II.113). He is interested directly about the classics: Cesar, Livy, etc.

210. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 60.

211. Waley, Pamela. “Historical Names and Titles in ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Medieval Hispanic Studies presented to Rita Hamilton*. Alan D. Deyermond, ed. London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1976: 245-256, especially 253; Ferrando, Antoni. “Introducció”...: 5-35, especially 13; Aguilar, Miquel. “La llegenda del bon comte i l’emperadriu: entre l’amor cortès i la política d’estat”. *Journal of Catalan Studies*, 8 (2005): 63-76, especially 68.

212. “legend of the good count (of Barcelona) and the empress”.

213. Ferrando, Antoni. “Fortuna catalana d’una llegenda germànica: el tema de l’emperadriu d’Alemanya falsament acusada d’adulteri”, *Actes del desè Col·loqui de Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes (Frankfurt am Main, 18-25 de setembre de 1994)*, Axel Schönberger, Tilbert Dídac Stegmann, eds. Barcelona: Associació Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes-Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 1996: II, 197-216; Ferrando, Antoni. “Els desenvolupaments quattrocentistes de la llegenda de l’emperadriu d’Alemanya, amb atenció especial a ‘Philipertus et Eugenia’ i al ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *La cultura catalana en projecció de futur*. Germà Colón, Tomàs Martínez, Maria Pilar Perea, eds. Castelló de la Plana: Fundació Germà Colón; Universitat Jaume I, Castelló de la Plana, 2004: 187-213.

214. “clearly knew about Desclot”. Badia, Lola. “La segona visió mitològica...: 157-176. Also Badia, Lola. “La segona visió mitològica de Curial...: 265-292, especially 272, note 11.

215. “many authentic and great books, written by many diverse, great and very solemn doctors”.



More questionable than the relationship of the *Curial* with the ancient chronicles is the idea of exploring 19th century classics like *Ivanhoe* to find parallelisms.²¹⁶ It is hard to maintain a wide range of proposals ranging from Ramon Muntaner to Walter Scott and expect that this proposal keeps sense and coherence. Indeed, Fate provides so many coincidences that *Salonés de Verona* (not ‘Salones’), opponent of the Lombard and the Catalan, would be *undoubtedly (...) comparable with the name Bonifaci de Verona, cited by Muntaner in his “Crònica”*.²¹⁷ There is an alternative believable explanation, based on the participation of a knight from the court of Aragon in the war (1438-1440) of the ‘Salones’ (Salò and the riverbank of Garda) and Verona between Milan and Venice.²¹⁸ This is one of the several autobiographical references that are traceable in the book.

3.7 Somewhere between Fulgentius and Cervantes

More foundation has the idea of searching Fulgentius among the sources of the *Curial*. The author quotes him explicitly in the preface to book III. However, we must take into account that the knights of Phoebus (*Titan, Etheus, Lampaus e Philogeus, CeG* III.29) don’t depend from a direct consultation of the classic, but an indirect one (Pietro Alighieri, 3rd red., *Purg.* XV, 1-36 and XXXII, 52-72).²¹⁹ The same occurs with the allegorised Muses, as Xavier Gómez studied.²²⁰ In fact, the anonymous ‘makes up’ an original version of Fulgentius’ fable from Italian intermediaries, perhaps without having had access ever to the original source. On the other hand, the feminine names *Cloto* and *Làquesis* (two of the three *Parcae*) are not strange, and must not be attributed to an influx by Villena,²²¹ but to the fact that the author—a privileged reader of the Latin version of the *Republic* by Plato, a book that was dispatched in 1440 from Milan to Naples—would link the *Làquesis* in the *Curial* with the *Lachesis* in the myth of Er: the platonic *Parca* that obliges the men’s soul to choose between virtue and vice, and advises that the responsibility of this choice will only be his own, without possible attribution of human errors to the Gods or Fortune.²²² Isn’t this *Curial*’s plot?

216. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 78-80.

217. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 78, note 91.

218. See: Soler, Abel. “Italians contra catalans?...”: 36-49.

219. Alighieri, Pietro. *Comentum super poema Comedie Dantis (III red.)*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli, Rome: Lexis, 1999. Online version: *Biblioteca Italiana*, 2005, Sapienza Università di Roma, 16 January 2016 <http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/indice/visualizza_scheda/bibit001184>.

220. Gómez Font, Xavier. ““Decem musae, ut vocis modulamina?” (‘Curial e Güelfa’, III, 6-7)”, *Actas del VII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 1987)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989: III, 493-500.

221. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 88.

222. Soler, Abel. “La Làquesi de Plató, el ‘Curial’ i el neoplatonisme italià”. *XVII Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Roma, 26-30 de septiembre de 2017. La Sapienza, Università di Roma)*. Rome: Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval, forthcoming.



It could be a ‘strange thing’ in the reader some satiric reference to ecclesiastic authorities in the *Curial*,²²³ totally unprecedented in Catalan environment, but understandable in an Italy of Boccaccio readers and anticlerical jokes, where the humanists spread treaties against the friars. Being the novel contextualised in an Italian environment, therefore, it is not so extraordinary the fact that the *Curial*, in some details, *surpasses the irony of “Qujote”*,²²⁴ or that the author is able to treat the young squire with the badly cut tunic in a parodic way and other mythic characters of the Breton topic, advancing to Cervantes a century and a half. Navarro is right when she concludes: *Humour is a constant feature of “Curial”; in this case, the nickname of an Arthurian knight in “Qujote” is subjected to joke without that attitude obliging us to consider the anonymous writer as an admirer of Cervantes’ irony*.²²⁵ In any case, he should be considered an undervalued forefather of the author of *Don Quixote*.

3.8 Liberal arts and a friend of his friends

It is quite interesting the comparison established between the oneiric parade of the liberal arts of the *Curial* —paganising, humanistic— and the *Visión deleitable* (1454) by Alfonso de la Torre —scholastic, theocentric.²²⁶ It would be more interesting if we could confirm that the *Visión* is from 1437 —as some critics state—, as the ‘vision’ of the *Curial* could be interpreted as something parodic. Nevertheless, everything seems to indicate that the work of the bachelor De la Torre was written afterwards. Moreover, we have checked that the referred episode in the *Curial* depends on a Milanese manual from *Trecento*, the *Canzone de delle virtù e delle scienze*, with iconographic plagiarism and repetition of hapaxes of the kind *Subeumetria*.²²⁷

We can discard, finally, due to chronological reasons, the fact that the anonymous writer had access to some verses by Jorge Manrique (ca. 1476) where some expressions of the kind *amigo de sus amigos* and *¡qué enemigo de enemigos!*²²⁸ are used (*Coplas por la muerte de su padre*, vv. 301 and 304).²²⁹ In the *Curial*, Aquil·les is *amich de son amich e enemich de son enemich*²³⁰ (CeG III.31), a common phrase and a calque from Castilian, a language which the author was fluent in where he takes resources like *fer lo buç* (< *fazer el buz*, “to reverence”), *fincar los genolls* (< *hincar las rodillas* “to kneel down”), etc. The sentence that attracts the attention of the scholar could have as its source the Latin version of the *Iliad* by Lorenzo Valla (Naples, 1440-1445;

223. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...: 88.

224. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...: 68.

225. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...: 82.

226. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...: 88-90.

227. Soler, Abel, “Iconografia italiana...”, 41-57.

228. “a friend of his friends and, what enemy of the enemies!”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...: 90.

229. Quoted by Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 93-94.

230. “a friend of his friend and enemy of his enemy”. Navarro Durán, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 93-94.



XX, 196-197: *Et Achilles hilarem..., inquit: "amici mei, atque amicorum praecipui..."*),²³¹ accessible where the *Curial* was written.

4. Conclusion

The questions made by Jaume Riera and Rosa Navarro, which allow to establish the hypothesis of a falsified *Curial e Güelfa* in the Catalan *Renaixença* of the 19th century—and attributable to Milà i Fontanals—, collide with the criteria of scholars or specialists in very different fields of study (codicology, palaeography, medieval history, diachronic linguistics, etc.), which certify as indisputable the authenticity of the codex and the work contained, written in the middle of 15th century. The doubts stated by both scholars would find an echo easily, obviously, if we admitted the proposal of a *Curial* written in the Catalonia of queen Maria or the Civil War (decades 1440-1460), as part of the criticism supports. However, they are not strange at all when we locate this novel in the geographic (the Italy of Alfonso the Magnanimous), historical-cultural (the court in Naples influenced by the humanism) and chronological context (decade of 1440) that it corresponds.

231. "And Achilles, who felt happy..., said: 'My friends, and the most distinguished among my friends...'", BHUV, ms. 413 (Homer. *Homeri Ilias, per Laurentium Vallensem in latinum sermonem traducta*, transl. Lorenzo Valla) f. 84v.



TEN YEARS OF THE MIDDLE AGES HISTORIC STUDIES SEMINAR (SEHSEM-UNAM) 2007-2017. PREMISES, BALANCE AND PERSPECTIVES

MARTÍN F. RÍOS SALOMA
UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO
MÉXICO

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a balance of the achievements that were obtained throughout a decade's worth of work (2007-2017) by the Middle Ages Historic Studies Seminar (SEHSEM, acronym in Spanish) developed by the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), and which focuses on the three main areas of the Mexican university: research, teaching and dissemination. Even though the balance considers important achievements such as the integration of a specialized bibliographic collection, the considerable number of graduates in the field of Medieval studies or the appearance of published works on the matter, the analysis also shows that there are still important tasks to be carried out such as the strengthening of liaisons with Latin America and the Anglo-Saxon world.

KEYWORDS

Mexico, Middle Ages, History, Historiography.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Mexicum, Medium Aevum, Historia, Historiographia.

1. Introduction

In the year 2010 I subscribed to these same pages an article entitled “The State of the Discipline of Medieval History in Mexico” in which I presented a balance about the state of medieval studies in Mexico.¹ In such text, I pointed out the difficulties that Medieval studies had had to face for their development in the North American country —linked, mostly, to a historiographical vision that focused the study of the past on national frontiers—, as well as the contributions Mexico had made to medieval studies, particularly in the area of editing classical texts in Spanish, including those by Marc Bloch,² Henri Pirenne,³ Alfons Dopsch,⁴ James Brundage⁵ and Georges Duby,⁶ or more recent texts among which we can mention one of Jacques Le Goff’s latest works and a project by Umberto Eco about the Middle Ages.⁷ Likewise, it highlighted the contributions made in the area of literature and philology through the project *Medievalia* and its homonymous⁸ scientific dissemination work, of historiography through contributions such as those by Norma Durán⁹ or Alfonso Mendiola¹⁰ and which proposed a programmatical plan with the purpose of promoting medieval studies in Mexico in the fields of history, historiography art history and archaeology.

One of the steps that were proposed —one that had been previously proposed— was the creation of a permanent research seminar that served as breeding ground for research projects —particularly for college and postgraduate students, as a space for discussion and creation of scientific texts, as a receptacle for visiting professors, as a central axis for institutions outreach and, generally, as mainstay for dissemination

1. Ríos, Martín. “The State of the Discipline of Medieval History in Mexico”, *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 4 (2010): 93-116.

2. Bloch, Marc. *Los reyes taumaturgos (Miracle worker Kings)*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988. [New edition published in 2006].

3. Pirenne, Henri. *Historia económica y social de la Edad Media*. Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1939; Pirenne, Henri. *Historia de Europa. Desde las invasiones al siglo XVI*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1942.

4. Dopsch, Alfons. *Fundamentos económicos y sociales de la cultura europea, de César a Carlomagno*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951.

5. Brundage A., James. *La ley, el sexo y la sociedad cristiana en la Europa Medieval*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000.

6. Duby, George. *Obras selectas de Georges Duby. Selección y compilación de Beatriz Rojas*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999.

7. Le Goff, Jacques. *Hombres y mujeres de la Edad Media*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1914; Eco, Umberto, ed. *La Edad Media. I Bárbaros, cristianos y musulmanes*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015.

8. *Medievalia*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 15 December 2017 <<https://revistas-filologicas.unam.mx/medievalia/index.php/mv/index>>.

9. Durán, Norma. *Formas de hacer historia. Historiografía grecolatina y medieval*, Mexico: Ediciones Navarra, 2001 [2nd edition 2017].

10. Mendiola decided to study the items from medieval historiography present in the chronicles of Mexico’s conquest: Mendiola, Alfonso. *Retórica, comunicación y realidad: la construcción retórica de las batallas en las crónicas de la conquista*, Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2003.



and social promotion works that promote the knowledge generated through the research work that is so expensive for the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Thus the Seminario de Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media ("Middle Ages Historic Studies Seminar") (SEHSEM) was created, coordinated by this paper's author, whose seat lies at the Historic Research Institute of the UNAM, and which decided to focus on history,¹¹ given the important development of medieval language studies and given the scientific nature of the institution where its nestled. In that sense, this text is meant to serve as a balance of the achievements made throughout a decade's worth of work by the research group linked to the SEHSEM, as well as a projection of the challenges that lie ahead, in mid and long term, in a regional context marked by the development of Medieval studies in Argentina,¹² Brazil,¹³ Chile¹⁴ and, recently, Costa Rica.

And so, first I present the precedents of the early medieval studies made at the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, and then I analyze the achievements by the SEHSEM based on the three main areas of the UNAM: research, teaching and dissemination, synopsis which will be complemented by an additional part referring to institution outreach and the development of group projects.

11. "Seminario Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media", *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 22 December 2017, <http://www.historicas.unam.mx/investigacion/seminarios/s_ehed.html>.

12. About Argentinian Medieval studies read, among others: Carzolio, María Inés. "L'histoire du Moyen Âge en Argentine: Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz et ses disciples". *Études et travaux*, 7 (2002-2003): 99-112; González de Fauve, María Estela. "Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz y el Instituto de Historia de España de Buenos Aires", *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 77 (2001-2002): 207-211; González de Fauve, María Estela. "El medievalismo en la República Argentina", *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 12 (2002): 273-289; Guiance, Ariel. "La historiografía española y el medievalismo americano: Sánchez-Albornoz, Américo Castro y la construcción de la identidad nacional a través de la Edad Media", *La influencia de la historiografía española en la producción americana*, Ariel Guiance, dir. Madrid: Marcial Pons-Instituto de Historia Simancas, 2011: 25-58; Pastor, Reyna. "El Instituto de Historia de España de Buenos Aires y la figura de don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz", *El destierro español en América*, Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, ed. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana-Sociedad Estatal del V Centenario, 1991: 125-132.

13. Regarding Brazilian Medievalism: Rivair, Jose. "Os studios medievais no Brasil: tentativa de síntese". *Reti medievali*, 7/1 (2006): 1-10. <<http://www.camerablu.unina.it/index.php/rm/article/view/4652/5242>> (Consulted 12th December 2016); Fernandes, Fátima. "The Challenges of Medieval Historiography in Brazil at the Beginning of the 21st century". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 6 (2012): 99-114; Barros Almeida, Néri de. "La formation des médiévistes dans le Brésil contemporain : bilans et perspectives". *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre*, 12 (2008): 145-159; Colares Asfora, Wanessa; Aubert, Eduardo; Carvalho Godoy, Gabriel de. "Faire l'histoire du Moyen Âge au Brésil: fondements, structures, développements". *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre*, 12 (2008): 125-143; and Cândido da Silva, Marcelo. "Les études en histoire médiévale au Brésil: bilan et perspectives". 14 June 2017 <https://www.academia.edu/5739458/LES_%C3%89TUDES_M%C3%89DI%C3%89VALES_AU_BR%C3%89SIL>.

14. About Medievalism in Chile: Rojas Donat, Luis. "Medieval Studies in Chile. Review of their Formation and Publications". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 9 (2015): 47-65.



2. Luis Weckmann and Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz: two outdated precedents

The development of Medieval history at the Historic Research Institute has several important precedents. The first person to cultivate it was Luis Weckmann Muñoz (1923-1995), who in 1944 got a master's degree in history by the UNAM and who later moved to the University of Berkely, where he wrote his doctorate thesis mentored by Ernest Kantorowicz, and where he obtained his Ph.D. in 1949. After a study period in Paris (1950-1952) he returned to Mexico and retook his class at the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature at the UNAM. In 1952 he began his diplomatic career as a secretary of the embassies of Mexico at the Czech Republic and France, until he became an ambassador in 1967. Since he was stationed at the Mexican embassies in Israel, Austria, Iran, the German Federal Republic, Italy, the United Nations and the European Union, he abandoned his historical work for over two decades, although at the end of his diplomatic career he rejoined the world of teaching and research at the Colegio de México.¹⁵ Between 1988 and 1995 he took the seat number 23 at the Mexican History Academy.¹⁶

Weckmann wrote three books in his early youth. The first one, *La sociedad feudal. Esencia y supervivencia*, was published in 1944 by Jus. Weckmann was mentored by Pablo Martínez del Río and since that early age he showed a tendency to study the Middle Ages.¹⁷ In the book's prologue, the young college student said that it was *necesario conocer una época histórica para juzgarla* and he considered that no era was *tan mal conocida entre nosotros y por lo tanto, tan mal juzgada, como la feudal*. And so, this text that he described as an 'essay' was meant to be only a *modesta aportación a los estudios históricos* in which the author tried to *dar un poco de luz sobre la más gallarda y menos comprendida de las épocas, la Edad Media, y sobre la más noble de sus manifestaciones, la jerarquía feudal [...]*. For Weckmann, the lack of knowledge about the Middle Ages was attributed to *la ausencia de un régimen feudal en América*, of which the young author wanted to specify *los caracteres* that he considered *específicos del feudalismo*.¹⁸

15. Mussacchino, Humberto. *Milenios de México. Diccionario enciclopédico de México*, 4 vols., Milan-Mexico: Sifra International-Raya de Arena, 1994: IV, 3255.

16. "Luis Weckmann Muñoz, 1923-1995", *Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, 6 April 2018 <<http://www.acadmexhistoria.org.mx/>>.

17. Pablo Martínez del Río had made his postgraduate studies in England and he had specialized in ancient civilizations. He was a founding member of the Historic Research Institute of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, and he was head of this institute in two periods: 1945-1949 and 1956-1963.

18. "necessary to study a historic era in order to judge it"; "as little known and thus, as poorly judged, as the feudal era"; "modest collaboration to historic studies"; "offer a little enlightenment about the most striking and least understood of all eras, the Middle Ages, and about the most noble of its manifestations, the feudal hierarchy [...]"; "absence of a feudal regime in America"; "characters"; "exclusive of feudalism" Weckmann, Luis. *La sociedad feudal. Esencia y supervivencia*, Mexico: Editorial Jus, 1944: 9-11. I would like to point out that there's a coincidence of time between Weckman's work and the pioneer works by Sánchez-Albornoz in Argentina, whose book *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo* had been published in Mendoza in 1942 and whose *Cuadernos de Historia de España* had begun to be edited in 1944.



There are three elements that without doubt cause interest: the first, the similarity of the title with one of Marc Bloch's most important works and of which the author makes no reference along his more than two hundred pages. I can't determine whether this was due to a lack of knowledge of the book's existence by the Mexican author or due to the fact that the first French edition (1939) had not yet reached Mexico. The work's bibliography suggests that the title was inspired by a homonymous text by Joseph Calmette, published in 1930.¹⁹ Secondly, the use of bibliography that was very current in that time and among which we find works by Johan Huizinga —translated by Gaos—²⁰, Jemro Pirenne —edited by the Fondo de Cultura Económica as was mentioned above²¹— or even Calmette.²²

Lastly, the reproduction of documents —sources— with which we can analyze a society and an institution —feudalism— which seemed to be too difficult to find in Mexico. As far as my research allows me to establish, this could be the founding book of Mexican Medievalism.

Going further into his scientific interests about the Middle Ages, Weckmann published in 1949 the results of his doctoral thesis entitled *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política del papado medieval. Estudio de la supremacía papal sobre las islas 1091-1493* ("Alexandrian papa bulls of 1493 and the political theory of medieval papacy. A study of papal supremacy over the islands 1091-1491"), which was complemented by an introduction by Ernest Kantorowicz.²³ If *Feudal Society* was an 'essay', the new book was the first scientific monography —according to those times— published in Mexico by a mexican who worked as a medievalist: In it he quotes, for example, the *Patrología Latina, Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and Duchesne's edition of *Liber Pontificalis*; in the appendix, he reproduces several Roman documents —such as the *Cum universae insulae* bull by Urban II— and he includes an ample and updated European and North American bibliography that allowed the author to learn about the debates that were in vogue about the exercise of power in the Middle Ages. Weckman pointed out in this work that Alexandrian papal bulls of 1493 were Medieval documents both in form and in concept, given that they obeyed what he called the 'Omni-Insular Doctrine'. In order to prove it, he took his study back to the eleventh century with the purpose of analyzing the way in which the Roman seat, throughout the Middle Ages, had considered the diverse islands it knew of and that were under no prince's jurisdiction as its

19. Calmette, Joseph. *La société féodale*, Paris: Armand Colin, 1930.

20. Huizinga, Johan. *El otoño de la Edad Media*, Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1930.

21. Pirenne, Henri. *Historia económica y social de la Edad Media*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1941.

22. Calmette, Joseph. *Le monde féodal*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1937.

23. Weckmann, Luis. *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política medieval. Estudio de la supremacía papal sobre las islas 1091-1493*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Historia, 1949. It was reedited for decades later under the title *Constantino el Grande y Cristóbal Colón: estudio de la supremacía papal sobre islas (1091-1493)*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992.



own. The work's rigurocity allowed Kantorowicz to define it as a "[...] remarkable contribution to medieval historical studies in general".²⁴

Weckmann's third work, edited in 1950, had the purpose of *divulgar algunos de los fundamentos trascendentales del pensamiento político del medievo* and to offer material that helped value the use that said thought could have in the times when it was written *para el mejoramiento y la consolidación de las relaciones internacionales*²⁵. The book which was also produced based on his doctoral thesis, analyzed the political principles of international relations since Medieval Times to Contemporary times, concentrating on topics such as the Christian Republic, the idea of empire, vassalage, and the concepts of power and sovereignty elaborated by the Church, and that clearly coincided with Kantorowicz's idea. It's clear that with this work Weckmann found a practical use for the study of Medieval Times in Mexico and that the knowledge he had acquired during the process of elaboration of his doctoral thesis, such as language proficiency and knowledge of the law were instruments that enabled his diplomatic career. Weckmann's work in Mexican foreign service and his later work at the Colegio de México, which we mentioned above, explain that his book *La herencia medieval de México* was not published until 1984 and not by the UNAM but by the Fondo de Cultura Económica.²⁶

The second precedent is the famous Spanish medievalist Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893-1984). The relationship between Sánchez-Albornoz and Mexico had, at the same time, some important precedents. During the Spanish Civil War, as people know, the Mexican government invited several university and scientific Spanish authorities to continue their activities in our country while the conflict ended. Sánchez-Albornoz received said invitation in 1938 during his French exile in Cauderán;²⁷ however, the dean of the Universidad Central also held a scholarship

24. Kantorowicz, Ernest. "Introducción" in Weckmann, Luis. *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política medieval. Estudio de la supremacía papal sobre las islas 1091-1493*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Historia, 1949: 7-11, especialmente 9.

25. "disseminating some transcendental principles of medieval political thought"; "for the betterment and consolidation of international relations": Weckmann, Luis. *El pensamiento político medieval y las bases para un nuevo derecho internacional*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Historia, 1950.

26. Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de México*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984. Weckmann dejó testimonio de su labor diplomática en el libro Weckmann, Luis. *Diario político de un embajador mexicano, 1967-1988*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997. Quisiera remarcar la similitud entre la trayectoria vital de Weckmann y la del medievalista argentino José Luis Romero, quien en 1949 había publicado su propio ensayo en la colección "breviarios" del Fondo de Cultura Económica: Romero, José Luis. *La Edad Media*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1949. Tras varios años dedicados a la docencia en la Universidad de Buenos Aires, donde llegó a ser decano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, sirvió también a su país como embajador. Sobre José Luis Romero véase: Astarita, Carlos. "José Luis Romero y la historia medieval". *Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval*, 28 (1995): 15-23; Burucúa, José Emilio; Devoto, Fernando; Gorelik, Adrián, eds. *José Luis Romero. Vida histórica, ciudad y cultura*, San Martín: Universidad Nacional de General San Martín, 2013.

27. The letter was published by María Mercedes Rodríguez Temerley: Rodríguez Temperley, María Mercedes. "Lo que guardan los libros: la biblioteca de don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz", *VI Jornadas Internacionales de Filología Lingüística y Primeras de Crítica Genética 'Las lenguas del Archivo'*, La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 2013: 1-13.



established by the Rockefeller foundation with the idea of staying in France, so he rejected the Mexican invitation. When he had to flee France in June 1940 as a consequence of the Nazi occupation, he contacted the Mexican government but this time it was unable to welcome him. Sánchez Albornoz was finally received by Argentina, a republic to which he arrived on December 1940. From there, Claudio held close relationships with some important republicans from Spain who had established in Mexico, including Rafael Altamira or Agustín Millares Carlo, who were frequent collaborators at the *Cuadernos de Historia de España*.²⁸ Almost two decades later, on February 1959, after a research stay at the University of Princeton, Sánchez-Albornoz had the chance to visit Mexico and give a series of conferences, according to a letter he sent to his student Emilio Sáez and dated in Buenos Aires on April 1959. Considering doing further research about this trip, it's possible to think that it was during this time that the UNAM declared the possibility of publishing one of this Spanish medievalist's works.²⁹

The book was printed in 1965 under the title *Studies About Spanish Medieval Institutions*. It was actually a miscellaneous work that reproduced articles corresponding to the different research stages of this historian from Madrid and that were not easily accessible in American territory and that the publishing house even considered to be an authentic *rareza* in the Mexican historiographical panorama.³⁰ The editors' goal was to *contribuir al estudio de la historia institucional española y de señalar en ella importantes raíces de la realidad socio-económica de los pueblos hispanoamericanos*. For the Historic Research Institute of the UNAM, Mr. Claudio possessed *como historiador a reputación bien cimentada* and was considered *primer plano, no sólo de los medievalistas españoles, sino entre los conocedores más completos de la historia española en todos los tiempos*.³¹

The 1500 copies that make up the first edition and the length of the volume—800 pages—show the value Mr. Claudio's scientific work had for the UNAM. His

28. Read the imminent article: Ríos Saloma, Martín. "De Europa a América. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y la fundación de los Cuadernos de Historia de España". *Medievalismo*, 27, forthcoming.

29. Sáez, Emilio. "Epistolario de Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y Emilio Sáez V (1959-1967)", *Signo. Revista de historia de la cultura escrita*, 9 (2002): 105-123, especially 108. According to Sonsoles Cabeza de Sánchez-Albornoz, Mr. Claudio visited Mexico again in his early years as president of the Republic in exile, a position he held from March 1962 to February 1971; the author, however, doesn't specify the date of the trip. Cabeza de Sánchez Albornoz, Sonsoles. *Semblanza histórico política de Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz*, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española-Diputación Provincial de León, 1992: 124 and 176 respectively. My research about the topic have been unfruitful so far. Only further research that goes beyond this work's scope could answer this question and reconstruct Mr. Claudio's trips to Mexico. Given the political nature of his second trip and the number of pages of the published work, I believe it's possible to assume that the editorial project was established in 1959 during an academic visit and during the second period of Pablo Martínez del Río as head of the Historic Research Institute, a man who, as we have seen, showed a profound interest on the development of Medieval studies.

30. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1965.

31. 'oddity'; "contribute to the study of Spanish institutional history and to point out important roots of the socio-economical reality of Spanish American people"; "as a historian"; "well-founded reputation"; first, not only by Spanish medievalists, but also among the most knowledgeable people in Spanish history of all times": Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales...* back cover.



works were grouped by theme in three great groups: studies about social classes, tax and economical history and, lastly, [...] *los consagrados a la historia de las instituciones jurídicas y políticas —legislación, feudalismo, señorío, monarquía*³². The volume is constituted by a total of sixteen articles of which the oldest is entitled *La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla* ("Royal power and seigneuries in Asturias, León and Castille") (pp. 791-822), originally published in 1914.³³

Since 1965 when the work by Sánchez-Albornoz was published until 2007 when the direction of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas created a research position to promote the study of the Middle Ages, more than forty years went by and during those years, this specialization was abandoned. This fact creates the question: How can this abandonment be explained?

For the author of this work, the hypothetical answer considers three elements that coincided. The first one, Pablo Martínez del Río's passing in 1963. As head of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas he had given a special support to the development of medieval studies, as can be seen in the chronological coincidence of the aforementioned works that were published during his period. From 1963 to 1975 Miguel León-Portilla was head of the institute. He specialized in history of indigenous people in Mexico and, to him, studying the Middle Ages was not a priority, even if he acknowledge the important of this period of European history and its influence on Mexican history.³⁴

In second terms, the popularization of historic-materialism and serial and quantitative history that promoted the elaboration of works about economic and social history and whose most evident result was the study of the *encomienda*, haciendas and the prices of corn in New Spanish times;³⁵ in that sense, the study of economical and social history of European Middle Ages was practically impossible to cultivate given the impossibility of getting access to archives.

Lastly, the validity of a nationalist speech of an indigenous quality among a great audience that presented the European past as foreign to the history of Mexico, that privileged the study of Mesoamerica and that continued to considered Spaniards as invaders and barbarians that had destroyed the 'great' American Civilizations. Said speech had an academic corollary in the fact that the Historic Research Institute focused its work on studying the historical processes that took place within its borders and maintained its administrative structure among three great research areas that were linked to national history —'Prehispanic Mexico', 'Colonial Mexico',

32. "those consecrated to legal and political institutions —law, feudalism, seigneurie, monarchy": Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales...*: 7.

33. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. "La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla". *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*, 21 (1914): 263-293.

34. Thus he said on the numerous times we had the chance to converse and he has also said so in several different conferences.

35. Here are two examples that are considered as classics within these historiographic traditions: Florescano, Enrique. *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708–1810): ensayo sobre el movimiento de los precios y sus consecuencias económicas y sociales*, Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1969; Semo, Enrique. *Historia del capitalismo en México. Los orígenes: 1571-1763*, Mexico: Era, 1973.



‘Contemporary Mexico’— and the Middle Ages did not fit in this administrative organization.

Anyway, the fact is that the cultivation of Medieval history that rigorously began with Luis Weckmann had a long interruption —40 years— and the SEHSEM had to retake medieval studies practically from zero while also being conditioned by geographical and institutional circumstances, but always looking to add theoretical and methodological perspectives developed by medievalism during the last few years.

3. Works by the Middle Ages Historic Studies Seminar (SEHSEM)

3.1 Research

3.1.1 Graduate and postgraduate thesis³⁶

Research in the area of medieval studies at the UNAM was linked, traditionally, with the fields of literature and philology. This was due not only to the fact that literary studies at the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature and the Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas were very strong, but also to pragmatic reasons such as the difficulty to access primary sources in times when internet did not exist yet and in times when research stay trips were extremely expensive. In that sense, the pioneer works by Luis Weckmann regarding the papal sovereignty over the islands,³⁷ the works by Sánchez Albornoz regarding Spanish medieval institutions³⁸ that we previously mentioned, or the works by Antonio Garrido Aranda regarding the evangelization of Moors in Granada were, more than an ‘oddity’, exceptional works.³⁹

During the first decade of the 21st century these two difficulties were overcome: on one hand, the web offers plenty documented materials⁴⁰ through different scientific websites linked to renowned institutions of international prestige, such

36. At the National Autonomous University of Mexico the graduation of students of bachelor's degree and master's degree is preferably made through a rigorous monographic research, sustained in primary and secondary sources in which the author shows his knowledge of the topic and whose length ranges between 90 and 250 pages, reasons why they're also called 'thesis'. They differ from a doctoral thesis in the sense that the latter has a greater length, depth and originality. There is free access to the thesis that are mentioned in this part at the TESIUNAM website: <tesis.unam.mx>.

37. Weckmann, Luis. *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493...*

38. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales española*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1965.

39. Garrido, Antonio. *Moriscos e indios: precedentes hispánicos de la evangelización en México*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 1980 [2nd edition, 2013].

40. Garrido, Antonio. *Moriscos e indios...*



as the Biblioteca Nacional de España⁴¹ or the Bibliothèque nationale de France⁴² —or to specific research projects.⁴³ On the other hand, the UNAM has established numerous programs of academic mobility both for teachers and students and this has offered the opportunity to review specialized European bibliography and documents that were not easy to access from Latin America.

Despite these advances, it is true that the weight of the historiographical tradition of the UNAM —marked by a deep historicist approach represented by the works of authors like Edmundo O’Gorman or Álvaro Matute—⁴⁴ it is still important in the education of students, and this, together with the study plan that does not contemplate learning ‘auxiliary sciences’ cause medieval paleography and diplomacy to be inaccessible to those who are interested in the medieval period.

These factors, to which we add the impossibility of having systematic and continuous access to European archives, have caused the study of medieval historiography to be a privileged field of analysis for members of the seminar who have carried out noteworthy research in which they combine a profound knowledge of the contexts in which narrative sources were elaborated, proficiency in medieval languages —particularly English, French and Italian—, knowledge of Latin for the corresponding cases, and theoretical and methodological tools nurtured by the proposals made by Gabrielle Spiegel,⁴⁵ Rosamond McKitterick,⁴⁶ Jaime Aurell,⁴⁷ Michel de Certeau,⁴⁸ Bernard Guenée⁴⁹ or Walter Ong.⁵⁰ Therefore,

41. Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2018, 14 January 2018 <www.bne.es>. The Hispanic Digital Library is particularly important for Hispanic medievalism. The project is part of the National Library of Spain.

42. Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 14 January 2018 <http://gallica.bnf.fr>.

43. I underlined the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 25th December 2017 <http://www.mgh.de>; *Documenta Catholica Omnia*, Cooperatorum Veritatis Societas, 25 December 2017 <http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu>; and the *Cartae Cluniacenses Electronicae*, Universidad Münster Universität, 25 December 2017 <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Fruehmittelalter/Projekte/Cluny/CCE/Welcome-e.htm>.

44. O’Gorman, Edmundo. *La invención de América*, Mexico, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961; O’Gorman, Edmundo. *Cuatro historiadores de indias*, Mexico, Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1972; Matute, Álvaro. *Teoría de la historia en México*, Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1974. About O’Gorman and his relationship with historicity read the recent publication by Gilardi, Pilar. *Huellas heideggerianas en la obra de Edmundo O’Gorman*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2015.

45. Sipege, Gabrielle. *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Sipege, Gabrielle. *The past as text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, Baltimore: The John’s Hopkins University Press, 1999.

46. McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1989; McKitterick, Rosamond. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2004; McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Formation of a European Identity*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2008.

47. Aurell, Jaime. *La historiografía medieval: entre la historia y la literatura*, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2016.

48. Certeau, Michel de. *La escritura de la historia (Writing History)*, Mexico: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2006.

49. Guenée, Bernard. *Histoire et culture historique dans l’Occident médiéval*, Paris: Aubier, 1980.

50. Ong, Walter. *Oralidad y escritura. Tecnologías de la palabra*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004.



Ana Avila, for example, elaborated a first approach and translation into Spanish of the work by Gregorio de Tours,⁵¹ while Tania Ortiz has focused on the study of Carolingian historiography.⁵² In that same sense, Ricardo Sánchez has studied the representation of Richard the Lion Heart in the chronicles of the crusades.⁵³ On the other hand, Fernanda Mora has analyzed the relationship between the Church and the Monarchy in the *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* ("Chronicle of the Catholic Kings") by Hernando del Pulgar,⁵⁴ while Ana Clara Aguilar has focused on the study of literature and Italian chronicles of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries.⁵⁵ Ramón Jiménez, while being part of the seminar, wanted to study the History of Spain by father Mariana and even though it can't be said that this is a medieval historic work in strict sense, it is true that she developed the methodology proposed by Spiegel and that the knowledge of this Jesuit forced her to study in great detail the medieval roots of her fields of study.⁵⁶

In the same sense, research linked to cultural history, conceptual history or anthropology of image have had in Hans-George Gadamer,⁵⁷ Roger Chartier,⁵⁸ Norbert Elías,⁵⁹ Pierre Bourdieu,⁶⁰ Reinhardt Koselleck,⁶¹ Lévy-Strauss,⁶² Clifford Gertz⁶³ or Hans Belting⁶⁴ its main representatives. Here we can include the works by Diego Améndolla about the reflection of "feudal" valued on the work by Chrétien

51. Ávila García, Ana. *Entre la historia eclesiástica y la historia nacional: Gregorio de Tours, libros I y II de la Historia de los Francos*, Mexico: Instituto Cultural Helénico-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (PhD Dissertation) 2011.

52. Ortiz, Tania. *De la 'Vita' a la 'Gesta'. Construcciones historiográficas de Carlomagno en el siglo IX*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (PhD Dissertation), 2017.

53. Sánchez, Ricardo. *La imagen de Ricardo Corazón de León en las crónicas anglonormandas y del norte de Francia, (1189-1205)*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017.

54. Mora Reyes, María Fernanda. *Propio es a los reyes el mando, y a los súbditos la obediencia: las relaciones de la monarquía con la Iglesia en la Crónica de los Reyes Católicos de Hernando del Pulgar*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (PhD Dissertation), 2017.

55. Aguilar, Ana Clara. *Clero y religiosidad en el Decameron de Boccaccio*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (PhD Dissertation) 2013; Aguilar, Ana Clara. *Florescencia y la Iglesia a través de seis ciudadanos florentinos que escribieron su historia (siglos XIII-XV)*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation) 2016.

56. Jiménez, Ramón. *El rey y la potestad espiritual en la Historia general de España de Juan de Mariana*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation) 2017.

57. Gadamer, Hans-George. *Verdad y método*, 2 vols., Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2005.

58. Chartier, Roger. *El mundo como representación: estudios sobre historia cultural*, Barcelona: Gedisa, 1992.

59. Elías, Norbert. *La sociedad cortesana*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982; Norbert, Elías. *El proceso de civilización: investigaciones sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987.

60. Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and symbolic power*, Oxford: Polity Press, 1991.

61. Koselleck, Reinhardt. *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing concepts*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002; Koselleck, Reinhardt, *Historias de conceptos: estudios sobre semántica y pragmática del lenguaje político y social*, Madrid: Trotta, 2012.

62. Lévi-Staruss, Claude. *Antropología estructural*, Barcelona: Paidós, 1987.

63. Gertz, Clifford. *La interpretación de las culturas*, Barcelona: Gedisa, 1996.

64. Belting, Hans. *Antropología de la imagen*, Madrid: Katz, 2007.



de Troyes;⁶⁵ those of Fernando Velázquez about the abbey of Saint-Denis and the political project of the abbot Surger;⁶⁶ those of Julián González about the myth of Arthur;⁶⁷ those by Marianne Hurtado about friendship in medieval Castile;⁶⁸ those of Jessica Chávez about Christine de Pizan;⁶⁹ those of Olinca Olvera about divine justice in the *Flos sanctorum*;⁷⁰ those of Fernando López about the preaching of Vicente Ferrer and the religious problems of Castile in the 15th century;⁷¹ those of Alberto Trejo about the construction of space in the battlefield of the Navas de Tolosa⁷² and those of Walter de Santa María about the political conceptions of the Visigothic reign.⁷³

On the other hand, research of a historiographical nature in which they have studied the use of the Middle Ages for the formation of contemporary nationalism, the vision that has been built throughout the last centuries regarding the Middle Ages—based on proposals such as those by Marc Fumaroli⁷⁴ or Chantal Grell⁷⁵—or in the formation of concepts related to medievalism. These studies are nurtured by the development of a line of research

Regarding the origin, consolidation and use of the concept of Reconquista in contemporary Spanish historiography.⁷⁶ In that sense, Fernando Velázquez analyzed

65. Améndolla, Diego. *Chrétien de Troyes y la Francia del siglo XII: una aproximación a las estructuras del feudalismo a través de la literatura cortesana*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2009; Améndolla, Diego. *Creación del modelo de caballería a través de la cultura lúdica: producción, transmisión y recepción de las obras de Chrétien de Troyes, 1165-1300*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation), 2013.

66. Velázquez, Fernando. *La abadía de Saint-Denis: imagen del poder político*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation), 2013.

67. González de León, Julián. *Arthur, pen teyrnedd yr ynys hon*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation) 2012. González de León, Julián. *El mito artúrico y la cultura imperial en la elite de Inglaterra (1100-1272): un análisis histórico del mito bajo la teoría neo-estructuralista*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation) 2015.

68. Hurtado, Marianne. *Lazos de sacrificio. El concepto de amistad en la literatura castellana bajo medieval, S. XII-XV*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation) 2016.

69. Peña, Jessica. *La ciudad de las damas, el pensamiento de las mujeres expresado por Christine de Pizán. Francia, siglos XIV y XV*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation) 2016.

70. Olvera, Olinca. *El juez supremo: la justicia divina en el Flos Sanctorum con sus etimologías*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2016.

71. López, Fernando. *Vicente Ferrer y el cisma de occidente: un análisis de la predicación en Castilla*, Mexico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2016.

72. Trejo, Alberto. *El campo de batalla, ¿un lugar excepcional? las navas de Tolosa (16 de julio de 1212)*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2014.

73. Santa María, Walter. *La conversión de los visigodos al catolicismo como vía para superar la crisis y legitimar al Estado*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2014; Santa María, Walter. *La imagen del rey. Articulación del discurso simbólico en torno a la legitimación en el reino de Toledo*, Mexico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation), 2016.

74. Fumaroli, Marc. *L'âge de l'éloquence : Rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seul de l'époque classique*, Paris: Droz, 2002.

75. Grell, Chantal. *L'histoire entre érudition et philosophie. Étude sur la connaissance historique à l'âge des Lumières*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993.

76. Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista: génesis y desarrollo de una construcción historiográfica (s. XVI-XIX)*, Madrid-Mexico: Marcial Pons-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011; Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista en*



the speech contest held in the late 18th century dedicated to Suger of Saint-Denis, by highlighting images that were constructed throughout medieval centuries in the transit from the Old Regime to the French Revolution.⁷⁷ Mikel Luege, on the other hand, focused on analyzing the use of the Middle Ages in the formation of nineteenth-century German nationalism,⁷⁸ while Francisco Vera analyzed the representation of the battle of Crécy in Anglo-Saxon contemporary historiography⁷⁹ and Erik Luna studied contemporary historiography about the Holy Office in times of the Catholic Kings linking said production with the political and historiographical moments in Spain during the 19th and 20th centuries.⁸⁰ At the same time, Isis Guerreiro studied the use of Andalusian past in the Spanish press during the first Franco regime⁸¹ and Lizette Gauzín studied in her doctoral thesis —the first one in the postgraduate studies in History at the UNAM linked with the study of the Middle Ages— the origin and development of the concepts of cohabitation and tolerance in nineteenth-century Arab times.⁸² Presently, Diego Améndolla is about to finish his doctoral thesis regarding the origin and consolidation of the concept of ‘feudalism’ in French historiography during the 18th and 19th centuries, which will be publicly presented in summer 2018. The development of these research works is naturally linked to the author’s research lines, focusing on the genesis, development and use of the concept of Reconquista in Spanish historiography of modern and contemporary times.⁸³ In that sense, it seems to me that it’s possible to prove not only the validity of the method that has been developed but the richness and value of having a distant approach, not only geographically but also epistemologically.

la historiografía española contemporánea, Madrid-Mexico: Sílex Ediciones–Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013.

77. Velázquez, Fernando. *La elocuencia histórica de la Edad Media. Suger de Saint-Denis en el arte oratorio francés del Siglo XVIII*, Mexico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation), 2017.

78. Luege, Mikel. *La formación de la nación alemana a través de su tradición medieval (1820-1920)*, Mexico, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2012.

79. Vera, Francisco. *Nexos en la historiografía: la construcción de la batalla de Crécy en la historiografía inglesa y estadounidense, 1885-2013*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2016.

80. Luna, Erick. *La fundación del Santo Oficio en la historiografía española: (de 1874 a la década de 1960)*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2016.

81. Guerrero, Isis. *Las relaciones político-culturales entre el franquismo y el islam a través de la prensa escrita durante la posguerra, 1945-1955*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2012. Presently, Isis Guerrero is working on her doctoral thesis at the Metropolitan Autonomous University (UAM) on the topic of Arabism in the 19th century. She is now on a research stay at the Higher Council for Scientific Research in Madrid mentored by professor Eduardo Manzano. Regrettably, unfavorable academic perceptions regarding the historiographic scope in our postgraduate studies didn’t allow this research to be carried out at the UNAM. Fortunately, the criteria and visions have changed in recent times.

82. Gauzín, Lizette. *La tolerancia entre musulmanes y cristianos en al-Andalus a través de la historiografía española del siglo XIX*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (PhD Dissertation) 2017.

83. Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista: génesis y desarrollo de una construcción historiográfica*, Madrid-México: Marcial Pons-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011; Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista en la historiografía española contemporánea: un siglo de investigaciones*, Madrid-Mexico: Sílex-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013.



This allows to gain a particular perspective and analyze these historiographical, political and cultural problems in a calm way that's free of ideological determining elements.

The only two thesis that focused on political and social history (both at a bachelor's degree level) during the Middle Ages—one about the city of Florence⁸⁴ and the other one about the conquest and repopulation of Seville in the 13th century—,⁸⁵ have the great virtue of working with complex topics using the bibliography and sources that are available in Mexico, but they lack—one must admit— originality given the impossibility to have access to unedited documents that allow to produce new facts or make new interpretations that enrich the general framework that is already known.

The doctoral thesis of Luis del Castillo and Rubén Andrés focus on New Spanish commerce in the 18th century, the former,⁸⁶ and equestrian games in New Spain during the viceroy, the latter.⁸⁷ They have nurtured from comments in the seminar and, above all, the visions that have enabled them to insert their research into broader historic dynamics and to project the experiences in the Mediterranean territory onto the Atlantic territory. This could also be said about the master's degree work by Claudia Hernández, which results from a first approach to the chronicles about the conquest of New Spain with the purpose of tracking the concepts about fair war and holy war of medieval origin that these chronicles portray.⁸⁸ If we consider the three research works as a whole we could point out that they continue on the line that was inaugurated by Luis Weckmann when studying the 'medieval legacy' in Mexico and Brazil, although from a renewed perspective that has incorporated the new contributions of contemporary medievalism.⁸⁹

When making a general balance of the research made within the SEHSEM throughout ten years, we can point out that twenty seven research works about the Middle Ages have been presented as means to obtain a degree: two for doctorate

84. Reyes, Ari. *Historias de Florencia. Desarrollo político, social y económico de una ciudad medieval italiana: siglos XIII, XIV y XV*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2016.

85. Contreras, Karina. *La reconquista y repoblación de Sevilla (1248-1255)*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation), 2012.

86. Luis del Castillo's thesis will be presented in 2018. In his graduate dissertation, Castillo had already talked about the problem of nobility in America: Castillo, Luis del. *La nobleza y el comercio en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII: el primer conde de la Cortina (1741-1795)*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Graduate Dissertation) 2008.

87. Andrés, Rubén. *Caballo y poder en el mundo hispánico: los juegos ecuestres y la traslación de un habitus caballeresco entre las élites española e india de la Nueva España*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (PhD Dissertation) 2017.

88. Hernández, Claudia. *Los conceptos de la guerra justa y la guerra santificada en los relatos de los conquistadores de México, Siglo XVI*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Master Dissertation), 2017. Several situations impeded the author from analyzing some aspects of this research in greater depth, but the work has the virtue of showing the possibilities that lie when making a new reading of the chronicles of the conquest of America eliminating the traditional chronological methods that are, in all terms, unfruitful.

89. Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de México*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984; Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de Brasil*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993.



studies, six for master's degree —equivalent to the European Master II— and the rest for bachelor's degree. Some of these research—as well as others that have been elaborated in the postgraduate seminars by members of the SEHSEM, were also the seed to create dissemination articles⁹⁰ or scientific texts such as those by Diego Améndolla,⁹¹ Julián González de León,⁹² Francisco Vera⁹³ and Walter de Santa María⁹⁴ which have already been published in Argentina, Spain, the United States and France, thus offering an international impact to this research group that was missing only a few years ago. In other cases, it allowed the authors to continue their postgraduate studies in the United States or Spain and, for some others, it opened the doors to their first participations in international congresses.⁹⁵

Currently there are two doctoral theses being developed, six for master's degrees and several others for bachelor's degrees all of which will be finished in the following years. In them, apart from continuing working on the lines of work previously described, it's possible to notice an interest to portray the concepts they had in the Middle Ages in art and in layout restoration works in nineteenth-century Spain and also in historic dissemination as well as the impact generated on great audiences by TV series that have been produced in the last few years. Without doubt, just as

90. Among the articles of dissemination we can quote, for example: Mora, María Fernanda. "Adso de Melk, un cronista en busca de los signos". *Scriptorium*, 9 (2016): 9-14; Vera, Francisco. "La tecnología al servicio de la guerra: los primeros pasos de las armas de guerra en Inglaterra, 1327-1346", *Scriptorium*, 10 (2016): 5-12; Jiménez, Ramón. "La disolución de los recuerdos. Reflexiones en torno a la memoria a partir de tres momentos de la 'Divina Comedia'". *Scriptorium*, 12 (2017): 19-26; Noguez, Gabriela. "Reseña de la película 'Hermano sol, hermana luna'". *Scriptorium*, 14 (2017): 13-15.

91. Améndolla, Diego. "'Una mirada desde la historia conceptual: orígenes lexicales e ideológicos del término «feudalismo», siglos XVII-XVIII". *Circé. Histoires, cultures & sociétés*, 7 (2015): 1-8 <<http://www.revue-circe.uvsq.fr>> (Consulted 17th November 2017); Améndolla, Diego. "Et qui or me vaurra entendre, cuer et oreilles me doit rendre", *Espacios de lectura y público de los roman courtois de Chrétien de Troyes (ss. XII-XIII)*. *Cuadernos Medievales*, 20 (2016): 51-74.

92. González de León, Julián. "The Arthurian Legend: A Vehicle for Symbolic Appropriation of the Insular Space", *UCLA Historical Journal*, 26-1 (2015): 1-15.

93. Vera, Francisco. "El orden de los factores si altera el producto: el uso de las fuentes primarias en la construcción de la batalla de Crécy por los historiadores ingleses, 1885-2015". *E-Stratégica*, 1 (2017): 161-199.

94. Santa María, Walter de. "¿Podemos hablar de un Estado visigodo?". *Cuadernos Medievales*, 22 (2017): 84-95.

95. Julián González de León is currently studying his doctorate degree at the City University of New York (CUNY) where he's developing the thesis "A Medieval Myth for a Modern Empire: An Anthropological History of the Arthurian Myth in England (13th-18th centuries)", while Mikel Luege Mateos is writing his doctoral thesis at the Universidad del País Vasco mentored by José Ramón Díaz de Durana. In the case of international congresses, Fernando Velázquez presented in Paris the lecture entitled "L'éloquence historique de la domination féodale dans les éloges de Suger de 1779" amidst the congress *Moyen-Âge et médiévalisme : les formes de la domination* organized by the Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA) in March 2016. Walter de Santa María, on the other hand, presented the lecture "Arrianism, cultural differentiation and social cohesion in the Visigoth reign" at the *VII Coloquio de Historia Medieval. Circulación de ideas en la Antigüedad tardía y la Edad Media* hosted by the Geohistotirc Research Institute of the CONICET in Buenos Aires on September 2017.



videogames called the attention of scholars,⁹⁶ I believe it's important to reflect on the popularity of said series, their social impact and the visions they project on great audiences regarding the Middle Ages.

The students have had the chance to present the results of their research in congresses and debate forums organized at the Institute's premises. In that sense, it must be said that local events have now become authentic international congresses in whose last edition (2016), history, literature, philosophy and art history graduate and postgraduate students from Argentina, Germany, Italy, France and the United States presented their reports; the growing participation of speakers has also served as a scale to calibrate the interest on medieval studies outside the research group whose works we have described. With the purpose of guaranteeing the quality of the lectures that have been presented, we have requested the authorization of professors Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Universidad de Murcia) and Gerardo Rodríguez (Universidad Nacional del Mar del Plata) to turn these events into the Mexican edition of the famous 'young medievalists' meetings that are held in Spain and Argentina. We trust that throughout the following months a miscellaneous volume that brings together the top quality scientific works that have overcome the required regulations will be published.⁹⁷

The description and analysis that have been made allow to establish two preliminary conclusions: firstly, that students show a growing interest in medieval history and that said interest has materialized in the exponential increase of graduate and postgraduate thesis that have so far been presented; nowadays, no one could say that studying the European Medieval Era is an 'oddity' —as was once said about Sánchez-Albornoz's volume— nor that it can't be done in a rigorous way, inserted also in international debates and incorporating the theoretical and methodological contributions that have been generated in other parts of the world without forsaking its own tradition.

The second conclusion makes me point out the urging need to transcend historiographical and cultural studies and to study political, social, economical and art history. In order to do this, it's necessary not only to make updated monographic studies —thanks to the important labor of material acquisition through trade, donation and purchase by the Rafael García Granados library of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, the need for said materials we had ten years ago has been partially covered— but to study the sources.

And even though many institutions have made available texts of great importance thanks to the internet, it's necessary to be able to access fundamental works such as the *Actas de los reinos de Castilla y León* ("Charters of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon") or the *Colección Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa* ("Sources Collection and Studies of Leones History"), only to quote a few Hispanic examples. In that same

96. For example: Jiménez, Juan Francisco. "Cruzada, cruzados y videojuegos". *Anales de la universidad de Alicante*, 17 (2011): 363-407.

97. Find the whole program "Congreso internacional de jóvenes medievalistas 15, 16, 17 y 18 de marzo de 2016", *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 18 November 2017 <http://www.historicas.unam.mx/eventos/2016/congreso_jovenes_medievalistas_2016.html>.



way, it's fundamental to go deeper into the study of European archives and the knowledge of medieval diplomacy and paleography. In that sense, one of the tasks the Seminar will have in the following years is the editing of primary sources, both chronicles and documentary collections.⁹⁸

3.1.2 Research projects

One of the most important reasons there is to study medieval history from Latin America lies in the possibility of understanding the processes of exploration, conquest and colonization of America —and in general the process of the conformation of the Catholic Monarchy— in a long duration perspective that allows to observe the continuities, ruptures and innovations in the impact of experiences of the Mediterranean territory on the Atlantic territory.

One product that derived from this interest was the initiation of the research project *El mediterráneo y su proyección atlántica: entre medievo y modernidad (s. XII-XVII)* ("The Mediterranean and its Atlantic impact: between the Medieval period and Modernity (12th-17th centuries)") which was financed by the UNAM's Dirección General de Asuntos del Personal Académico ("General Management of Academic Personnel Affairs") (DGAPA) from 2013-2015 within the Programa de Apoyo a la Investigación e Innovación Tecnológica ("Research and Technological Innovation Support Program") (PAPIIT) and co-directed by Estela Roselló and this work's author.⁹⁹ As part of the project, four students that were part of the Seminar wrote their corresponding doctoral thesis thanks to a scholarship¹⁰⁰ while two scientific meetings were held: *Religión y espiritualidad en el ámbito mediterráneo y atlántico (s. X-XVI): una mirada multidisciplinar al fenómeno jacobeo* ("Religion and spirituality in the Mediterranean and Atlantic realms (10th-16th centuries): a multidisciplinary approach to the Jubilee phenomenon") (2013) and *Consecuencias y proyecciones de la expansión mediterránea en el Atlántico: prácticas, discursos, representaciones* ("Consequences and impact of the Mediterranean expansion on the Atlantic: practices, speeches, representations") (2014) as well as the conference cycle *Expansión atlántica y orígenes del Estado Moderno* ("Atlantic expansion and origins of the Modern State"), presented by Eduardo Aznar Vallejo. Currently we're working on editing the works that were presented in both symposiums with the purpose of producing a volume that materializes the institutional and academic efforts that were made.

98. It must be noted that it was a very important scientific achievement for Mexican medievalism to make a Spanish edition of the *Crónica de la primera cruzada* by Foucher de Chartres which was carried out by the Multidisciplinary Seminar of Medieval Studies coordinated by Antonio Rubial at the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature of the UNAM. The translation was made from Guizot's edition in Latin and from several available manuscripts through Gallica. We trust that it will be soon available for consultation by students and academics.

99. PAPIIT IN402913-3 Project.

100. Marianne Hurtado, Jessica Peña, Olinca Olvera and Alberto Trejo.



Finally, as part of the project, I must mention the editing, with the project's financial support, of the volume *El mundo de los conquistadores* ("The World of Conquerors") (2014), coordinated by this work's author and that brings together the works that were presented in 2008 at the International Congress *El mundo de los conquistadores. La península ibérica y su proyección en la conquista de América* ("The World of Conquerors. The Iberian Peninsula and its impact on America's Conquest").¹⁰¹ Although naturally it's other people's responsibility to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of the editorial project, I'd like to point out at least three aspects that I believe are novelties: on one hand, it's a first proposal for the discussion that must be held as part of the celebration of the fifth centenary of the beginning of Cortes' quest; secondly, that it represents a fruitful dialogue among medievalists and modernists on both sides of the Atlantic—a dialogue that is not so frequent—and, lastly, that it highlights the scientific, epistemological and historiographical ineffectiveness of the traditional division between Middle Ages and Modern Times. It seems to me, as I've mentioned in different forums and texts, that the only way of truly understanding the processes that were triggered in 1492 we must not only abandon national history—nationalist—but also to eliminate the historiographical restraints of conventional temporary cuts.

After concluding the project and while awaiting the publication of its results, new goals have been established with the purpose of achieving an outreach with other centers and academics on both sides of the Atlantic who have an interest in the same issues. So far, there's been a first approach with the research groups that are mentored by Eduardo Aznar (Universidad de la Laguna) and Gerardo Rodríguez (Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata) and this has established the beginning of a joint research project that covers cultural, political, economical and military affairs regarding the Castilian expansion on the Atlantic.¹⁰²

3.1.3 International and national participations

A 'common lab' and privileged environment for critical discussion of ideas and knowledge, according to Michel de Certeau,¹⁰³ since the SEHSEM has welcomed, throughout ten years, numerous international guests who have had the chance to present their ongoing research or to present finished research works. In most cases, these are renowned professors, although we have also had the participation of young doctors and doctoral students with promising careers. Thus, among the first group we can mention Dominique Iogna-Prat, Martin Aurell, Glauco María Cantarella, Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, Pascual Martínez Sopena, Flocel Sabaté,

101. Ríos, Martín, ed. *El mundo de los conquistadores*, Madrid-Mexico: Editorial Sílex-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2015.

102. The project was presented under the name *Las Fronteras Ultramarinas: el Atlántico en los orígenes de la monarquía hispánica (c. 1300-c. 1600)* and it is waiting for approval and financing by the Casa Colón institution in Gan Canaria.

103. Certeau, Michel de. "Que est-ce que un séminaire?". *Esprit*, 11-12 (1978): 176-181, especially 176.



Martín Alvira Cabrer, Inmaculada Lorés, Enrique Rodríguez Picavea, Eduardo Aznar, Francisco Moreno Martín or María Isabel Pérez de Tudela; in the second group we can mention Jesús del Prado, Blanca Ángeles, Mercedes Pérez Vidal, Esperanza de los Reyes, Francesco Renzi, Gisela Coronado or Lucía Beraldi.¹⁰⁴

As far as national guests, so far we have only had the participation of professor Diana Arauz, a member of the Asociación Zacatecana de Estudios Clásicos y Medievales ("Classical and Medieval Studies Association in Zacatecas") (AZECME) and full time researcher at the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas (UAZ). The lack of participation of national colleagues is due, mostly, to a lack of colleagues that work on medieval studies, but also to a lack of work on the creation of networks with other latitudes such as San Cristóbal, in the state of Chiapas, home to Jérôme Baschet and where Antonio García Espada established recently. However, joint activities with the Seminario Interdisciplinario de Estudios Medievales ("Medieval Studies Interdisciplinary Seminar") coordinated by Antonio Rubial at the Faculty of Philosophy and Literature of the UNAM have continued to take place, joining together students of history, literature and classical literature.

This brief review reveals two urgent tasks for the development of the SEHSEM in particular and of medieval studies in general: on one hand, it's necessary to broaden the seminar's international network with the purpose of inviting professors from Latin America (Argentina, Brazil and Chile, mostly) and from the Anglo-Saxon world, which has so far been absent from our direct interlocutions. On the other hand, it's important to promote the creation of medievalism poles within universities from other Mexican states in order to create a genuine school of medievalists nationwide.

3.2 Teaching

We have also had important achievements in teaching. In the year 2010 I pointed out the need to increase the offer of courses about the Middle Ages and that these should be taught by specialist. At the same time, I mentioned the opportunity that would lie in opening specialized courses for postgraduate studies. A series of administrative and sociological factors have enabled this.

In the case of graduate degrees, the retirement of one generation of professors who had taught, since the 1960s, courses in which the Middle Ages were talked about, added to the openness shown by authorities of the School of History, allowed young doctoral students to teach a subject, although with a very low teaching category. Most new professors are linked with the SEHSEM and have taken the courses of *Comentario de Textos* ("Text Analysis"), *Métodos de Investigación* ("Research Methods"), *Historia de España en la Edad Media* ("History of Spain during the Middle Ages"), *Imperio Bizantino* ("The Byzantine Empire"), and the *Seminario Taller General*.

104. "Seminario Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media... (<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/investigacion/seminarios/s_ehed.html>).



Edad Media. Metodología y Fuentes ("General Seminar and Workshop. The Middle Ages. Methodology and Sources"), while this work's author has been teaching for eight years the subject *Historia de Europa en la Edad Media* ("History of Europe during the Middle Ages"). I point out this fact as a group achievement because, with the exception of Luis Ramos Gómez-Pérez—deceased—, Antonio Rubial and Guadalupe Avilez, who are in charge of teaching the subjects *Imperio Bizantino* ("Byzantine Empire"), *Cultura en la Edad Media* ("Culture in the Middle Ages") and medieval art, respectively, those who used to teach general courses about the Middle Ages were not always specialists. This gives the chance to offer graduate students an updated bibliography, to offer a wide panorama of current debates and work with primary sources, something that awakens the interest of students on medieval studies and create an authentic youth academy.

In the case of the postgraduate degree in History at the UNAM, in 2008 we were present at the approval of the curriculum for the Masters and Doctorate degrees and, for the first time, they opened a specific study area about the Middle Ages: *Sociedades antiguas (antigüedad-siglo XV)* ("Ancient societies (antiquity-15th century)"). The configuration of this area represented an authentic window of opportunity that was linked to the project the Historic Research Institute had of promoting the study of areas and topics that differed from those that studied the history of Mexico. This allowed young graduates to continue to specialize in medieval topics given that, otherwise, the reduction of funding programs for postgraduate studies abroad and the high tuition costs in Europe—particularly in Spain—would have made it impossible for them to continue to create successful careers.

As part of postgraduate education, the UNAM considers research trips and offering students support to participate in specialization courses and/or international congresses for which they give them financial support covering airfare costs. This has allowed students who have presented their master's degree thesis—or who are finishing it—to make research stays and, in some cases—even for a couple of times—to go to Medieval Studies Weeks at the Center for Higher-level Studies of Medieval Civilization (CESCM) at the University of Poitiers (2014, 2015, 2016) and the *Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella* ("Medieval Studies Weeks in Estella") (2016). For the education of a European medievalist this is part of the usual *cursus honorum*, but in the case of Mexicans, it has become an authentic achievement and an important overcoming of geographical, administrative and financial obstacles.

Finally, thanks to the predominant system applied to the doctoral program that establishes that it's imperative for an academic committee made up by the main tutor and two other members—who may not be academics at the UNA—to follow the research, it has been possible for prestigious international medievalists such as Martin Aurell, Dominique Iogna-Prat, María Isabel Pérez de Tudela or Francisco Moreno Martín to enrich the work of Mexican doctoral students. It seems to me that this is a great achievement before the inexistent liaisons from before and which contributes substantially to the education of future Mexican medievalists.

Despite the aims and goals that have been reached, there are still significant challenges remaining in teaching. The first of them is to maintain the students'



interest on medieval history. As it happens in other universities around the world, new generations prefer to study contemporary history moved by a legitimate interest on learning about their recent past in order to understand their present, but also, it seems to me, carried away by the relative simplicity of making history in the past few years thanks to the numerous sources they can find in their mother tongue and to their availability through the internet. In that sense, learning modern languages —English, French, Italian and German, the most important for medievalists—, learning Latin and being proficient in paleography and diplomacy represent additional efforts to an already demanding learning process that requires, like any other field in history, long hours of reading and studying.¹⁰⁵

The second challenge consists on making Mexican doctorate students increase their participation as auditors —or speakers, depending on the case— in courses and congresses that are part of the regular scientific calendar of international medievalism, from Summer Weeks at the Center for Higher Studies on Medieval Civilization at the University of Poitiers (CESSM) to those of Leeds, including the ones at Prato, Spoleto, Estella, Najera, Lerida or Buenos Aires. Likewise, it's necessary to increase the participation of said young students in scientific meetings and specialized seminars that are directly related with their fields of study. Lastly, it's imperative to increase the number of specialized publications in prestigious and renowned magazines both in America and Europe that allow them to participate in international debates, nurture the ongoing research developed in other centers and feed and enrich their own research with the observations offered by other young colleagues and consecrated teachers. The first achievements foretell a good result, but it's imperative to lead the way.

A third problem lies in the challenge of increasing institutional outreach with other entities of national and foreign Higher Education that promote student and professors exchange as well as research results. So far, the agreements signed with the Universidad Complutense and the Sorbonne Paris I University have enabled the teaching of specialization courses by professors Francisco Martín Moreno and Dominique Iogna-Prat about the Iberian peninsula in late-antiquity and about Medieval Church studies, respectively, but it's necessary for this mobility of professors to be systematic and planned in a four-year period, for example, in order to enrich the education of postgraduate students. In that sense, it's also necessary to formalize the mobility and scientific cooperation agreements that have been meant to be established with the Center for Medieval Studies at the University of Poitiers and that, for several administrative reasons have not been settled on. Lastly, it would be an important achievement to introduce co-tutorship and double degrees for Mexican students provided they make an annual or biannual stay at foreign renowned and prestigious research centers.

105. This is not a critic to those who cultivate history in present times. Recently, Russo analyzed in great detail and depth the limits and possibilities history has in present times and the complex historiographic, epistemological, heuristic and ideological debates that it demands. Rousso, Henry. *La última catástrofe. La historia, el presente, lo contemporáneo*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 2018.



In order to achieve this it will be necessary to modify current legislations at the university given that double degrees are not contemplated by present-day regulations, but the corresponding authorities are already exploring possible ways. In a global and interconnected world, academic mobilization and internationalization must be a priority for university institutions and this must not only be reflected on speech but also materialized by granting financial resources and by eliminating bureaucratic obstacles.

A fourth problem has an administrative nature and constitutes a contradiction: maintaining the students' interest and promoting the development of doctoral thesis about medieval topics represents, however, the impossibility of Mexican universities to house a great number of medievalists, especially when studying the 14th and 15th centuries are not part of the institutional development of most national Higher Education Institutions (IES) and when the curricular space given to the Middle Ages in the career in history covers, in the best cases, two semesters. In that sense, it's important to point out the fact that some members of the Seminar have been in charge of the courses about the Middle Ages that are taught throughout the Bachelor's Degree in History at institutions nestled in Mexico City such as the Universidad Iberoamericana —an institution that's managed by the Society of Jesus—, the Universidad Anáhuac del Sur —also a private institution— or the “Dr. José María Luis Mora” Institute, a center for public research linked to the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (“National Council for Science and Technology”) (CONACYT). If we add the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana and the Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, there would be no other higher education institutions where they offer the career in History in the Mexican capital; therefore, the members of the seminar have taught at universities in four of the six possible institutions. Thus, it is legitimate to ask: why form medievalists if sooner or later not all of them will have the chance to work as such? The problem has been already established in Europe and we know that in the cases of Italy, France and Spain, many young doctors with an outstanding curricula have had to migrate to other parts of the world, or in the worst cases, have had to abandon their scientific career. The solution lies in designing a new state policy that grants the necessary acknowledgement to humanist studies and social sciences in general and that this translates into the creation of new full-time positions. In practice, there's a great probability that Mexican medievalists that graduate in the following years will have to broaden their work areas or study other historic periods or topics, armed with the theoretical, methodological and instrumental background that medievalism offers.

We can conclude this section by highlighting the strength and interest graduate and postgraduate students have on medieval studies —a situation that contrasts, for example, with Spain, where the number of doctorate students has diminished considerably— the new possibilities that have opened in order to enrich the education of students and the need to stay alert before the new challenges that will come in the near future when the number of medievalists surpasses the number of available positions, even in the lowest levels of academic education.



3.3 Dissemination

For the UNAM, the impact that research results that are generated in its premises have on the society it is part of and for whom it works, is a priority. The UNAM designates countless resources —human, financial and infrastructural— to the labor it defines as knowledge socialization and dissemination of knowledge. There have been four main channels for dissemination: a) national and foreign specialists who have given conferences and keynote lectures; b) the organization of specialized congresses; c) teaching courses and diploma courses, and d) giving dissemination conferences in multiple settings.

In my article published in 2010 I had already pointed out how important it was for lectures, conferences and courses to leave behind the most overused topics and arouse the audiences' imagination —chivalry, Templars, literary cycles— in order to include more varied topics which are more important for current scientific debates in medievalism.

Throughout almost a decade, these academic activities, developed by specialists, were financed through the French Historiography Marcel Bataillon Chair housed by the Historic Research Institute or through the yearly exchange program of the UNAM which promotes the different collaboration agreements that the Mexican university has established with diverse foreign institutions.

The dissemination program regarding medieval topics opened in 2008 with the conference cycle *Introducción a la arqueología medieval: paisaje monumental en Hispania entre los siglos IV y X* ("Introduction to Medieval archaeology: monumental landscape in Hispania between the 4th and 10th centuries"), in the charge of Francisco Moreno Martín, which was followed, in that same year, by that of Víctor Muñoz Gómez about *El señorío castellano en la baja Edad Media: conceptos, fuentes y métodos de análisis* ("Castilian seignury in the lower Middle Ages: concepts, sources and analysis methods"). Francisco Moreno has become a regular spokesman, so in 2010 he presented, together with Laura Fernández, some *Lecciones sobre arte medieval hispano. Arquitectura y procesos históricos en la península ibérica antes del año 1000* ("Teachings about Hispanic medieval art. Architecture and historic processes in the Iberian peninsula before the year 1000") and in 2015 he presented new *Lecciones sobre alta Edad Media Hispana* ("Teachings about the Hispanic higher Middle Ages"). It's important to highlight the cycle of conferences entitled *Iglesia y sociedad en la Edad Media* ("Church and society in the Middle Ages") by Dominique Iogna-Prat as part of the Marcel Bataillon Chair in 2008. As a result, they published the homonymous book which made it possible to disseminate among Spanish speakers the most important thesis included in her works *Ordonner et exclure* and *La Maison Dieu*, which were not easily found in Latin America despite their fundamental content for those who study the medieval Church and religiousness.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, Flocel

106. Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Iglesia y sociedad en la Edad Media*, Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2010. Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam (1000-1150)*, Paris: Flammarion, 2004; Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'église au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Seuil, 2012.



Sabaté gave, in 2009, the cycle of conferences entitled *La Corona de Aragón en la Edad Media, siglos XI al XV* ("The Crown of Aragon in the Middle Ages, 11th-15th centuries") and in the following year, Alessandro Vanoli talked about *El Mediterráneo en la Edad Media* ("The Mediterranean during the Middle Ages").

With the purpose of not overwhelming the reader, I want to synthesize by naming Pascual Martínez Sopena, *Castilla y León entre los reinos de España. Territorio, sociedad y urbanización en los siglos XII-XV* ("Castile and Leon between the kingdoms of Spain. Territory, society and urbanization in the 12th-15th centuries"), 2010; Martín Aurell, *Cultura escrita y caballería, siglos XI al XII* ("Written culture and chivalry, 11th-12th centuries"), 2011; Jaume Aurell, *La historiografía medieval, entre historia y literatura* ("Medieval historiography, between history and literature"), 2011; Glauco María Cantarella, *El siglo XI, marcas de identidad* ("The 11th century, marks of identity"), 2011; Inmaculada Lorés, *El edificio románico. Espacios, funciones e imágenes* ("The Romanesque construction. Spaces, functions and images"), 2012; Martín Alvira Cabrer, *La cruzada contra los albigenses (1209-1229): historia, guerra y memoria* ("The crusade against the Albigenses (1209-1229): history, war and memory"), 2012; Iñaki Martín Viso, *Paisajes y sociedades en los orígenes del mundo medieval* ("Landscapes and societies in the origins of the medieval world"), 2014 and María Isabel Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, *Las mujeres en la Edad Media Hispana* ("Women in the Hispanic Middle Ages"), 2014.¹⁰⁷

Even if during the past three years the effects of the financial crisis have affected the participation of foreign colleagues for not being able to offer them the due commodities for their journey, a global balance allows us to note the participation of renowned European medievalists who have allowed us to go beyond the most recurring and popular topics and to promote a top level labor of dissemination. Despite these positive aspects, again, the absence of Anglo-Saxon and Latin American medievalists is noteworthy, and this absence will need to change in the upcoming years.¹⁰⁸ Before the lack of financial resources, it's imperative to appeal to the good will of colleagues in order to confront the corresponding bureaucracy and explore new ways of communication—such as video conferences, which are increasingly more frequent and whose quality improves thanks to advances in technology—and financing through the development of collective projects or the participation in international exchange programs such as the Marie Curie Program of the European Union.¹⁰⁹

107. "Seminario Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media... (<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/investigacion/seminarios/s_ehed.html>).

108. However, he haven't stopped inviting Argentinian colleagues who have given lectures in different colloquiums. Among them: Ariel Guance, head of the Multidisciplinary History and Human Sciences Institute (IMICIHU) of the CONICET; Gerardo Rodríguez, researcher at the CONICET affiliated to the Mar de la Plata National University and Alejandro Morín, researcher at the IMICIHU.

109. "Les Actions Marie Skłodowska-Curie (A.M.S.C.)", *Horizon 2020*, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l'Innovation, 18 December 2017, <<http://www.horizon2020.gouv.fr/cid73279/les-actions-marie-skłodowska-curie.html>>.



Specialized congresses are an academic activity that is inherent to universities as it allows bringing together specialists in an area or theme in order to share the results of their research work. In some cases they have been questioned or affected by the world financial crisis, but they haven't been absent from the work program of this Seminar. Therefore, in 2008 we celebrated the *Congreso Internacional, El mundo de los conquistadores. La península ibérica en la Edad Media y su proyección en la conquista de América* ("International Congress, The World of Conquerors. The Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages and its Impact on the Conquest of America") which we mentioned above. Among the medievalists that participated in it we can point out the names of Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Francisco García Fitz, Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, María Isabel Pérez de Tudela, Francisco Moreno Martín, David Porrinas González, Marisa Bueno, Víctor Muñoz Gómez, Alessandro Vanoli, Daniel Baloup, Patrick Henriët, Hélène Sirantoine, Eric Palazzo, Eliana Magnani, Klaus Herbers, Alejandro Morín and Junko Kume. Never before had Mexico gathered such a great number of medievalists and perhaps this academic and intellectual achievement only has a precedent in Mexico: the participation of Jacques Le Goff and Georges Duby at the National School of Anthropology and History in the late 1980s of which, regretfully, there are few testimonies.¹¹⁰

The second congress was celebrated in 2011 and it was entitled "Ferdinand III, a Time of Crusade". It was co-coordinated by Carlos de Ayala and by this work's author as part of the project I + D *Iglesia y legitimación del poder político. Guerra santa y cruzada en la Edad Media del occidente peninsular (1050-1250)* ("The Church and the legitimization of the political power. The Holy War and the crusade in the Middle Ages of the western peninsula (1050-1250)"), financed by the ministry of Science and Innovation between 2008 and 2011 (HAR2008-01259) and directed by professor Ayala himself. Creating a financial synergy between the Autonomous University of Madrid and the UNAM it was possible to bring together most researchers linked to the project including Fermín Miranda, Santiago Palacios, Enrique Rodríguez Picavea, Philippe Jossierand, José Manuel Rodríguez, David Porrinas or Carlos Barquero as well as others whose lines of research were similar, including Ariel Guance, Hélène Sirantoine, Laura Fernández or Alexander Pierre Bronisch. As it occurred with the congress *El mundo de los conquistadores* ("The world of conquerors"), the results of this scientific gathering were edited simultaneously in Madrid and Mexico thanks to a collaboration agreement between the Spanish editing house Sílex and the UNAM, something that guaranteed its accessibility and availability on both sides of the Atlantic. This model of collaboration could serve for other similar projects that are promoted in Latin America.¹¹¹

110. The full program of the congress can be found at: "El mundo de los conquistadores La península ibérica en la Edad Media y su proyección en la conquista de América: Ciudad de México, 4, 5 y 6 de junio de 2008", *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 22 December 2017 <<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/eventos/2008/conquistadores.html>>.

111. Ayala, Carlos de; Ríos, Martín, coords. *Fernando III; tiempo de cruzada*, Madrid-Mexico: Sílex Ediciones-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012.



Finally, in 2013 Mexico City hosted the first edition of the International Congress *La Edad Media vista desde otros horizontes: problemas teóricos y metodológicos* ("The Middle Ages as seen from other perspectives: theoretical and methodological problems"). It was promoted by the author with the notable collaboration of Junko Kume, professor at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) in Japan. The congress' uniqueness was that it was the first effort to bring together in Mexico medievalists who worked outside of Europe, regardless of their nationality. This, at the same time, had a double purpose: on one hand, it meant to promote an international collaboration network—particularly with Latin American countries—that was not necessarily linked to Europe: on the other hand, it was to generate a collective reflection upon theoretical and methodological problems—in sum, epistemological problems—those who study the Middle Ages from other geographical, methodological and historiographical settings face.

Naturally—as it usually happens—before this proposal there had been three similar reflections in Latin America. The first case was a series of meetings organized by the Brazilian medievalist Eliana Magnani en Auxerre (2002), Sao Paulo (2003), Madrid (2005) and Buenos Aires (2006) entitled *Le Moyen Âge vue d'ailleurs* and which inspired the title of the Mexican congress as a humble acknowledgement of the work developed by this Brazilian medievalist.¹¹² The project promoted by Magnani had the main purpose of

*Dans un contexte de relative méconnaissance en Europe de ce qui se faisait dans la médiévisque latino-américaine, il s'agissait alors de stimuler les échanges entre de jeunes chercheurs et de chercheurs confirmés autour de l'actualité d'une recherche multiple en train de se construire.*¹¹³

The results of the four meetings were published in digital form by the Medieval Studies Center Bulletin in Auxerre and they represent a great effort to value studies on the Middle Ages that are being carried out outside Europe, as well as a reflection on the importance of non-European medievalism.

The second case was a reflection that took place in 2008 at the University of Sao Paulo and which was coordinated by Didier Méhu, Néri de Barros Almeida and Marcelo Cândido da Silva under the appealing title: *¿Por qué estudiar la Edad Media? Los medievalistas frente a los usos sociales del pasado* ("Why study the Middle Ages? Medievalists before the social uses of the past") and in which Eliana Magnani,

112. The results of the meetings were published online in *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales Auxerre*: Magnani, Eliana, ed. *Hors-série n° 2*. (2008) [Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs] <<http://cem.revues.org/3912>> (Consulted 18th December 2018), only a few works were published in print: Magnani, Eliana, ed. *Le Moyen Âge vue d'ailleurs. Voix croisées d'Amérique Latine et d'Europe*, Dijon: Université de Dijon, 2010.

113. "letting Europe know everything that was being done by Latin American medievalists and to promote the exchange of young researchers and well established researchers around multiple research in construction": Magnani, Eliana. "Avant propos", *Hors-série n° 2*. (2008) : 1-3, especially 1 [Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs] <<http://cem.revues.org/10652>> (Consulted 18th December 2018).



Joseph Morsel and Jerome Baschet participated, among others.¹¹⁴ The third case was a project directed by Gerardo Rodríguez and Andrea Vanina and that was entitled *¿Qué implica ser medievalista? Prácticas y reflexiones en torno al oficio de historiador* ("What does it mean to be a medievalist? Practices and reflections upon a historian's work"). The coordinators invited researchers from both sides of the Atlantic with the purpose of reflecting on "The work of historians, the use of sources and the construction of historiographical and theoretical-methodological frameworks" and they had such collaborators as Flocel Sabaté, Maria Giussepina Muzzareli and even Nilda Guglielmi.¹¹⁵ Apart from the number of researchers, the text is notably interesting because it was elaborated in one of the main centers of Latin American medievalism: the Republic of Argentina. This represents a reflection upon the work made throughout half a century by several generations that meet every year at the annual meeting of the Argentinian Society of Medieval Studies.

Given this rich historiography, why was it necessary to organize in Mexico a new colloquium around this problem? The answer was simple: because Mexican medievalism was being consolidated and it was necessary to reflect on our daily work in contexts that *a priori* were not favorable and with the purpose of finding the meaning of said work by generating at the same time personal and institutional relationships with colleagues from American countries where medievalism already had a long tradition and where it was fully consolidated—such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Canada and the United States—and with colleagues from countries where medievalism is in the process of being consolidated, such as Japan or Australia. The Mexican event brought together professor Junko Kume, from Japan; professors Gerardo Rodríguez and Alejandro Morín, from Argentina; professors Diana Arauz and María José Sánchez Usón, from the University of Zacatecas, and other Mexican colleagues from the area of literature such as Laurette Godinas or Gerardo Román Altamirano.¹¹⁶

Regretfully, our guests from Australia, the United States and Brazil rejected the invitation, so the goal was not fully met and the institutions' organizational problems did not allow us to materialize the efforts made in said reflection. Fortunately, this was continued by professor Gerardo Rodríguez at the Mar del Plata National University, who promoted a second meeting in 2015 under the same title that brought together some participants of the Mexican edition—who were met by Flocel Sabaté, among others—and in 2017 professor Junko Kume organized the third edition at the TUFU in Tokyo. There, the participation of Japanese and Spanish

114. Méhu, Didier; Barros Almeida, Néli; Cândido da Silva, Marcelo, *Pourquoi Étudier Le Moyen Age Au XXIe Siècle? Les Médiévistes Face aux usages sociaux du passé*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012.

115. Vanina, Andrea; Rodríguez Gerardo, dirs. *¿Qué implica ser medievalista? Prácticas y reflexiones en torno al oficio de historiador*, 3 vols., Mar de Plata: Universidad Nacional del Sur-Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Medievales, 2012.

116. The full program can be found at: "La Edad Media vista desde otros horizontes: problemas teóricos y metodológicos 18 y 19 de febrero de 2013", *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 18 December 2017, <http://www.historicas.unam.mx/eventos/2013/coloquio_edad_media.html>.



colleagues was numerous; this last geographical context was truly different but it proved the possibilities that exist and the perspectives that dialogues and debates open.

There are three general conclusions about these encounters. The first one is to highlight the need to promote the creation of networks in a Latin American and global level that allow to disseminate in the region's countries the knowledge that is generated regarding the European history time period that matters to us. The second one is to point out the level that has been reached by medieval studies in the region, something that allows its promoters to actively participate in international debates by having overcome—at least in some part—the problems linked to the geographical distance, including the difficulties to have access to sources and updated bibliography. Finally, the geographical distance has been established as a positive element that offers a different perspective which allows medievalists who work from other regions to offer new points of observation, to analyze processes rather than study specific cases and to contribute from their own historiographical local traditions to the medieval studies made in Europe. We must take into account the fact Fernand Braudel used to conceive his popular book about the Mediterranean during his stay in Brazil¹¹⁷, that Ernst Kantorowicz wrote *The two bodies of the king* from his North American exile¹¹⁸ and that Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz conceived his *España, un enigma histórico* ("Spain, a historical enigma"), from his Argentinian exile.¹¹⁹

The organization of courses—about which it's not necessary to say much—especially focused on the Middle Ages, has been, as we said before, one of the most privileged ways to disseminate a renewed and scientific vision among the general public but with a certain cultural level and varied interests. In that sense, the author has been able to prove in more than one occasion the lack of awareness there still exists about this period of European history and the persistence of negative

117. Braudel, Fernand. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris: Armand Collin, 1949. Paul Braudel, Fernand Braudel's wife, wrote: *L'énorme documentation que mon mari a entre les mains le pousse à prendre le large. Il va choisir la Méditerranée. C'est donc pendant l'épisode brésilien qu'il a changé son sujet de thèse [...]* ("The enormous documentation with which my husband was working on pushed him to take some time off. He chose the Mediterranean. So it was during the Brazilian stay when he changed the topic of this PhD Dissertation") quoted by Dax, Pierre, *Braudel*, Paris: Flammarion, 1995, p. 125. Sobre la importancia de la experiencia brasileña en la trayectoria intelectual de Braudel véase el capítulo IV, pp. 109-136 de esta obra.

118. Kantorowicz, Ernst. *The King's two bodies. A Studie in medieval political Theologie*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. Recently Alain Boureau highlighted the fact that the book was conceived in 1945 due to an erudite discussion that Kantorowicz held in Princeton with his colleague Max Radin who was specialized in law: Boureau, Alain. *Kantorowicz. Histoire d'un historien*, París: Les Belles Lettres, 2018: 57-58.

119. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *España, un enigma histórico*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1956. It is known that the book was a response to Américo Castro's thesis, who was also in exile. Among a massive bibliography about Sánchez-Albornoz written as in Spain as in Argentina I just highlight the last work dedicated to him by José Luis Martín: Martín, José Luis. "Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893-1984)", *Rewriting the Middle Age in the Twentieth Century*, Jaume Aurell; Francisco Crosas, eds. Turnhout: Brépols, 2005: 149-170.



topics surrounding the Middle Ages which conceive it exclusively as a 'dark', 'violent', 'ignorant' period in which 'fanaticism' and 'witchcraft' predominated. He is surprised at the lack of awareness that our time and culture still owe medieval times. Through these courses and conferences that are given in external forums and in the university premises, the members of the SEHSEM have the desire to contribute to the dissemination of a scientific vision of the Middle Ages.

Given this, we are aware of the demands ahead: of systematically giving way to publications about the knowledge that is generated in the Seminar. This would occur by creating a collection dedicated to monographs with a medieval theme within the Historic Research Institute —where naturally studies around the history of Mexico are still the most predominant— and to guarantee an adequate financing. Likewise, it would be desirable to create a scientific magazine such as those that already exist in Argentina (*Cuadernos de Historia de España; Estudios medievales; Cuadernos de Historia Medieval, Estudios de Historia de España*), Chile (*Revista chilena de estudios medievales*), Brazil (*Signum*) or the United States (*Iberian medieval studies*), or at least an annual or bimonthly bulletin such as the one the Argentinian Catholic University edits (*Scriptorium*).

3.4 Institutional Outreach

We mentioned above that one of the most important goals of the program —and actually one of its most urgent challenges— was the construction of institutional outreach programs with universities and national and international research centers dedicated to the study of the Middle Ages. With all that's been said so far we believe that the goal has been met and even surpassed and that nowadays Mexican medievalism of a historic nature has become whole in the context of Latin American and European medievalism and in order to achieve this, a very important factor has been the unconditional and continuous support offered by several colleagues from these countries.¹²⁰ However, there are still goals to be met.

The first of them is to reinforce and increase the number of institutional relationships with Brazil. Despite social, economical and political problems that this South American giant has faced in the past few years, Brazil continues to be an important Latin American model in the field of social sciences and human studies —the University of Sao Paulo (USP) has the first place among all the universities in that region— and houses the greatest number of medievalists in Latin America. A first step has been given. In 2016 the Seminar was invited to participate in a work meeting of the Medieval Studies Latin American Network coordinated by professors

120. It's important to say that the French medievalism website already has a classification for "Mexique" which was elaborated by Améndolla, Diego. "Institutions", *Ménestrel, Médiévistes sur le net: sources, travaux et références en ligne*, 20 October 2015, Unité Régionale de Formation à l'Information Scientifique et Technique, 17 December 2017 <<http://www.menestrel.fr/spip.php?rubrique1428&lang=de>>. In that same way, three members of the Seminar (Martín Ríos, Walter de Santa María and Francisco Vera) have published entries and references in the Spanish portal *Dialnet*.



Marcelo Cándido da Silva from the University of Sao Paulo and Armando Torres from the National University of Heredia, Costa Rica which took place in October of that same year in the Central American country. Seen not as a society but as a work network about common topics, the Network is about to offer the scientific community its first editorial result coordinated by Armando Torres. From this contact it will be necessary to activate the existing exchange mechanisms that exist between the UNAM and Brazilian universities and to promote the circulation of professors, students and their published works.¹²¹

The second challenge is to create links with the Anglo-Saxon world. We must acknowledge that the lack of said links is due to the formation and scientific interests of the author, which focus on the Iberian Peninsula. In that sense, and given the huge task—starting in many cases not from zero but from a position of marginalization—when the works at the Seminar began we privileged an outreach with those institutions or colleagues that were more related. Establishing an outreach with Anglo-Saxon medievalists is utterly important and we will have to focus on directing our efforts in that direction.

The last goal is to found the Mexican Society of Medieval Studies. So far, the contacts and efforts we've made have been unfruitful. This is due, in part, to the lack of professional medievalists in the field of history, since all the full-time professors/researchers that work on medieval history, including art historians, is no more than ten in the whole country. We must add to this situation the marginalization of medieval studies before other fields of historic knowledge as well as the strength and ancestry that literary studies possess in relation with medieval topics. In that sense, it's necessary to maintain the efforts and promote the work with colleagues from other disciplines while also taking as an example successful projects such as those made by the Classical and Medieval Studies Society in Zacatecas, an association that already has a strong outreach that has been promoted by Diana Arauz and Luis Felipe Jiménez.¹²²

4. Conclusions

After all that has been said, we can conclude, in the first place, that the work developed by the Middle Ages Historic Studies Seminar (SEHSEM) throughout a decade at the Historic Research Institute of the UNAM has opened a scientific and

121. The proposals are also valid for other Latin American countries such as Argentina and Chile, although the outreach with institutions and colleagues from these countries has already been established and is positively growing. Financial reasons have impeded us from accepting more invitations as we would like to.

122. *Asociación Zacatecana de Estudios Clásicos y Medievales*, 17 December 2017 <<http://azecme.com.mx/>>. Recently, professor Arauz presented the results of a decade's worth of work made by this Society: Arauz, Dina, "Los estudios medievales en Zacatecas, México. Diez años de labores en la asociación zacatecana de estudios clásicos y medievales (AZECME)". *Estudios de historia de España*, 19-1 (2017): 22-45.



academic space for the study of medieval civilization through research, teaching and dissemination. This has translated into specialized publications, the elaboration of high-level bachelor's degree, master's degree and doctorate thesis with medieval topics and the organization of conferences, seminars, congresses and lectures that have turned the study of the Middle Ages from a historic perspective into something regular that has built its own scientific legitimacy before a historiographical tradition that was centered, until a few years ago, on the exclusive study of national history. In that same way, we can point out that the scientific production of this seminar is linked with the historiographical traditions that find their roots in the pioneer works by Luis Weckmann and Edmundo O'Gormann's historicism, but also in a series of editorial projects linked to the Middle Ages and that were promoted by the Fondo de Cultura Económica and the UNAM and that we have also nurtured in the past few years with specialized monograph studies, two collective books that resulted from the congresses and a dissemination book (Dominique Iogna-Prat).

In second terms, we can consider that Mexican medievalism represented by the Seminar is young in comparison with other Latin American schools, especially the Argentinian, Brazilian and, in a lesser way, the Chilean school —the Costa Rican school was recently created—, but it possesses the necessary impulse to be consolidated along the following decade thanks to the construction of a permanent work group, the existence of administrative and financial mechanisms that support research stays and academic exchanges and, in general, the countless communication and research possibilities that have been generated by the technological advanced linked with the internet. This maturity will have to be translated in an increase of the editorial production through the publication of monographic works and documentary collections, as well as through the conformation of a periodical scientific publication that becomes a way of communicating the research made in Mexico and a space for dialogue with other medievalist schools.¹²³

Despite the achievements that have been obtained, there are still important challenges that must be overcome in the short term: a) opening research fields beyond historiography and cultural history which have been practiced so far and for which it will be necessary to acquire the methodological tools proper of this discipline —paleography, diplomacy, consultation of documented collections and promotion of long research stays that allow researchers to work in European archives; b) increase institutional outreach with Mexican poles where medieval studies are cultivated, particularly Zacatecas and San Cristóbal de las Casas; c) develop and promote academic relationships with Anglo-Saxon centers and d) increase academic exchanges among professors, students and knowledge between the Mexican university and Latin American centers.

123. The efforts made by the magazine *Medievalia* in this regard have been notable, but despite its multidisciplinary promotion, it's true that the scientific nature of the group it belongs to it has privileged literary and philological studies as one can prove by reading the indexes: *Medievalia*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 18 December 2017 <<https://revistas-filologicas.unam.mx/medievalia/index.php/mv>>.



For all these projects to be carried out it's necessary to have the personal effort of the members of the Seminar, but also to have the institutional support offered by the board of directors as well as permanent financial support. In that sense, I believe it's necessary for Latin American medievalism to acknowledge its condition of marginalization in the span of historical research which, for many reasons, continues to have a national character that translates into a recurring questioning by academic and educational authorities of the sense of studying the Middle Ages from Latin America, the lack of funds granted to research, academic exchanges and congresses, in the lack of creation—or lack of number—of full-time professor—researcher positions and the reduction of hours dedicated to the study of the Middle Ages in basic education. Therefore, it's necessary to raise awareness of the huge grounds that studies around contemporary history have gains, particularly among younger students, an interest that institutions echo for obvious reasons, but this should not translate into questioning such as the one made by the Argentinian secretary of education about the legitimacy of medieval studies in said country.

In that sense, I consider Latin American medievalism must join efforts through the development of collective research projects, joint editorial projects—this means overcoming bureaucratic obstacles that lie in signing these agreements—, academic exchange programs and, in general, through a permanent dialogue with European colleagues whose history we study. Perhaps the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century will be the right time to materialize a project that several colleagues on both sides of the Atlantic have established on more than one occasion: to build the Medieval Studies Ibero-American Society. Collective work will be a very fruitful weapon to help fight the new battles history faces in times of crisis.



II PART

THE PAST STUDIED AND MEASURED



THE ROMANESQUE CASKET OF SAINTS ADRIAN AND NATALIA (THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO): CULTURAL CONTEXT AND ARTISTIC ANALYSIS

JOSÉ ALBERTO MORÁIS
PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DE VALPARAÍSO
CHILE

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ABSTRACT

A monographic study of the caskets of Saints Adrian and Natalia from The Art Institute of Chicago was carried out. Historiography of Romanesque art has forgotten this piece, but it was studied analyzing the life cycle of both Eastern Saints, examining its technical aspects as well as its epigraphs.

All is kept in the study limits of the origin of its worship in Byzantium, the transfer of their relics to Rome and during the 9th and 10th centuries, its spread in the old Astur-Leonese Kingdom. Finally, we studied the iconography in relation to the *Passio* written about the martyr and a comparison is carried out with the silversmith works in San Isidoro de Leon.¹

KEY WORDS

Saints Adrian and Natalia, Reliquary, Silversmithing, Leon.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Sancti Adrianus et Natalia, Reliquarium, Opera Argenti, Legio.

1. Investigation Project DI-VRIEA, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (Chile) number 039.363/2017. "Circulation of information, objects and people" Study Group, PUCV, Institute of History. Used abbreviation: BnF, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

1. Introduction

The Art Institute of Chicago conserves among its collections a reliquary dedicated to Saints Adrian and Natalia, elaborated with sheets of silver plated on a wooden base, which, according to the institution cataloging card, dates back to the XIIth century, originating in the Leon Province (Spain)² (Illustrations 1, 2, 3 and 4).

It is striking that, despite the artistic quality of this sacred object, scientific studies devoted to it are very limited. In fact, regarding the elaboration of the famous catalog *The Art of Medieval Spain* (500-200), published in New York in 1993, the complete record by Professor John Williams only collected three sporadic mentions made by researchers.

The objective of this study is to deepen knowledge of this relic, analyzing technical factors, the images that the Romanesque silversmiths displayed in their four faces, as to narrow down their chronology and place of origin.

2. A limited historiographic past

The first recorded mention of the reliquary dates back to 1914, when Josep Gudiol i Cunill responded to a request by Dr. Burkhard Mies, a medieval arts researcher, for *unos cofrecillos, de producción catalana, hechos de madera cubierta con delgada plancha de cobre estampado o repujado a molde*. Gudiol pointed out that Julius Böhler, an antiquarian based in Munich, had sent him two photographs of a lipsanoteca, which the Catalan author rapidly linked to silversmithing productions of medieval Catalonia, and he understood as the custodian of *la mano de San Martín; pero los relieves y leyendas aluden a la muerte de San Adrián*.³

It is not easy to trace the piece since, hypothetically, it left Spain for Germany. In any case, its presence at that time in the Böhler collection in Munich must be linked to the establishment in the United States of another art gallery that, in the 1920s, would showcase the works of his son Otto Böhler, fact that could reveal the route followed by this work for international expatriation.

Information preserved in the archives of the Art Institute of Chicago reveal that as early as 1932, the institute was in possession of a Harry Fuld, also linked to

2. "Reliquary Casket of Saints Adrian and Natalia, 1100/50", *Art Institute of Chicago*, 26 March 2015 <<http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/46230>> Chicago, Art Institute, inventory number 43. 65. The measurements of the piece are: 15,9x 25,4x 14,5 centimeters.

3. "Catalan caskets made of wood and covered with thin copper plates stamped or embossed to order"; "the hand of St. Martin; but reliefs and legends elude to the death of Saint Adrian": Gudiol i Cunill, Josep. "Una antigua producción catalana". *Museum*, 4 (1914-1915): 37-44. Piece dated in the twelfth Century and, as far as we know, the first two photographs of the works published.



German collections and buyers of numerous medieval pieces that are now shared between Boston and Chicago.⁴

These same sources reported a casket transfer on October 17, 1942 to the Chicago Museum through Raphael Stora, in an acquisition policy of silversmithing objects, such as the figure of Kate S. Buckingham (1858-1937), collector, philanthropist and promoter, along with her sister Lucie Maud, from the so-called Memorial Gothic Room, the final location where the art piece is being conserved.⁵

If the relics in the museum showcases are traditionally related to the figure of Kate Buckingham, the role that Meyric Rogers and Oswald Göetz played in their valuation was not minor, especially from the 1940s on. In fact, since the publication of Gudiol in the first decade of the twentieth century, a documentary silence took place, broken only by small mentions to the reliquary made by authors.⁶ It was only after 1945 that small excerpts of reliquary knowledge began to be obtained, defending its Hispanic origin with the silver plating style, demonstrating a chronology between 1150 and 1170 and insinuating the possibility of establishing comparatives with miniatures and ivories preserved in Spain.⁷

In 1961 a study focused specifically on the technical aspects of the piece, enumerating damages suffered and pondering a possible remounting of the plates, identifying hagiographic scenes without attending to its thematic order and establishing parallels with art from the Northern European book; starting with the Nuremberg *Codex Aureus* and the Saint-Hadelin reliquaries from the collegiate church of Saint Martin de Visé (Wallonia, Belgium), as well as ivories from the Echternach area. In this paper, Hispanic origin is put in question with laconic arguments and interesting data concluded from the spectrophotometric and microscopic study of silver.⁸

4. Dale, Thomas. "Meyric Rogers, Oswald Goetz, and the Rehabilitation of the Lucy Maud Buckingham Memorial Gothic Room at the Chicago Art Institute in the 1940s", *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008: 118-130; Swarzenski, Georg. "Die Sammlung Harry Fuld in Frankfurt". *Das Kunstblatt*, 2 (1918): 78-90.

5. Nielsen, Christina. "Introduction". *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008: 1-5; Seidel, Linda. "The Buckingham Head: An Incidental Portrait of its Accidental Patron", *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008: 72-86; Fabens Kelley, Charles, "Kate S. Buckingham as a Collector". *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 39/1 (1945): 1-5; Rogers, Meyric. "The Rehabilitation of the Lucy Maud Buckingham Medieval Collection". *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 39/3 (1945), 33-36.

6. The bibliography cited very punctually of the piece, without deepening its study: Swarzenski, Georg. "Die Sammlung...": 88; Rogers, Meyric. "Decorative Arts". *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago: Report for the Year 1943*, 38/3 (1944), 17; Göetz, Oswald. "Medieval Enamels and Metalwork in the Buckingham Collection". *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 38/7 (1944): 110-112; Foss, Helen. "News Reports". *College Art Journal*, 8/4 (1949): 306; Gudiol, Josep. "Basic Spanish in the Middle Ages". *Art News*, 53/8 (1954): 20; Butler, Ruth. "Frühe spanische Kunstschatze in The Cloisters von New York". *Die Kunst und das schöne heim*, 55/12 (1955): 444-445; Wardropper, Ian; Springer Roberts, Lynn. *European Decorative Arts in The Art Institute of Chicago*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1991: 10-12.

7. Göetz, Oswald. "Medieval Enamels...": 110-112.

8. Donnelly, Marian; Smith, Cyril. "Notes on a Romanesque Reliquary". *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 58 (1961): 109-119.



However, the little diffusion of contributions by Charles Rufus Morey is noteworthy, where it was precisely defended that “relief studies and inscription evidence indicate an attribution to Leon, where it is known that an arm of Saint Adrian is conserved in the abbey of San Claudio”.⁹ The hypothesis, on the contrary, is fully assumed in the work that Jesús Hernández Perera devotes monographically to the sumptuary arts of the Spanish Romanesque.¹⁰

The obligatory bibliographical account dedicated to the Saints Adrian and Natalia caskets is closed, as indicated in the 1993 New York catalog.¹¹ Here, and not without doubt, it defends its Leon origin, linking the piece with the monastery of San Adrian of Boñar, insisting on the precocity of the cult to the saint, in the Hispanic case, at least from the 7th century, and linking the works in silver to other famous works among the Romanesque reliquaries, as is the case of the Holy Ark of Oviedo, within the framework of metal works patronized from royal centers associated with San Isidoro de Leon, and in particular, with the figure of Infanta Urraca, daughter of King Ferdinand I and owner of the mentioned monastic enclave since 1099.

More recent sporadic statements have reiterated such information, scarcely appreciating the iconographic cycle of the artifacts, limiting them to reaffirm their origin in Leon,¹² transcribing the epigraphs located at the reliquary base.

Between 2004 and 2011, other studies have cited this work, maintaining the chronology indicated and linking it to the cult developed in the Iberian Peninsula worshipping these saints, without any further analysis.¹³

3. Medieval cult worship of Saints Adrian and Natalia in the north-west Iberian Peninsula

The origins surrounding the hagiographic tradition of Saint Adrian and Natalia are not clear, although their martyrdom is surely linked to the city of Nicomedia —the

9. “Chasse of St. Adrian”, *Spanish Medieval Art. Loan Exhibition in honor of Dr. Walter W. S. Cook*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cloisters, 1954: catalog card 5. Despite the intense search I could not access the original work of Morey, but I intuit that he was the first author to launch the theory that connected the chest with Leon.

10. Hernández Perera, Jesús. “Las artes industriales españolas de la época románica”. *Goya*, 43-45 (1961): 98-112.

11. Williams, John. “Shrine of Saints Adrian y Natalia”, *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992: 257 (catalog card 122).

12. Franco Mata, Ángela. “Las artes suntuarias en las Españas del Cid y del Cantar. Siglos XI y XII”, *El Cid del hombre a la leyenda*. Burgos: Junta de Castilla y León, 2007: 161-183; Franco Mata, Ángela. “La amortización suntuaria: los tesoros de los monasterios románicos”, *Monasterios románicos y producción artística*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2003: 163-186; Franco Mata, Ángela. *Arte leonés fuera de León (siglos IV-XVI)*. Leon: Edilesa, 2010.

13. Nielsen, Christina. “Reliquary Casket of Saints Adrian and Natalia”. *Devotion and Splendor: Medieval Art at the Art Institute of Chicago, Museum Studies*, 30/2 (2004): 30-31 (catalog card 11); Rodríguez Montañés, José Manuel. “San Adrián de Boñar (o de Las Caldas)”, *Enciclopedia del Románico de Castilla y León: León*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2002: 207-214.



present city of Izmit, in northern Anatolia, Turkey— inside an insecure temporary arch that includes late years of the third century until the year 303.

Nineteenth-century authors, and especially the Bolandist school, debated over this Roman imperial service soldier who, because of his refusal to retract the Christian cult, was imprisoned and condemned to martyrdom in the said city during Galero Maximiano's term. However, his remains were quickly transferred to Argiopolis, so that he would be *honrado por los griegos el 26 de agosto*,¹⁴ along with his wife Natalia and twenty-three accompanying martyrs.

However, beyond the most primitive ecclesiastical tradition and the introduction of the *dies natalis* in traditional Greek liturgical calendars, archaeological evidence has not been able to clarify the first building or even if it existed, location where the relics of the saint were deposited during *translatio*.

Of what there is no doubt is that veneration of Saint Adrian soon arrived in the West, in the pontificate of Honorius I (615-638), transforming the old Curia Julia building of the Roman forum into a Christian temple, consecrating martyrs for the first time in Western Europe, an ecclesial space.¹⁵

Years later, its cult was taking force during the pontificate of Sergio I (687-701), of Antioch. As the *Liber Pontificalis* reveals, the commemoration in Rome of the *dies natalis* became more and more developed with night celebrations on August 14 and 15, a litany which, starting from Saint Adrian to the Forum, was directed to the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, soon developing a *collective penitence* in his honor, parading relics and icons accompanied by songs.¹⁶

During the 9th century, after a vigil, Pope Leo IV (847-855) presided in a committee to honor Saint Adrian, who left this time from Saint John Lateran, stopping again in Saint Mary *Maggiore*, to enter the forum at the doors of the Adrian church.¹⁷

On the other hand, it is more complicated to obtain reliable data from the analysis of calendars and martyrologies, given the disparity of dates they offer and the difficulty of obtaining absolute references to their chronology. The *Hieronymian Martyrology*, composed in northern Italy in the middle of the fifth century, which became a Gallic copy a century later, places the martyrdom of Saint Adrian on March 4th while, on the other hand, analysis of other same nature manuscripts led

14. "honored by the Greeks on August 26": Baillet, Adrien. *Les vies des saints avec l'histoire de leur culte*. Paris: Jean de Nully, 1739: VI, 66; Salaville, Sévérien. "Adrien (Saint)", *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Paris: Librairie Letouzey, 1912: I, 608-609.

15. Quentin, Henri. *Les Martyrologeshistoriques du Moyen Age. Étudesur la formation du Martyrologeromain*. Paris: Lecoffre-Gabalda, 1908: 486-487; Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980; Bordi, Giulia. "Committenza laica nella chiesa di Sant'Adriano al Foro romano nell 'alto Medioevo", *Medioevo: i committenti*, Milan: Electa Edizioni, 2011: 421-433.

16. Andaloro, María. "Il 'Liber Pontificalis' e la questionedell'immagine da Sergio I ad Adriano I", *Roma e l'età carolingia*. Rome: Istitutonazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte, 1976: 69-77; Parlato, Enrico. "Le icone in processione", *Arte e iconografia a Roma: da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*. Milan: Jaca Book, 2000: 69-92.

17. Blaauw, Sible de. *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architetturanella Roma tardoantica e medievale*. Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994: I, 195, 416-437.



H. Quentin to note the date of September 8th, which became frequent in this type of sources from the 7th and 8th centuries.¹⁸

In the ninth century and precisely after the *Ado Martyrology* diffusion, the liturgical presence of Saint Adrian was increasingly frequent, thanks to a Benedictine monk author who, it seems, had in his hands one of the sources which was considered fundamental to understanding the iconographic materialization of the Chicago casket. I refer precisely to the *Passio* of the saint, source which we will return to in the following pages.¹⁹

For the Hispanic case, the question is even more complex, precisely because of the wide spread of the cult, even more so than in Italy, in addition to the rapid appearance of the saint in the Mozarabic calendars which signals the commemoration date on June 16th, just like the so-called *Hispanic Passionary* understood it, with texts of a liturgical nature, sung during Mass, containing the acts or passions of the martyrs, with readings to celebrate *dies natalis*.²⁰

Thus, a specific date is unclear. No mention is made of Saint Adrian on the well-known Carmona calendar, one of the earliest calendars from the times of late *Hispania*, so it can be deduced that at such a time his worship was not massive.²¹

On the other hand, the aforementioned authors established the *Passionary* composition precisely in the eighth century, but it must be borne in mind that, if accepting, for example, that the *Antiphonary* of the Leon Cathedral was inspired by an earlier codex of the seventh century, we would have a very early first testimony on the peninsular level, where not only the presence of the martyr Adrian is included, but —seeming even more relevant— the figure of Natalia erupts with prominence, being cited twice.²²

The Tarragona *Orational* or *Libellus orationum* was dated precisely at the end of the seventh century, where essential data was collected between lines 1051-1062 to understand the hagiographic construction of the iconography of these Eastern saints. It is possible that in said chronology; the so-called *Post Sanctus* of the office was already known, alluding to the passage in which Saint Adrian's hand is amputated, an object that will become the fundamental point of the liturgy and his relics.²³ It is precisely this source where the accent is placed on the bloody martyrdom of the saint but, above all, the faithful and unselfish role of Natalia, his wife, who *alivió a los mártires en sus penas (...) que se mostró diligente en el sufrimiento de tus santos*. Natalia

18. Quentin, Henri. *Les Martyrologues...*: 486-487.

19. Quentin, Henri. *Les Martyrologues...*: 488.

20. García Rodríguez, Carmen. *El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda*. Madrid: Instituto P. Enrique Flórez de Historia Eclesiástica, 1966: 199; Fábrega Grau, Ángel. *Pasionario Hispánico (siglo VII-XI)*. Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953; Ferrer Grenesche, Juan Miguel. *Los santos del nuevo misal hispano-mozárabe*. Toledo: Estudio Teológico de San Ildefonso, 1995: 70-75.

21. García Rodríguez, Carmen. *El culto...*: 201.

22. López Pacheco, Ricardo. "El oficio de Santiago apóstol en el folio 176 del Antifonario Mozárabe de la catedral de León". *Tierras de León*, 24/55 (1984): 124-130.

23. Vives, José, ed. *Oracional Visigótico*. Madrid-Barcelona: Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, 1946: 339-343.



is presented with *honor varonil*,²⁴ clean of marital sin and described in a sanctifying category, equal to any martyr, even if she never suffered punishment.²⁵

Nevertheless, and above all data exposed in relation to the spread of his cult in *Hispania* from the 7th to the 9th centuries, attention must be drawn to what is considered the essential source for valuing the figurative fortune that the martyr Saint Adrian would have. We refer to the *Passio*, a detailed narrative that, despite the difficulties that its dating presents, could have been composed equally between the final years of the seventh century or the beginning of the next and copied already by other Hispanic *Passionaries* during the 11th century.

The text, published by Ángel Fábrega in Latin,²⁶ and never put in relation to the figurative cycle of the Chicago casket, will become the essential element for analysis carried out in the second part of this work, besides certifying the Adrian cult influence into the ninth century.

Precisely in the ninth century, more than other periods and data previously discussed, we find considerable information in order to understand the spread of the Eastern saints cult to the North-west of the Iberian Peninsula.

The San Adrián de Tuñón church, a celebrated pre-Romanesque construction linked to the patronage of Alfonso III (866-910), is one of the first monastic centers in which we know that the saint was worshiped in these territories. The monarch and his wife, Queen Jimena, attend the consecration ceremony of the temple on January 24, 891.²⁷

Although historiography has always focused on this first deposition center for relics, it should not be forgotten that previously, in 863, the existence of a church dedicated to the martyr of Nicomedia in Perlín was documented, today a village of Santa María de Trubia, and where the document indicates that the bishop Glacilla de Braga —of Asturian ancestry— consecrated a temple in honor of Saints Christopher, Adrian and Natalia.²⁸

24. "brought relief to the martyrs in their sorrows (...) who was diligent in the suffering of the saints"; "manly honor": Vives, José, ed. *Oracional...*: 339-343.

25. Vives, José, ed. *Oracional...*: 339-343.

26. Fábrega Grau, Ángel. *Pasionario...*, vol. II: chapter XXXII, 266-279. We do not have a Spanish edition of the source, however, the translation into Portuguese was recently carried out: Farmhouse Alberto, Paulo. *São. Adriaão e Sta. Natália. São Manços. Santos e Milagres na Idade Média em Portugal*. Lisboa: Traduvárius, 2014: 26-48.

27. García Larragueta, Santos. *Colección documental de la catedral de Oviedo*. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1962: 48-53 (doc. No. 13); Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier; Pedregal Montes, María Antonia. "Santo Adriano de Tuñón. Historia de un territorio en los siglos de transición". *Asturiensia Medievalia*, 8 (1995-1996) 79-110; Caballero Zoreda, Luis; Martín Talavero, Rafael. "Santo Adriano de Tuñón y su entramado de madera". *Las iglesias asturianas de Pravia y Tuñón: Arqueología de la arquitectura*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2010, 91-138, where the main bibliographical contributions are collected.

28. Calleja Puerta, Miguel. "La Catedral de Oviedo como centro de conservación de documentos en la Alta Edad Media", *Estudos em Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras, Universidade do Porto, 2006: IV, 179-191.



In any case, the biggest problem lies in explaining the way in which the saint's relics came to *Hispania*, a complex task derived from a series of interpolated and false documents.

For a long time historiography valued the reception of this Eastern cult, derived from contacts of the Asturian Kingdom with Rome, within the framework of relations that the monarch Alfonso III established with Pope John VIII (872-882), a classic subject within Asturian studies. Thus, the document given by the said Holy Father on November 28, 898, authorizing the construction of the Santiago de Compostela cathedral, consecrated in 899;²⁹ serves researchers in confirming relations of the Hispanic north with Rome. Another letter was also attached where Pope John VIII informed the monarch of the reception of other letters, which in addition to requesting help for the fight against the pagans, would hypothetically end up reinforcing this argument.

Without claiming to be exhaustive in this long matter, the truth is that authors such as Peter Linehan, among others, dissected the documents, concluding that these were in fact interpolations attributable to the bishop Pelayo de Oviedo (1089-1153)³⁰ and in a certain way they minimized the supposed relations between the ancient Leon Kingdom and Rome, a suitable framework for the transfer of relics, such as the one studied here.

Nevertheless, more recent investigations returned to the question, accepting that, even in the case of false documents, they would rather be false diplomats, with truthful information.³¹

The importance of accepting this information lies in the knowledge of one of the most important Saint Adrian cult events that took place in the Astur-Leonese Kingdom, related to a document where an Athanaric abbot is mentioned as well as the foundation of a monastery in a place called *Katicas*, by monks from the nearby monastery of San Andrés de Pardomino (Leon) between the years 920 and 924.³² Although authors have discussed whether what really happened in these years was the foundation, endowment or consecration of the building, what does not seem to be in doubt is that the name of the place would be the oldest mention collected

29. Historiography of the famous bulls we quote is long and I refer only to the essential titles: Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. *Orígenes de la nación española. Estudios críticos sobre la Historia del Reino de Asturias*. Oviedo: Sarpe, 1975: III, especially see the chapter titled: "Bula de Juan IX a Alfonso III de Asturias autorizándole a consagrar la iglesia de Compostela" and Floriano Cumbreño, Antonio. "En torno a las Bulas del Papa Juan VIII en la Catedral de Oviedo". *Archivum*, 12 (1962): 117-136. Also see: Carriedo Tejedo, Manuel. "Relaciones entre Roma y el Reino de León (910-1090)". *Promonumenta. Revista de la Asociación de Amigos del Patrimonio Cultural de León*, 8 (2009): 64-69.

30. Linehan, Peter. *Historia e historiadores de la España Medieval*. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1999: 145.

31. Rodamilans Ramos, Fernando. "El Primado romano en la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo X: Un análisis historiográfico". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 27 (2014): 419-460.

32. Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El Reino de León en la alta Edad Media: la documentación real astur-leonesa (718-1072)*, Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1995: VIII, 236. Both monasteries were located in the riverbank of the river Porma, having as the main nucleus the locality of Boñar (Leon).



from a monastery consecrated to Saints Adrian and Natalia in La Losilla, near Boñar (Leon).

The presence of the relics outside of Asturias speaks of the cult expansion, and in addition, sources provide information of protection bestowed to them by local nobility.³³ It is precisely here that the figures of Count Guisvando and his wife, Leuvina, emerge, which tradition wishes to see as promoters of the said monastery. The origin appears in the testimony of Prudencio de Sandoval who claims to have seen “memoirs” in the Oviedo cathedral, where it was indicated that Alfonso III had sent Count Guisvando Braóliz to Rome, within the framework of these letter exchanges and requests for help (mentioned above), locating here the transfer of the Eastern Saints relics and their supposed distribution between Tuñón and Boñar.³⁴

But as stated before, investigations have long debated the authenticity of the documents and more recently the truth of the news³⁵ has been defended, adding to it the mention of the count in an important number of documents related to the old Kingdom of Leon and the San Pedro de Eslonza monastery.³⁶

Among these sources corroborating the existence of Guisvando Braóliz and his connection with the relics of Saints Adrian and Natalia, an important inscription stands out —now disappeared— (Illustration 5), which Ambrosio de Morales translated:

*Esta aula de Cristo dedicada bajo el nombre o advocación de los Santos Adriano y Natalia, construyó el siervo de Dios Gisvado con su cónyuge Leuvina, corriendo la era nongentésima quincuagésima octava. Séate acepto, oh Señor, el ofrecimiento purísimo de tus siervos ya que ellos lo prepararon para Ti con gozosa devoción en honor de tus Mártires. Sean acogidas por Ti, oh Dios piadoso, las oraciones de los miserables. Todo el que entra aquí triste reo, salga luego muy alegre mediante su oración. Fue consagrado este templo por los obispos Cixilano, Frunimio y Fortis, el día doce de octubre de la Era novecientos cincuenta y ocho.*³⁷

33. Pérez, Mariel. “El control de lo sagrado como instrumento de poder: los monasterios particulares de la aristocracia altomedieval leonesa”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 42/2 (2012): 799-822.

34. Yepes, Antonio de. *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito*. Valladolid: Francisco Fernández de Córdova, 1615: III, 355-359; Rollán Ortiz, Jaime-Federico. “Correspondencias entre San Adrián de Boñar (Leon) y Santo Adriano de Tuñón (Asturias)”. *Tierras de León*, 36/103 (1997): 63-78.

35. González García, Alberto. “La proyección europea del reino de Asturias: política, cultura y economía (718-910)”. *El Futuro del Pasado*, 5 (2014): 225-298.

36. Rollán Ortiz, Jaime-Federico. “Correspondencias...”: 63-78, fourteen documents are counted, although I suspect that this point should be reviewed by the paleographers.

37. “This house of Christ dedicated under the name or invocation of Saints Adrian and Natalia, was built by the servant of God, Gisvado, with his spouse Leuvina, in the ninth hundredth fifty-eighth era. Be grateful, Oh Lord, for the purest of offerings from your servants, since they prepared it for you with joyful devotion in honor of your Martyrs. May the prayers of the wretched be received by you, Oh merciful God. May everyone who enters here sadly, leave very happy through prayer. This temple was consecrated by the bishops Cixilano, Frunimio and Fortis, the twelfth day of October in the era nine hundred and fifty-eight”: Morales, Ambrosio de. *Crónica General de España*. Madrid: Oficina de Don Benito Cano, 1791: VIII, 185. He also performed the transcription and translation, debating the date: Yepes, Antonio de. *Crónica...*: 355-359. We know the physical inscription from the photograph published in: Gómez-Moreno, Manuel. *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de León*. Madrid: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, 1906-1908: 162-167.



This *dedicatio* is essential to confirm the protection that the aristocracy gave to the temple of Saint Adrian of La Losilla, and in respects, the nineteenth century historiography would settle the defense of the Roman origin of the relics of these saints, which arrived in Rome and towards the Astur-Leonese areas, which is still accepted even in more recent publications.³⁸ In any case, it is one of the few material remains of what should have been one of the most important monasteries of the north-west peninsula, dedicated to oriental saints between the tenth and eleventh centuries and which today has totally disappeared with its medieval factory.

The proliferation of the Saints Adrian and Natalia cult is documented beginning precisely with the Tuñón centers, Boñar (La Losilla), and especially the Leon area, unparalleled by other areas of the northern kingdoms.

The well-known monastery of Santiago de Peñalba (El Bierzo, Leon), founded by Abbot Genadio (909-920), was later ruled by Solomon (931-937) —successor of Fortis, who is quoted in the Losilla epigraph. This information may not be very relevant for making inquiries about the Saint Adrian cult and its extension towards the Galician-Bercian zones if it were not for the recent finding of an engraved inscription in the molding that runs through the eastern apse of the temple where the relics of Saint Adrian have been enclaved since the year 937.³⁹ Abbot San Rosendo de Celanova (907-977) attended the church consecration ceremony, held in Peñalba on February 9 of that year and perhaps because of his relations with the Bercian monastery, there was a rapid veneration of Saint Adrian, already assumed in the Galician context, when, on September 25, 942, he invokes *a mi patrón el Señor Martín (...) a los santos Facundo y Primitivo, San Adrián y Natalia, San Miguel Arcángel (...)*.⁴⁰

If the extension of the cult to the west of the Kingdom was significant, other monastic enclaves in the east of the region would also suggest an early presence of Saint Adrian's remains on the altars. The remains of the martyr Nicomedia have been mentioned in the epigraphs, at least since 913⁴¹ along with other Eastern saints, such as Saint Cosme and Saint Damian⁴² in the central altar of San Miguel de Escalada.

38. Rodríguez Montañés, José Manuel. "San Adrián...": 207-214; Nielsen, Christina. "Reliquary...": 30.

39. They appear cited next to the relics of Santiago, San Torcuato, San Verísimo and possibly Santa Sabina. See: Guardia Pons, Milagros. "Los grafitos de la iglesia de Peñalba. Scariphare et pingere en la Edad Media". *Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León*, 33 (2008): 51-58.

40. "my patron Lord Martin (...) to saints Facundus and Primitivus, Saints Adrian and Natalia, Saint Michael Archangel (...)": Díaz y Díaz, Manuel Cecilio. *Ordoño de Celanova. Vida y Milagros de San Rosendo*. A Coruña: Fundación Barrié de la Maza, 1999: 247, Homily from the 25th September 942.

41. Caverro Domínguez, Gregoria. "La dedicación de la iglesia en el monasterio de San Miguel de Escalada el 20 noviembre de 913", *San Miguel de Escalada (913-2013)*. Leon: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 2014: 39-65.

42. Erroneous interpretation made in: Rodríguez Suárez, Natalia. "Los tres altares de San Miguel de Escalada, algunas consideraciones". *Rivista di Storia, Scrittura e Società*, 1 (2015): 2-20, see especially: 7. The author identifies the Adrian in the ara with an *abad de Nérida* (?), *cerca de Nápoles, nacido en África* (...) *abad del monasterio de San Pedro y San Pablo de Canterbury* (...) *murió el 9 de enero del año 710* ("abbot from Nerida (?), close to Naples, born in Africa (...) bishop of the monastery of Saint Peter and Saint Paul of Canterbury (...) who died the 9th of January of 710").



Finally, the same legionense capital counted on what should have been an important monastery dedicated to Saint Adrian, as both historical documents and modern chroniclers report. Dedicated to the saint and to his wife Natalia and with an *fundación incierta*, it should be located *al lado del poniente de la ciudad, junto a la puerta del muro*, as father Risco refers to the old Roman wall and its *Cauriense* door,⁴³ and therefore the outside walls.

In addition, this space had to be founded in the Middle Ages, which was certainly crowded due to the close presence of other foundations, such as a temple dedicated to Saint Miguel and another to Saint Marcelo: (...) *situm ad portam Cauriensem foras murum ciuitatis; et est ipsa ecclesia inter duos monasterios, Sancti Micaelis et Sancti Adriane et Natalie, et sunt ipsos monasterios ipsu atrio de ipsa ecclesia Sancti Marcelli* (...).⁴⁴

On the other hand, although the few investigators who dealt with this monastery alluded to the Ramiro I (842-850) era —when the relics arrived in Boñar— to locate their origin,⁴⁵ the truth is that in the year 1080, certain problems were documented in its management that lead to a rule change, embracing now the Saint Benedict,⁴⁶ and in 1090 Risco informed about its possible architectural restoration.⁴⁷

At the end of the eleventh century, the Saints Adrian and Natalia cult was a fully relevant fact in the ancient Kingdom of Leon. It is precisely in this decade when the monarch Alfonso VI was granted a privilege (ca. 1099) by which he donated the monastery of San Adrián de La Losilla to San Pedro de Eslonza, integrating in the *Infantado* through Urraca, now owner of the two monasteries by hereditary right and, most important for our study, endowing them with several artistic works.⁴⁸ The reliquary guarded today at the Art Institute of Chicago must be analyzed according to such chronology and historical framework.

4. Figurative cycle

The shrine dedicated to guarding the relics of Saint Adrian has a prismatic shape and a truncated pyramid cover with scales, while the four faces harbor the figurative

43. “uncertain foundation”; “to the west of the city, next to the door of the wall”: Risco, Manuel. *Iglesia de León, y monasterios antiguos y modernos de la misma ciudad*. Madrid: Don Blas Román, 1792: II, 94-96.

44. Sáez, Emilio. *Colección documental del Archivo de la catedral de León (775-1230). I: (775- 952)*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1987: 41 (doc. No. 368).

45. Villacorta, Tomás. *El cabildo de la catedral de León: estudio histórico-jurídico, siglos XII-XIX*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1974: 110.

46. Espíritu Santo, Arnaldo do. “Los benedictinos en el reino de León”, *Monarquía y sociedad en el reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII*. Leon: Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, 2007: I, 713-731.

47. Risco, Manuel. *Iglesia...*: 96.

48. Ruiz Asencio, José Manuel; Ruiz Albi, Irene, *Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Eslonza I (912-1300)*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2007: 72-73 (docs. No. 70 and 71); Calvo, Aurelio. *San Pedro de Eslonza*, Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1957: 142; Rodríguez Montañés, José Manuel. “San Adrián...”: 208.



cycles. A lower flange, which serves as a base for the piece, accommodates a series of inscriptions,⁴⁹ while, compositional silversmithing works include micro-architectural representations, in the form of galleries of semicircular arches, with hexafoils in the spandrels and without supports or *cul de lampe* in the interior, which undoubtedly facilitates scene transition. Such architectures are elevated at the extremities on smooth columns, with capitals reminiscent of the Doric order, without entasis, but of the eight that are located at the cist corners, two of them are ornamented with helical bands, and small strips or lianas that embrace them.

Although technically there are several uneven areas and possibly some added silver fragments, in general the piece was assembled from large autonomous plates, both on the two fronts and on the short sides, although precisely the two larger pieces could have been readjusted during placement, causing the tunics and the feet of the figures to be cut off.

Moreover, a careful analysis of the way in which the plates were superimposed, points to their conception as a sealed receptacle, with no possibility of opening, as evidenced by modern authors and occurring with other important Leon reliquaries, such as the exterior urn —lost— made of gold and silver, which held another piece, the reliquary dedicated to San Isidoro in 1063, still preserved today with the *Genesis* cycle.⁵⁰ In fact, this last work is essential to understand some technical aspects of the Adrian reliquary, since, as Gómez-Moreno warned, more than a century ago, the silver urn of San Isidoro received a modern restructuring that deprived the original cover form, which the Grenadian reconstructed by drawing, and like the one in Chicago, was covered with a hipped roof⁵¹ (Illustration 6).

Face A of the reliquary (Illustration 1), on a short side, was identified by few authors who treated this reliquary as a moment of the passion of “Adrian, accompanied by Natalia, declaring their Christian faith to the emperor”.⁵²

Three figures are shown in the scene: the enthroned monarch, with *regalia*, identifiable perhaps with the figure of Galerius Maximian (260-311), who seems to have ordered the saint to martyrdom. He looks the other way, where one character is tied to the column and another, individualized by his hair in loops over his shoulders and beard, holds a spear and looks at the emperor.

The scene is not about the condemnation of Saint Adrian and the figure tied to the column is not even identifiable with Natalia, which, as we shall see, is precisely

49. In the old photographs published of the works of Gudíol, Donnelly and Smith, one perceives the loss of one of the epigraphic bands, which is currently lost.

50. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Viage...*: 46-47. He reports that the outer reliquary *no tiene ninguna cerradura, sino que está clava con la plata; y así nunca se abre jamás* (“has no lock, but is nailed with silver; And so it never opens”).

51. Gómez-Moreno, Manuel. “El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León”. *Archivo Español de Arte*, 48 (1940): 205-212.

52. Williams, John. “Shrine...”: 257. Makes the exact same interpretation: Franco Mata, Ángela. “Arte medieval leonés fuera de España”, *La dispersión de objetos de arte fuera de España en los siglos XIX y XX*. Barcelona-Cádiz: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona-Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2011: 93-132.



characterized in this work by being veiled, attending to her Holy dignity, according to the oldest sources.

It is these texts and, in particular, the *Passio* of the Saint of Nicomedia, which allow the representation to be categorized. The emperor dictates Christian imprisonment and, Adrian, here as a soldier —*prior officii*— in service of pagan imperial power, reveals himself as executor, tying his companions with shackles —*ferro vinctos*— as indicated by seventh century sources.⁵³

Continuing the story, we are informed of the repentance of Adrian, who addressing the emperor, finally refuses to worship pagan idols and requests that his name be noted on the Christian list.

The two longitudinally extending faces on the long sides of the urn (B and C) (Figures 2 and 3) present the same type of architectural framing. In the first one, the figures are divided into three groups. To the left, three characters, two beardless and one bearded, look towards the center of the composition, not especially distinguishable by their clothes —equal in all three cases—, but by the weapons they carry, a double-edged axe and a sword with a long blade. At the other end, two figures are represented, one of them carrying a sharp double-edged ax.

The 7th century *Passio* refers effectively to the platoons of soldiers or executioners who carry out the judgments of the imperial dictatorship, and who are charged with making Saint Adrian into a martyr, who occupies the compositional center of the narrative. He lies stretched in the air as if falling to the ground after having his right foot amputated on a bronze anvil perfectly described in the cited text.⁵⁴ On the other side, his right hand has been equally sectioned, although essentially recovered by the personage who will take full prominence in all hagiographic development of the saint, as mentioned both in the oldest liturgical texts as well as in calendars and martyrologies: Natalia.

In addition to the aforementioned text, her inclusion in a prayer dedicated to the saints in the Mozarabic mass *In diem sanctorum Adriani, Natalix et comitum, martyrum*, should not be overlooked. In the *Post Sanctus*, the wife is described as faithful, selfless, Christian and a companion to her husband in martyrdom. In particular, the Mass says that after the amputations, *cucurrit illa ad virum: et de sectam corporis eius manum sibi amoris usurpavit (0750C) in signum: ut ea pars membri in qua significabatur affectus operis: esset illi pro mentione in solacio charitatis. Quo per hanc amor viri semper in eius viveret et corde: et veram quodam modo eius presentiam retineret.*⁵⁵

53. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario*.... XXXII, 8: 268 y XXXII, 2: 267.

54. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario*.... 276.

55. "runs to her husband, and holds the amputated hand of her beloved, body part which signifies the effect of the works, as a sign of love, remembrance and consolation", "In festo S. Martyrum Adriani atque Natalie", *Corpus Corporum. Repositorium Operum Latinorum apud universitatem Turicensem*, Univerität Zürich, 27 January 2016 <<http://mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/>>. See also: Tommasi, Giuseppe Maria. *Liturgia antiqua hispanicagothica, isidoriana, mozarabica, toletana mixta*. Rome: Mainardi, 1746: 119-127.



We are witnessing the culminating point, essential for understanding cult relics, the recovery of the hand by Natalia⁵⁶ and the *Passio*, which particularizes as follows: *cuando los verdugos colocaron el yunque de bronce debajo de sus pies, la bienaventurada Natalia sujetó los pies de San Adrián y los puso sobre el yunque. Los verdugos, golpeando con toda su fuerza, le cortaron los pies y le partieron las piernas*.⁵⁷ For fear of her own punishment and losing the precious treasure, she takes the amputated hand and hides it —*abscondi tmanum*— among her rich clothes. Just at that moment, the seventh century text continues with the emperor ordering a large bonfire to burn the remains of the carnage and corpses of Christians who had already died.⁵⁸ This last piece of information will be relevant.

The larger plate (C) (Figure 3) is located on the opposite side of the previous one. The images represented here stand out for their drama and violence, with two bodies appearing at the panel ends. The figure on the left side lost his feet and his right hand, while the one on the right has his arm amputated and is decapitated.

It is in the empty areas of the silver composition where the silversmiths placed the amputation remains, as if fluctuating in the air, but without interrupting the focal point of the composition, in the center, where Natalia, in a veil, seems to rush to the floor, recovering with her hands the precious relic: her husband's hand.

This scene on face C has generally been understood as a continuation of what is narrated in B, but insisting on the rarity of a hagiographic cycle that gave so much protagonism to the martyrdom and the cruelties suffered by Adrian, the two major urn fronts are dedicated to this scene.

The *Passio* focused precisely on the blood and violence of the scene, describing sessions of lashings, disembowelments and organ scattering.⁵⁹

However, for a reliquary of this quality, a redundant exercise in figurative themes and messages is highly improbable. Most likely the two male figures, bearded and with eyes closed, both represent the death of Saint Adrian and the safeguard of his hand by Natalia. But its textual dimension goes far beyond that. In fact, the *Passio* points out that, following the orders of the emperor, a large bonfire was lit with the intention of burning the holy spoils, in an attempt to deprive possible pilgrimages and relic acquisition. In that moment, Natalia, *dominada por un impulso, gritando se quiso lanzar al fuego*.⁶⁰

Apparently, only knowledge of this source can explain the choice of these two similar subjects, which by the location they occupy, should have been the principal figures of this work. Beyond reiterating the martyrdom of Saint Adrian, the fact that

56. For this passage in particular, the text of the *Passio* has been used, although without developing its content: Williams, John. "Shrine ...": 257.

57. "when the executioners placed the bronze anvil under his feet, the blessed Natalia held Saint Adrian's feet down on the anvil. The executioners, striking with all their might, then cut off his feet and broke his legs": Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX, 276.

58. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX, 276.

59. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX, 274.

60. "overwhelmed and screaming, wanted to jump in the fire." Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX, 276: *Natalia vero, impetu facto, cum voce magna voluit se ipsamittere in ignem*.



Natalia is rushing to her knees into an empty silver space, and the importance given to the bodies and limbs amputated, which seem to fluctuate in the void, highlight the need for further study of these images.

Seventh century texts dictate the following from these events:

*Cuando los cuerpos de todos los santos hombres fueron lanzados al fuego, golpeó una tremenda tempestad, con truenos, lluvia, ráfagas de granizo, relámpagos y temblores de tierra, de tal forma que la ciudad y toda la región quedó sumergida como en un diluvio. De inmediato la hoguera ardiendo se apagó debido a la tromba de agua y ráfagas de viento. Los verdugos, al ver la terrible cólera, huyeron. Otros que aún permanecían allí caían de bruces al suelo y morían. Sin embargo, todos los que estaban en compañía de Natalia y de las otras señoras cristianas empezaron a correr y a recoger reliquias de los mártires. Las hallaron ilesas, de modo que ni siquiera los cabellos se habían quemado por el fuego.*⁶¹

The composition articulated by the silversmiths who raised this panel was as conceptual as avant-garde. The bodies float in the void waters of a gigantic storm, the great flood, *tonitrua magna et pluvia et grandines et coruscations vel terremotus* as dictated by the source.

The unusual treatment, in blank and without further specification, refers to plastic solutions, revolutionary, in the words of Peter Klein, used by the Hispanic miniaturist Sthepanus Garsia, who between 1038 and 1070, embodied his particular vision of the Great Flood in the Saint-Sever *Beatus*⁶² (Figure 7).

In it, water is limited to two neutral color stripes and without any kind of waves, escaping conventionalism of their time.⁶³

The last of the reliquary panels in Chicago (D) (Figure 4), on its short side, offers the image of a ship crossing the waters, this time conceived from waves, and is framed in the well-known *trifora* arc gallery.

Once again, the *Passio* specifies that, after the great storm, a Christian man from the region proposed a plan to Natalia to safeguard the relic, moving it by boat —*navicula*— from Nicomedia to Constantinople, under a careful sacredness, with the wind blowing in favor and where the bodies of the remaining fellow martyrs would also embark.

61. "When the bodies of all the holy men were cast into the fire, a tremendous storm struck, with thunder, rain, hail blasts, lightning and earthquakes, so that the city and the whole region was submerged in a flood. The blazing bonfire was extinguished immediately due to the water and gusts of wind. The executioners, seeing the terrible wrath, fled. Others who stayed fell to the ground and died. All who were in the company of Natalia and the other Christian ladies began to run and collect martyr relics. These women were found unharmed and not even their hair had been burned by the fire." Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX, 276.

62. BnF. Ms. lat. 8878, f. 85r. See: Klein, Peter. "Les sources non hispaniques et la genèse iconographique du Beatus de Saint-Sever", *Saint-Sever: Millénaire de l'abbaye: Colloque International 1985*. Jean Cabanot, ed. Mont-de-Marsan: Comité d'études sur l'histoire et l'art de la Gascogne, 1986: 317-333; Klein, Peter. *El Beato de Saint-Sever y su influencia en el Guernica de Picasso*. Valencia: Patrimonio, 2012.

63. Immersed in a blue background, but without pausing the materialization of the waves, the floating corpses were represented in the folio of the Third trumpet: BnF. Ms. lat. 8878, f. 139v.



There is no doubt that the holy wife appears here showing spectators the holy relic delicately *envuelto en un paño púrpura, perfumándola de mira y colocándola en su jergón, junto a la cabecera, sin que nadie lo supiese*.⁶⁴

Williams, Franco Mata, and Nielsen, identified Natalia along with two of her fellow Christians.⁶⁵ However, characterization is certainly different, especially in that it is located next to the stern of the ship, bearded and similar to the way in which the effigy of Saint Adrian was figured in the rest of the plates.

The *Passio* recounts the journey undertaken by Natalia and her crew, with the emperor's soldiers pursuing them. After overcoming this first obstacle, the text indicates that (...) *en medio de la noche, apareció un espíritu ingenioso con la apariencia de un barco en el cual parecían estar soldados y marineros. Desde allí se les indicaba como con voz de marinero*, that they should keep sailing in the wrong direction because *quería hacerles naufragar y destruirlos*.⁶⁶

The holy retinue trusted the voice of that sailor —*naute orientales*—, and they changed the navigation heading. The text goes on to point out that, just then, Adrian appeared on the ship and warned his wife of the deception, that the sailor was actually the devil, accompanied by those who carried his relic, walking on waters on the sides of the boat.

Using the text as a starting point, which is much more complex than the simple identification of the *translatio*, is necessary to assess whether, in reality, the bearded figure present on the deck, is Adrian, while the young bearded man, to which Natalia shows the relic, is not really the demon in the figure of a sailor. The fact that the silversmith had decided to occupy the minimal compositional space that the boat has to offer with these two figures as to not subtract a certain protagonism to Natalia, therefore this study will evaluate the relevance of these two characters from the hypothesis planted.

5. About the epigraphs

Although we have lost the first of the epigraphs located under the scene with Adrian as a soldier of the emperor (face A), there are still three other units at the base of the reliquary, known from the reading by Williams which later researchers accepted.

Side B of the casket reads: MARTIRIS EXIMI SACRUM, that is to say, "Consecrated (to the memory) of the exalted martyr", while under panel C it indicates: QUI

64. "wrapped in a perfumed purple cloth, hiding it from sight and placing it on its mattress, near the head, without anyone knowing": Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario*...: XXXI: 277.

65. Williams, John. "Shrine...": 257; Franco Mata, Ángela. "Arte medieval...": 112; Nielsen, Christina. "Reliquary casket...": 30.

66. "(...) in the middle of the night, an ingenious spirit appeared with the figure of a ship boarded by soldiers and sailors. In a sailor's voice"; "continue to sail in the wrong direction to make them shipwreck and destroy them": Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario*...: XXXIII, 47.



MARTIR FACTUS SPREVIT EUM, "(Adrian) has been become a martyr, Natalia took him." Finally, the following epigraph was located on face C: (JA) CET HIC ADRIAN, "Adrian remains here."

Without going into details of specialists in the epigraphic discipline, it should be noted that, these inscriptions were of a certain conservative nature, considered *explanaciones* or *letreros que acompañan a escenas iconográficas de todo tipo para explicar su significado*. *Unas veces consisten en el simple nombre del personaje, otras en un mensaje doctrinal alusivo a la escena*.⁶⁷

However, it seems clear today, from research advancement on this inscription typology, to try to avoid generalizations and to attend to each specific case. Frequently, any accompanying written message—if it is possible to define this action so ambiguously—a figurative representation was enclosed between the *explanaciones*, although, in many cases, this text explained nothing.

Understanding epigraphs of these pieces under generalist criterions has led to consider that one of its most outstanding functions was to advertise a message, along with that of identifying and accompanying, when related to iconographic representation. However, recent research has limited the functions of written signs of this type, warning that inscriptions neither accompany nor identify or, at least reduce them to such functions which would impoverish messages with more complex purposes.⁶⁸

In fact, if we look at the inscriptions on faces B and D, it seems that the function of accompanying the image was the smallest. The allusion to the memory of the martyr who is consecrated and exalted by the reliquary and the use of the *funera* type, referring to the *epitaphium sepulcrale* from the *hic iacet* formula seems to insist on the complex cataloging of the types and functions of these epigraphs.⁶⁹ The notificative verb *iacet* only affects the bodily presence of Saint Adrian, in the form of relics stored in the interior, but epigraphy in this sense, has enlarged the meaning from new dimensions of corporeity, as it also becomes present through the written sign of his memory, which inscription B calls to exalt. Physical presence and memory are not the same and this forces us to rethink the cataloging of the epigraphs and their functions, that of course cannot explain what the viewer does not see, the vestiges guarded inside and only the image, per se, made present.

The inscription makes present, with its written signs, which the spectator cannot see, activates knowledge of the occult and therefore drastically some directs away

67. "signs that accompany iconographic scenes of all kinds, explaining their meaning. Sometimes they consist of the simple name of the character, others a doctrinal message allusive to the scene": García Lobo, Vicente; Martín López. Encarnación. "La epigrafía medieval en España. Por una tipología de las inscripciones", *VIII Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación de la Hispania altomedieval (siglos VI-X)*. Madrid: Cema, 2009: 185-213.

68. Debais, Vincent. *Messages de pierre. La lecture des inscriptions dans la communication médiévale (XIII-XIV siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009: 206-207.

69. See the excellent work of: Martín López, Encarnación. "La salvación del alma a través de las inscripciones medievales", *IX Jornadas Científicas sobre documentación: La muerte y sus testimonios*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Medievales de Aragón, 2011: 255-279.



alleged advertising functions.⁷⁰ In fact, there are numerous cases of reliquaries—with inscriptions—which, according to sources, were not visible during medieval times.

The most relevant case for the subject discussed here has already been mentioned. The argent urn of San Isidoro, preserved today in the Museo de la Real Colegiata, in Leon, with its elaborate cycle of *Genesis*, presents important epigraphic developments that, at first, could be understood as connections for its reading. However, as stated, such a receptacle existed during the Romanesque, enclosed in another large urn, also of gold and silver, which deprived any vision of the smaller casket.⁷¹ In fact, Ambrosio de Morales, the most linked person to the Middle Ages who recorded the way the work was exposed in the temple, reiterates that the outer ark was spiked and never opened. This discredits attributes of the epigraphs in the urn, that today is preserved of San Isidoro, such as advertising, pedagogical and propagandistic functions, almost understood like a massive consumption of writing.

On the contrary, the function of these epigraphs would be closer to the nature of the so-called *endotaphia*, inscriptions hidden within the sepulchers, whose intentional scope was directed more towards thaumaturgical and symbolic purposes.⁷²

In short, I cannot share that the three epigraphs of Saints Adrian and Natalia are a complement to the image, as they are not subordinates to the icon. On the contrary, the inscriptions act on the figure, endowing it with new implications of action. Thus, the inscription on face B appeals to the very presence of the icon, to its exaltation as a container of memories, hence the word *eximi*, which in other epigraphic funerary contexts makes the dead body present, physical, through the image of the rising soul.⁷³

Faced with the appeal to the memory to which the inscription of this reliquary is dedicated with the previous inscription, which appears on face C, redefines the idea from the redundancy in such action: “He became a martyr”. This is corroborated by the verb *sprevit*,⁷⁴ a veiled allusion to Natalia and an essential character in all the hagiographic action.

70. There is doubt of the publicity character, with good arguments, in: Debiais, Vincent. *Messages...*: 206-207. This function is defended in: García Morilla, Alejandro. *Las inscripciones medievales de la provincia de Burgos: siglos VIII-XIII*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid (PhD Dissertation), 2013: 221.

71. In fact, in the current museographic installation, under the small Seville reliquary, another urn has been placed, of greater dimensions, made of wood and has already lost any trace of its medieval decoration. It is usually regarded as the original shell of the outer reliquary.

72. Treffort, Cécile. *Mémoires carolingiennes. L'építaphe entre célébration mémorielle, genre littéraire et manifeste politique (milieu VIIIe-début XIe siècle)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007.

73. For concept use: Arco y Garay, Ricardo del. *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1947: 45.

74. Third person singular, present perfect of the verb *sperno*, *sprevi*, *spretum* which means, to separate, to remove, to reject, to throw away. Nevertheless, it has a polysemous character, having other meanings like depreciating or despising. See: Sánchez Cid, Ignacio. *La repudiación de la herencia en el Código Civil*. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 2012: 138; Cange, Charles du. *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*. Paris: Favre, 1681: III, col. 932.



The last of the epigraphs, on the D side, introduces the formula *Hic iacet*, one of the most relevant. For this reason, I do not think it was accidental to choose one of the short sides of the reliquary, under the *translatio* scene, thus insisting on a sort of triple modality of the martyr presence from the adverb *hic*. Indeed, here is the place, the ship, where the real relic was recovered by Natalia, but also, here, is the geographic location where Adrian reappears to perform his last miracle by way of Constantinople. *Hic* puts accent on the truthful presence, in the *post mortem* apparition of Adrian, which avoids the devil's deception.

Nor does it seem random that, following the nature of the *epitaphia sepulcrale* and the use of the *hic iacet* formula, which frequently alluded to bodies of the deceased, that inscription was placed under the panel where the story of Adrian's martyrdom is revealed, with the hand already turned into a holy relic. It is precisely here that the inscription does not mention the body at all, but where the hand is made figuratively, above.

The inscriptions, besides the information provided, allow another series of relevant data to be obtained for the chronological frame of the artifact. Thus, the external characters of the same can fit within the Carolina type letters, with some very specific preservation of Visigothic type lettering, such as the letter "M", with parallel and convergent upward strokes.⁷⁵

On the other hand, the letter 'A' uses a horizontal straight line in the middle part, while the upper one is a continuation of the right side, forming an ornamental appendix.⁷⁶ Cases such as the letter 'E', which appears in a round shape, coexist with the frame, and are also specific to the epigraphs.⁷⁷ In fact, it is one of the essential characteristics of the letterings, which in many cases tend towards rounded⁷⁸ forms and resort to curved and sinuous strokes that expand upward, which, visually, entwine whole words, resembling Carolina style writing.⁷⁹

In addition, one of the most representative elements of this writing is the abbreviation 'US', where the 'S' is transformed into a large comma, appearing here in the word *factvs*, on face C of the reliquary.

Far from being exhaustive in the analysis of the inscription *ductus* and waiting for an investigation by specialists in this matter, it is convenient to make a quick review on Romanesque silversmith productions of the Northwest Iberian Peninsula, with the intention of establishing comparatives that allow understanding of the artistic framework in which the Adrian prestige was invoiced.

We must first mention the artistic heritage, lost in this sense, an insurmountable issue, more and when, for example, relevant works are lacking from the ancient temples of the Kingdom of Leon, between the first half of the eleventh century and the first decades of the twelfth century. There is nothing left to cite from a case that

75. From the word *martiris* on face B.

76. The letter "A" of the word *martiris* from face B. Note that none of these letters use the broken "V" intermediate stroke.

77. Like in the word *iacet* on face D.

78. See the letter "D" in the word "Adrian" on face D.

79. Note the letters "A" in the three headings and, for example, in the word *factvs* in face C.



should have been magnified among the works of Romanesque silversmiths, the old altar front and the canopy of silversmith's work done under the committees of Bishop Diego Gelmírez for the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela.⁸⁰ Little more is known about dozens of pieces that the *Historia Compostelana* mentions in the power of the ecclesiastic, like the silver missal, a silver letter box, boxes, a *Lignum Crucis* of the same material, a gold cross, three chalices,⁸¹ and a crucifix *mirifica aurificis manu consculptum*, property of Gelmírez, which is also lost.⁸²

According to Ambrosio de Morales, it is an altarpiece *mayor que creo hay en España*,⁸³ which the monarch Alfonso VI of Leon ordered to be made for the monastery of San Benito de Sahagún. Neither is there any greater evidence of the cross donated by the infanta Urraca to the cathedral of Leon⁸⁴ or the one offered to the altars of the basilica of San Isidoro and which is known from a modern description.⁸⁵

Lost works susceptible of being compared with the casket of Saint Adrian are innumerable and its destiny should not have moved away from the suffered cross, property of infanta Elvira, invoiced for the monastery of Valcabado (Zamora) and sent off already —*desfacere*— in its time to his Niece, Queen Urraca, to buy a horse with the nine *marcos* she obtained.⁸⁶

Others were more fortunate and although they remained missing throughout the 20th century, recent research has managed to provide some images for study. This is the case of the portable altar from the monastery of Santa María de Obona (Tineo, Asturias),⁸⁷ a piece of Romanesque silver whose existence was already known in the nineteenth century from drawings showing epigraph development that ran

80. The dating of the two pieces has been discussed but in any case, they could fit between the years 1105 and 1112. A recent study, with bibliographical updates can be found in: Castiñeiras González, Manuel; Nodar Fernández, Victoriano. "Para una reconstrucción del altar mayor de Gelmírez: cien años después de López Ferreiro". *Compostellanum*, 55/3-4 (2010): 575-640.

81. *Historia Compostelana*. ed. Emma Falque Rey, Madrid: Akal, 1994: LVII: 409.

82. *Historia Compostelana*...: LIV: 162, Which are mentioned together with a portable ara and a golden chalice.

83. "greater than I think there is in Spain": Morales, Ambrosio de. *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España*. Madrid: Benito Caro, 1792: X, 49.

84. A recent analysis of the complex source where it is mentioned in: Henriët, Patrick; Sansterre, Jean-Marie. "De 'l'inanimis imago' à 'l'omagem mui bella': méfiance à l'égard des images et essor de leur culte dans l'Espagne médiévale (VII-XIII siècle)". *Edad Media: revista de historia*, 10 (2009): 37-92.

85. Manzano, José. *Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidro, arzobispo de Sevilla, con una breve descripción de su magnífico templo y real casa del mismo señor San Isidro en la muy noble ciudad de León*. Salamanca: Imprenta Real, 1732: 352.

86. Ruiz Albi, Irene. *La reina doña Urraca (1109-1126), cancellería y colección diplomática*. Leon: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2003: 483 (doc. No. 81).

87. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. "La imagen de la desaparecida ara de Obona (Asturias) en el contexto de la orfebrería románica astur-leonesa". *Codex aquilarensis*, 29 (2013) 223-250, where the only known photograph of the work is published, property of the Archive of the Institute of Cultural Heritage of Spain.



along the illustration edges⁸⁸ (Illustration 8) and today an old photograph exists that allows its study, adding it to this limited list of irrecoverable objects (Figure 9).

Finally, in an attempt to deduce the artistic context in which the Chicago casket was made, the necessary comparisons must be made with respect to the San Isidoro casket in Leon (ca. 1063), the ark in Cámara Santa of Oviedo (ca. 1072 approximately), the aforementioned altar of Obona and the San Salvador de Fuentes cross (Villaviciosa, Asturias), preserved today in the New York Metropolitan Museum.⁸⁹

The epigraphic comparison of the inscriptions presented by these pieces with respect to those covering the lower part of the Chicago reliquary is quite representative. In the comparative table (Figure 10), the presence of the letter A seems common to all the relics linked to the silversmithing core of the Astur-Leonese area, with a small horizontal stroke on the union of the two converging ends, which is especially visible in the inscriptions of the oventense Holy Ark. This particular element, almost by way of nexus, unites the letters in the Obona altar. Without elaborating on the parallels of all the inscriptions, the combination of the square letters with lowercase is symptomatic, a characteristic shared by all the relics. However, while the earliest works, such as the isidorian ark and that of Oviedo seem to reveal certain visigothic preservations, the altar of Obona, for example, already stands out for the total absence of these preservations, since this piece is dated between 1113 and 1138.⁹⁰

On the contrary, if the comparison is established with other relics from the same circle, such as the portable altar donated by the infant Sancha Raimúndez in 1144 to San Isidoro de Leon, preserved in the Museum, the data also confirms an *ante quem* date for the Chicago urn (Figure 11). Epigraphic characters from the era show

88. Miguel Vigil, Ciriaco. *Asturias monumental, epigráfica y diplomática: datos para la historia de la provincia*. Oviedo: Imprenta del Hospicio Provincial, 1887: plate QbIII, number Qb17.

89. An attempt of bibliographic selection on these pieces exceeds the interests of this study. I refer then to the works that suppose an updated synthesis. On the ark of Saint Isidoro: Fernández González, Etelvina. "Relicario de San Isidoro". *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006: I, 136-141. On the oventense ark, of which again its chronology has been debated: Fernández González, Etelvina. "El Arca Santa de Oviedo y sus precedentes: De Alfonso II a Alfonso VI", *Alfonso VI y su legado*. Leon: Instituto Leonés de Cultura, 2012: 311-343; Bango Torviso, Isidro. "La renovación del tesoro sagrado a partir del concilio de Coyanza y el taller real de orfebrería de León. El Arca Santa de Oviedo (1072)". *Anales de historia del arte. Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, 2 (2011): 11-68; Alonso Álvarez, Raquel. "'Patria uallata asperitate moncium'. Pelayo de Oviedo, el archa de las reliquias y la creación de una topografía regia". *Locus Amoenus*, 9 (2007-2008): 17-29 and Alonso Álvarez, Raquel. "La obra histórica del obispo Pelayo de Oviedo (1089-1153) y su relación con la Historia legionensis (llamada silensis)". *e-Spania*, 14 (2012) <<http://e-spania.revues.org/21586>> (Consulted 12th April 2015); García de Castro Valdés, César. *El Arca Santa de la catedral de Oviedo*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2017. Regarding Obona's piece: Moráis Morán, José Alberto. "La imagen...": 223-250 and Ruiz de la Peña González, Isabel. "El ara desaparecida del monasterio de Santa María de Obona (Tineo, Asturias)". *El monacato en los reinos de León y Castilla (siglos VII-XIII)*. Leon: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2007: 531-546. The monographic study of the Fuentes cross still remains pending. See nonetheless: Martin, Therese. "Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History", *Reassessing the Roles of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Leiden: Brill, 2012: I, 1-33.

90. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. "La imagen...": 249.



full knowledge of Carolina style letters, which are more evolved and differ from the Saint Adrian casket model.

This data will serve as a basis for the chronological assessments that will be concluded at the end of this study.

6. Style as a chronological factor

The last section of the paper focuses on a stylistic analysis of the formulas used by the silversmiths who made the Saint Adrian casket. The absence of specific documentation that makes it possible to specify the origin of the piece more precisely, as well as the details of the hypothetical workshop to which it must be linked, again, must be handled with problematic stylistic contextualization.

The method is dangerous, especially when taking into account the most recent proposals made by researchers and, in the case of Astur-Leonese silversmith works, researchers have tried to outline a renewed panorama of artistic affiliations.

This is the case for the Holy Ark of Oviedo, a piece which traditionally established contacts with respect to the Isidorian urn of Leon, but which today is dated in the year 1072, *siendo una creación de un taller de orfebrería situado en la corte leonesa cuya actividad se debió iniciar con las obras de Fernando I y Sancha, y continuaría en vigor durante el reinado de su hijo Alfonso VI.*⁹¹

This tendency has been increasingly accepted in recent years, in an attempt to rebuild this workshop, located under the auspices of the royal Leon family. Pieces such as the portable altarpiece of Obona,⁹² the chalice of abbot Giraldo (1096-1108), in the cathedral of Braga and dated around the year 1004⁹³ or the cover of Queen Felicia's *Evangelary*, dated between 1072-1094 and with undoubted technical similarities with respect to the chalice of Urraca,⁹⁴ have allowed to extension of works coming from the Leon capital, to other distant areas.

The techniques used by the silversmiths in the adriana casket do not have direct or absolute consequences with the remaining pieces, a fact that, in no case, is an obstacle to disconnect it from isidorian workshops. In fact, this is one of the main riches made from the set of goldsmiths and ivory artists in San Isidoro, characterized by their extensive artistic production, which probably began in 1059 with the San Pelayo casket and extended to at least the Year 1150. These artists were able to

91. "being a creation of a silversmith's workshop in the Leon court which began with the works of Fernando I and Sancha, still in force during the reign of his son Alfonso VI": Bango Torviso, Isidro. "La renovación...": 46.

92. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. "La imagen...": 249.

93. Nodar Fernández, Victoriano. "Cáliz y Patena de San Giraldo", *Compostela y Europa: la historia de Diego Gelmírez*. Milan: Skira, 2010: 364-367 (catalog cards 25 and 26).

94. Bango Torviso, Isidro. "Cubierta del evangelario de la reina Felicia", *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006: I, catalog card 116, 292-296.



create very different works stylistically, as dissimilar as the *Hispalense* urn and the Urraca chalice.

Among such a heterogeneous corpus of works, the Saint Adrian casket would enrich this wide use of iconographic and material solutions.

The use of slender micro architectures, with unpaved alley arches, or the introduction of columns with trusses girded or decorated with fine helical vines, is a feature that has been understood proper to the legionense workshop, appearing in the Holy Ark of Oviedo,⁹⁵ possibly in the gold coverings of the San Pelayo ark and now also in the Saint Adrian casket. In all the pieces, the presence of a very specific type of smooth capital points towards unitary formulas (Illustration 12).

On the other hand, in an impeccable study on important pieces relevant to Central European Romanesque silversmithing, Joachim Huber indicated that one of the distinguishing features of the Isidorian ark was its four waters structure,⁹⁶ without a doubt an original element that is shared with only a few of the preserved pieces in the Hispanic Northwest and of which the Saint Adrian casket would be totally indebted.

Although scaling as a decorative element is frequent in this type of work, it should not be forgotten that it was one of the reasons for the increased fortune from the year 1100 in buildings of the Spanish-Languedoc⁹⁷ orbit, from Toulouse to Compostela. Even losing the Romanesque models, the small representation of the tomb of Santa Eufemia from the Orense cathedral,⁹⁸ with its scaled cover, seems to recall some figures that should have been very widespread in the ancient Kingdom of Leon.

Less original solutions, such as the location of hexafolias in the spandrels of the Adrian casket arches, have monumental parallels in stone, for example, at the door of forgiveness in the Isidorian basilica, on the heads of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, evocative in turn of formulas proper to the metalwork.⁹⁹

Finally, valuing the technical handling of draping analysis, which is often used—not without problems—to match sculpted Romanesque productions, it will be observed that, of course, the folds of the Adrian ark point to a much greater complexity and naturalism than the Isidorian ark figures. Even more similar,

95. Bango Torviso, Isidro. “La renovación...”: 55.

96. The author indicates that the reliquary of San Isidoro, even with its modern reforms, would be, together with the so-called Great Box of Sion (Valais, Switzerland), two of the oldest reliquaries preserved with a troncopyramidal roof: Huber, Joachim. “La Grande Châsse de Sion et la Querelle de las Investitures”. *La Grande Châsse de Sion. Chef-d’oeuvre d’orfèvrerie du XIe siècle*. Paris: Somogy, 2005: 73-98.

97. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. *Roma en el Románico*. Cáceres: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Extremadura, 2013: 303.

98. On the late medieval chronology of this image of the tomb and its scaling, see: Moralejo Álvarez, Serafín. “La reutilización de los sarcófagos antiguos en la España medieval”, *Colloquio sul reimpiego dei sarcofagi romani nel Medioevo*. Marburg: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1984: 187-203.

99. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. “Nuevas reflexiones para la lectura iconográfica de la Portada del Perdón de San Isidoro de León: el impacto de la Reforma Gregoriana y el arte de la tardoantigüedad”. *De arte*, 5 (2006): 63-86.



although not absolute references, are the figures in the Holy Ark of Oviedo, especially for being more complex, swirling at abdomen height in both pieces.¹⁰⁰

As a conclusion, it should be pointed out that there is no problem in locating the invoice of this silver work within the silversmith committee linked to the Leonese royal family, especially between 1099, when the monastery of Saint Adrian passed into the hands of the Infanta Urraca, along with the invoice of the last works linked to the Isidorian workshops, in the year 1150.

On the other hand, the new reading of the hagiographic cycle that we have presented here seems to emphasize the importance of such images in Natalia, both in the episode of the martyrdom of Saint Adrian, in the passage of the fire extinguished by the storm, as well as in the appearance of the demon during *translatio*. This knowledge was found within the *Passio* and the Tarragona *Orational*.

Finally, formal and technical aspects, the morphology of epigraphic writing and its direct relations with other reliquaries of the Astur-Leonese area seem to confirm both the geographic and chronological ascription defended here.



ILLUSTRATION 1. CASKETS OF SAINTS ADRIAN AND NATALIA. FACE A.
© THE CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE.

100. I desist making a detailed comparative description of the draped textiles of all the works cited. Sufficed to note, as a specific feature, that the image of Saint Adrian on the A side of the Chicago chest shows a fold of the robe that moves in the wind, quite similar to the solutions used in the niellated cover of the Holy Ark (Oviedo), where the angel on the right arm of the Dimas cross, the Good Thief, offers a direct parallel.



ILLUSTRATION 2. CASKETS OF SAINTS ADRIAN AND NATALIA. FACE B. © THE CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE.



ILLUSTRATION 3. CASKETS OF SAINTS ADRIAN AND NATALIA. FACE C.
© THE CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE.





ILLUSTRATION 4. CASKETS OF SAINTS ADRIAN AND NATALIA. FACE D. © THE CHICAGO ART INSTITUTE.



ILLUSTRATION 5. EPIGRAPH OF THE CONSECRATION OF THE SAINT ADRIAN CHURCH, LA LOSILLA, LEÓN (LOST). © CONSEJO SUPERIOR DE INVESTIGACIONES CIENTÍFICAS, HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES ARCHIVE CENTER, MADRID, ATN/GMO/c05979.



ILLUSTRATION 6. PRIMITIVE STATE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SAINT ISIDORO ARK (ACCORDING TO MANUEL GÓMEZ-MORENO, "EL ARCA DE LAS RELIQUIAS DE SAN ISIDORO DE LEÓN". *ARCHIVO ESPAÑOL DE ARTE*, 48 (1940): 205-212).

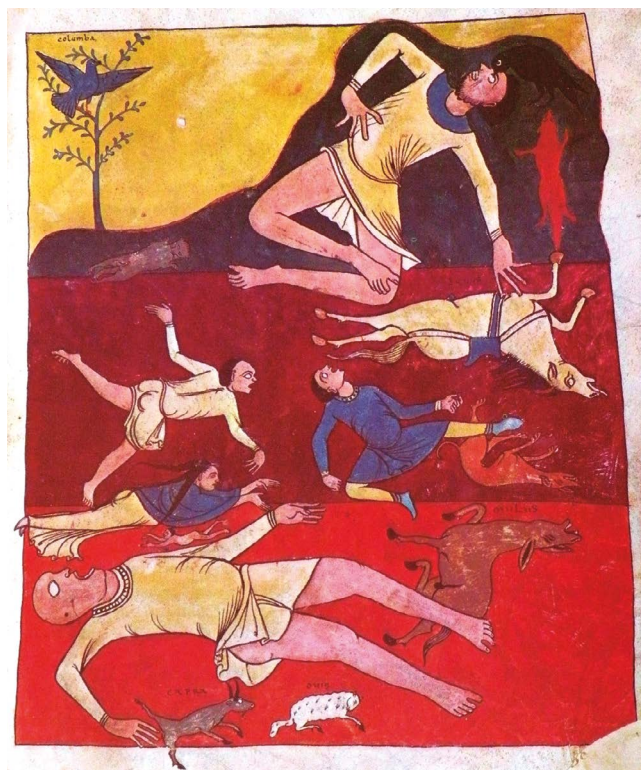


ILLUSTRATION 7. SAINT-SEVER BEATUM, THE UNIVERSAL DELUGE, PARIS, BnF, Ms. LAT. 8878, FOL. 85r. © BnF.



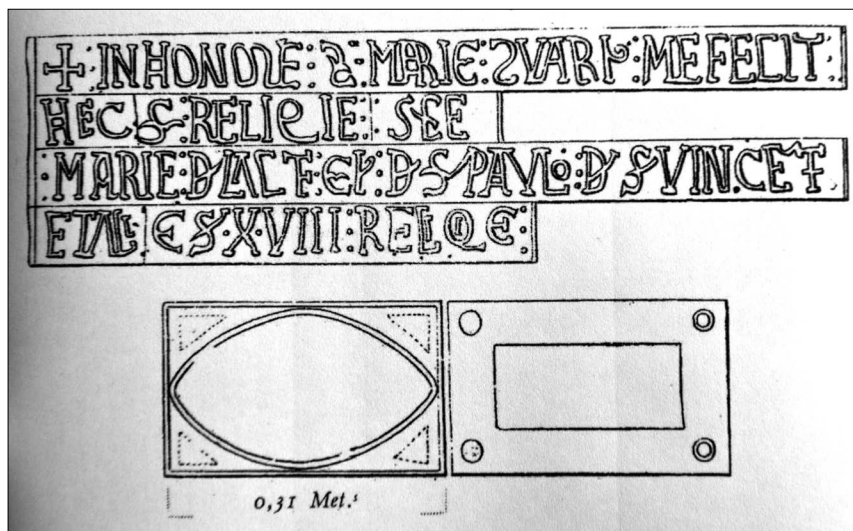


ILLUSTRATION 8. DRAWING OF THE PORTABLE ALTAR IN THE MONASTERY OF SANTA MARÍA DE OBOA, TINEO, ASTURIAS, (ACCORDING TO CIRIACO MIGUEL VIGIL, *ASTURIAS MONUMENTAL, EPIGRÁFICA Y DIPLOMÁTICA: DATOS PARA LA HISTORIA DE LA PROVINCIA*, IMPRENTA DEL HOSPICIO PROVINCIAL, OVIEDO, 1887).



ILLUSTRATION 9. PHOTOGRAPH OF THE PORTABLE ALTAR IN THE MONASTERY OF SANTA MARÍA DE OBOA, TINEO, ASTURIAS. © MADRID, SPAIN, INSTITUTE OF CULTURAL HERITAGE, INVENTORY NUMBER 01907 A.

Arqueta Chicago	Arca Santa (ca. 1072)	Arca San Isidoro (ca. 1063)	Ara Obona (ca. 1113-1138)
			
			
			
			
			
			
			

ILLUSTRATION 10. EPIGRAPHIC COMPARATIVE
TABLE PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.




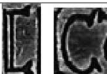
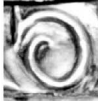





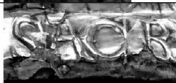



Arqueta San Adrián	Ara Sancha Raimúndez (ca. 1144)
	
	
	
	
	
	
	

ILLUSTRATION 11. EPIGRAPHIC COMPARATIVE
TABLE PROVIDED BY THE AUTHOR.



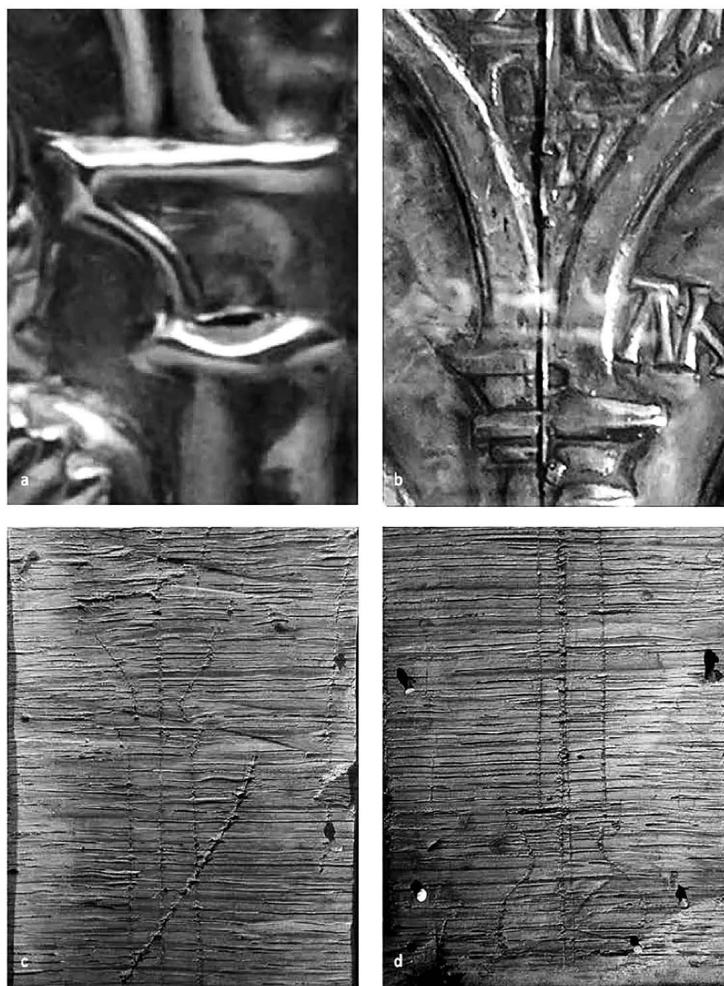


ILLUSTRATION 12. CAPITALS, STEMS AND BASES. A. SAINT ADRIAN CASKET / B. HOLY ARK, OVIEDO, CATHEDRAL / C. SAINT PELAYO CASKET, LEON, D. SAINT PELAYO CASKET, LEON, ® MUSEUM OF THE ROYAL COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF SAN ISIDORO.

CHRISTIAN BURIAL PRIVATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH (FRANCE, MID-10TH–EARLY 14TH)

MATHIEU VIVAS
UNIVERSITÉ DE LILLE
FRANCE

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ABSTRACT

In the mid-10th century, the Christian Church creates consecrated cemeteries forbidden to those we might call the ‘bad dead’. At the same time, the landscape and social practices change thanks to a better defined guidance of the faithful on liturgical, sacramental and juridical matters. Between the 11th and 13th centuries, the clerics define a number of ‘bad Christian’ groups to be deprived of *sepultura ecclesiastica*, who were previously regarded by historians of written sources and archaeologists as ‘outsiders’. Although ecclesiastical justice was uncompromising regarding the future of those excommunicated, their reintegration within the Church was pondered. This study aims to understand these funeral bans and to assess the management of burial areas and their surroundings from a new perspective. Not only does it shed light on the future of the bodies deprived of *sepultura ecclesiastica*, but it also raises the question of the care assumed by the authorities of the ‘bad dead’.

KEYWORDS

Burial, ‘Bad dead’, Cemetery, Excommunication, Multidisciplinary.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Funus, “Mala mors”, Coemeterium, Excommunicatio, Multidisciplinaris.

In a proxemic sense the consecrated cemetery is a ‘cultural product’¹ resulting from the practical management of space and the Christian ideology of death.² From the mid-tenth century, thanks to the liturgical ritual of consecration, the burial place becomes the Christian cemetery.³ By opposing the *intra* and *extra cimiterium*, this rite not only creates a consecrated space recognised in the secular world, but also highlights the positive integration of “good Christians”, and the negative rejection of ‘bad Christians’. Burial in a Christian cemetery depends on actions defined by the Church as pious (confession, penance, etc.) or as infamous (sins, crimes, etc.).

In late Antiquity, ecclesiastics define the categories of persons to be excluded from the community.⁴ By canonical sentence (essentially excommunication and anathema), the Church condemns practice and behaviour it deems harmful to the soul’s salvation and the social order. The categorization of these individuals, considered as criminals, continues throughout the Middle Ages; compromise only comes with the Church’s adaptation to socio-economic changes. Various ecclesiastical councils condemn, for example, murderers, infanticides, suicides, usurers, knights killed in tournaments, etc. From the 12th century, when the Church requires that Christians be buried in the parish where they pay the tithe, there appear proper lists of excommunicated deprived of Christian burial. Without repentance ‘bad Christians’ become, at the time of death, the “bad dead”: they are deprived of Christian burial and the *sepultura ecclesiastica*, and doomed to the torments of hell.⁵

1. Borrowed from the American anthropologist Edward T. Hall, Henri Galinié defined the term ‘proxemics’ as “the set of observations and theories concerning man’s use of space as a specific cultural product”: see Galinié, Henri. “Utiliser la notion de ‘distance critique’ dans l’étude des relations socio-spatiales”, *Les Petits Cahiers d’Anatole*, 7 February 2001. 22 September 2011 <http://citeres.univ-tours.fr/doc/lat/pecada/F2_7.pdf>. See also Hall, Edward T. *The Hidden Dimension*. New York: Doubleday, 1966.

2. Rebillard, Éric. *In hora mortis. Évolution de la pastorale chrétienne de la mort aux IV^e et V^e siècles dans l’Occident latin*. Rome-Paris: École Française de Rome – De Boccard, Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, 1994; Rebillard, Éric. *The care of the dead in late antiquity*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2009; Rebillard, Éric. *Transformations of religious practices in late antiquity*. Farnham-Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2013; Treffort, Cécile. *L’Église carolingienne et la mort. Christianisme, rites funéraires et pratiques commémoratives*. Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1996.

3. Lauwers, Michel. *Naissance du cimetière. Lieux sacrés et terre des morts dans l’Occident medieval*. Paris: Aubier, 2005; Treffort, Cécile. “Consécration de cimetière et contrôle épiscopal des lieux d’inhumations au X^e siècle”, *Le Sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident. Études comparées*, Michel Kaplan, dir. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2001: 285-299; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. “The role of cemeteries in the formation of medieval settlement patterns in western France”, *Medieval Archaeology. Papers of the seventeenth annual conference of the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies*, Charles L. Redman, ed. Binghamton: Center of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1989: 171-186; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. “Lieux d’inhumation et espaces consacrés: le voyage du pape Urbain II en France (août 1095-août 1096)”, *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires*, André Vauchez, dir. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2000: 197-213; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. “The Evolution of Churchyard Burial: Three Case Studies from France”. *The Archaeology of Medieval Europe*, 2 (2011): 516-521.

4. Kerin, Charles A. *The Privation of Christian Burial: An Historical Synopsis and Commentary*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1941; Vivas, Mathieu. *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge. L’exemple de la province ecclésiastique de Bordeaux (X^e-début du XIV^e siècles)*. Poitiers: Université de Poitiers (PhD Dissertation), 2012: 171-224.

5. We borrow the term ‘bad dead’ from Lauwers, Michel. *Naissance du cimetière...*: 167-169.



Privation of a *sepultura ecclesiastica* may be considered denial of a Christian funeral and liturgical remembrance but from the mid-tenth century, it also represents the loss of the right to be buried in consecrated ground.⁶ Concerning the fate of the 'bad Christian's' body, some written sources declare that such corpses must be laid outside the cemetery, on its outskirts.⁷ If burial in the *cimiterium christianorum* is a sign of belonging to the Christian community, the deceased must be considered worthy of it. Consequently, being placed elsewhere than the consecrated space seems akin to 'exclusion'.

Supported by written sources, archaeologists and archaeo-anthropologists⁸ have been tempted to interpret some funerary practices and gestures as an expression of the wish to exclude. As such, by matching numbers and norms, the medieval Christian burial has now been defined as individual, non-isolated, oriented like the other burials, and containing an individual laid on his back. All other forms of deposit are regularly described as atypical.⁹ However, although privation of burial and atypical burial may be studied together, the two concepts should not be directly affiliated, as will be demonstrated below.

These introductory elements lead us to consider three themes: the communal space for interments, the Christian burial and the body's integrity. Our interdisciplinary study of, primarily, French examples concentrates on these points. Firstly the absence of burial will be examined and burial considered as a means of punishment (1). Subsequently, reflection will continue on the topic of spatial distinction and the *prope cimiterium*, space adjacent to the cemetery dedicated to the burial of 'bad dead' (2). Finally, we will consider how the effects of privation of Christian burial may be tempered, focusing particularly on ways of reintegrating the community (3).

6. Kerin, Charles A. *The Privation of Christian Burial...*: ix-xv; Treffort, Cécile. *L'Église carolingienne et la mort...*: 157-161.

7. For Medieval England, see: Daniell, Christopher. *Death and Burial in Medieval England*. London: Routledge, 1997: 103 and following.

8. On archaeo-anthropology, see Duda, Henri. *The archaeology of the dead: lectures in archaeoethnology*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2009.

9. Boissavit-Camus, Brigitte. "Réflexion sur la signification des tombes discordantes dans les ensembles médiévaux et modernes: cimetières de Saint-Martin de Cognac", *Méthodes d'étude des sépultures, Compte-rendu de la table-ronde des 8,9 et 10 mai 1991 réunie à Saintes*, Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991: 139-144; Treffort, Cécile. "L'interprétation historique des sépultures atypiques. Le cas du haut Moyen Âge", *Archéologie des pratiques funéraires: approches critiques, actes de la table ronde organisée au Centre archéologique européen du Mont Beuvray, en collaboration avec l'UMR 5594 de Dijon (7-9 juin 2001)*, Luc Baray, ed. Glux-en-Glenne: Bibracte, 2004: 131-140; Vivas, Mathieu. *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge...*: 147-167.



1. Lack of burial and outrageous burial: between punishment and infamy

If three features are shared by all sentences of deprivation of burial—the refusal of funerals, the prohibition of a liturgical memorial and burial in the cemetery—they vary, however, in their severity. Thus, a simple abandonment of the body can be replaced by an ignominious burial.

In the 11th century, Ademar of Chabannes, a monk of Saint-Cybard of Angoulême (Charente) and Saint-Martial of Limoges (Haute-Vienne), writes in his *Chronicle* that Théodat, canon-cantor of Sainte-Croix of Orléans, despite his heresy, was buried in the cemetery. During the trial, although his body's exhumation, claimed by the bishop Oury, already suggests its infamous notoriety, this is intensified by the request for it to be abandoned somewhere inaccessible. In his *Sermons*, Ademar of Chabannes however proves that infamy can rhyme with inhumanity.¹⁰ Although he reports that the excommunicated, because they are rejected by the Christian community, must be buried away from the others,¹¹ he also states that they can not benefit from inhumation: their bodies must remain unburied in the streets, left prey to attack by the animals of heaven and earth.¹² This image of a body devoured by wild beasts is not a hapax, it is also expressed in monastic maledictions.¹³

10. Chabannes, Adémar de. *Chronicon*, Book III, chap. 59: *Nihilominus apud Tolosam inventi sunt manichei, et ipsi destructi, et per diversas Occidentis partes nuntii Antichristi exorti, per latibula sese occultare curabant et quoscumque poterant viros et mulieres subvertebant. Quidam etiam Sancte Crucis Aurelianensis canonicus cantor, nomine Theodatus, qui mortuus erat ante triennium in illa haeresi, ut perhibebant heretici ipsi, religiosus visus fuerat. Cujus corpus, postquam probatum est, ejectum est de cimiterio, jubente episcopo Odolrico, et projectum in invium. Ademari Cabannensis Chronicon*, eds. Pascale Bourgain, Richard Landes, Georges Pons. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999: 180 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis 129); *Adémar de Chabannes. Chronique*, ed. and trans. (in French) Yves Chauvin, Georges Pons. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003: 278-279.

While this is an outrageous act, this request probably betrays the personal will of the bishop to tarnish the memory of the deceased, and to refuse him any liturgical memorial: on this point, see Bautier, Robert-Henri. "L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XI^e siècle: documents et hypothèses", *Enseignement et vie intellectuelle (IX^e-XVI^e s.)*, Actes du 95^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Reims 1970, Section de Philologie et d'Histoire jusqu'en 1610. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1975: 63-88. On the sermons of Ademar of Chabannes, see Callahan, Daniel F. "The Sermons of Ademar de Chabannes and the cult of saint Martial of Limoges", *Revue Bénédictine*, 86 (1976): 251-295.

11. Chabannes, Adémar de. *Sermones*, XLV, 11: *Ut sicut exigente reatu eorum animae in illo saeculo a Dei regno extorres sunt, ita corpora a christianitatis separentur sepultura*. Zénaïde, Romaneix, Édition d'un manuscrit autographe d'Adémar de Chabannes, BnF lat. 2469, ff. 76-112v. 23 sermons et du compte-rendu du concile de Limoges (18, 19 et 20 novembre 1031), Paris: École Nationale des Chartes (PhD Dissertation), 2005: II, 103-104.

12. Chabannes, Adémar de. *Sermones*, XLVI, 8: *Omnium qui ibi nunc moriuntur, insepulta super terram per plateas vulgo cadavera jacent. Multa jam facta sunt in escam volatilibus caeli et bestiis terrae, quia non est qui abigat. Signa ecclesiarum et laudes Dei non audiuntur*. Romaneix, Zénaïde, Édition d'un manuscrit autographe d'Adémar de Chabannes...: II, 108. The same image is also included in Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, Book III, chap. 47: *Mox e vestigio super omnem terram Sarracenorum fames incanduit per tres annos, et innumerabilis eorum multitudo fame mortua est, ita ut plateae et deserta cadaveribus replerentur, et fierent homines cibum et sepultura feris et avibus*. Romaneix, Zénaïde, Édition d'un manuscrit autographe d' Adémar de Chabannes...: 167, 260.

13. On the monastic maledictions, see Henne, Philippe. "Les formulaires de malédictions aux X^e et XI^e siècles", *Paroles et lumière autour de l'an Mil*, ed. Jean Heuclin. Villeneuve d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du



As proved by many charters, the sentence of *corpus insepultum* is not simply theoretical. For example, a charter written in 1056 by Imbert, bishop of Paris, relates a dispute between one, Hugues, and the Chapter of Sainte-Marie de Verneuil (Eure). Mainard, the Archbishop of Sens, responds to complaints made by the canons by excommunicating the knight, who died without repenting. His body is deprived of burial and exposed for three months in a tree trunk at the mercy of birds and wild beasts. Affected by the decision and eager to end such an outrage, his mourners promise to make amends for Hugues and, to this end, request a *post mortem* absolution and a decent burial for him. The different parties meet at the tree to resolve the conflict.¹⁴

The writings of Ademar of Chabannes and the judicial decision are consistent with the punitive treatment provided by the monastic maledictions and the rite of excommunication and anathema.¹⁵ As a monk of Saint-Cybard of Angoulême and Saint-Martial of Limoges, Ademar of Chabannes could well have been inspired by their rituals.¹⁶ By evoking the image of a corpse left at the mercy of wild beasts, these texts repeat biblical passages, especially from the *Book of Isaiah* and the *Book of Jeremiah*.¹⁷ Although the sentence of *corpus insepultum* represents punishment, the fact that it leaves a body to be devoured by animals prolongs the punishment

Septentrion, 2011: 173-80; Little, Lester K. "Les formules monastiques de malédictions aux IX^e et X^e s.", *Revue Mabillon*, 58 (1975): 377-399; Little, Lester K. "La morphologie des malédictions monastiques", *Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations*, 34 (1979): p. 43-60.

14. *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, charter of 1056: *Quem archiepiscopus iterum et iterum ad iusticiam vocans, cum nullatenus ejus auctoritati vellet obedire, excommunicavit, nobisque licentiam excommunicandi dedit. Diabolico instinctu ejus corde obdurato, cum minime resipisceret, morte preventus, exitu miserabili anathematizatus vitam finivit. Cujus corpus insepultum atque in concavo trunco repostum, cum per tres menses avibus et feris esset expositum, conjunx ejusque parentes, miseratione moti, Odonem decanum ceterosque canonicos adierunt, et ut terre commendare liceret, per omnia satisfaciendo quicquid forisfecerat sese emendaturos promiserunt. [...] Post hec ad portum Taver convenientibus in unum, me videlicet Himberto, Parisiensi episcopo, cum Odone decano, et Ivone, Vernoili preposito, domno quoque Mainardo Senonensi archiepiscopo, cum Goiscelino preceptore et archidiacono, ceterisque archidiaconis Richerio et Bernuino, predicti excommunicati uxor Sanscelina, cum parentibus et amicis, inibi devenit, atque sub presentia omnium, pro absolutione mariti sui, adhuc in trunco repositi communique sepultura carentis, prenotata forisfacta ad integrum vadavit [...], *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, ed. Benjamin Guérard. Paris: Crapelet, 1850: I, 331-333 (doc. No. 26).*

15. Vivas, Mathieu, *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge...*: 225-243.

16. Lester K. Little has also focussed on malediction formulas written in the monastery of Saint-Martial de Limoges, see footnote 11 for the references.

17. Isaiah 5: 25: "Therefore the anger of the Lord was kindled against his people, and he stretched out his hand against them and struck them; the mountains quaked, and their corpses were like refuse in the streets [...]". Jeremiah 7: 33: "The corpses of this people will be food for the birds of the air, and for the animals of the earth [...]"; 8: 2: "[...] they shall not be gathered or buried; they shall be like dung on the surface of the ground"; 16: 4: "They shall die of deadly diseases. They shall not be lamented, nor shall they be buried; they shall become like dung on the surface of the ground. They shall perish by the sword and by famine, and their dead bodies shall become food for the birds of the air and for the wild animals of the earth"; 16: 6: "Both great and small shall die in this land; they shall not be buried [...]"; 25: 33: "Those slain by the Lord on that day shall extend from one end of the earth to the other. They shall not be lamented, or gathered, or buried; they shall become dung on the surface of the ground"; 34: 20: "shall be handed over to their enemies and to those who seek their lives. Their corpses shall become food for the birds of the air and the wild animals of the earth". The biblical texts come from: National Council of the Churches of Christ, "New Revised Standard Version Catholic Edition (NRSVCE)". *Bible Gateway*, 17



beyond death: it creates a negative impact on the physical integrity required for the final resurrection. The abandonment of a body obviously demonstrates the cruelty of such a decision, an inhumanity which reaches its climax in other outrageous *post mortem* treatments: the “ass’s burial” mentioned in 10th-13th century texts is a perfect example.

The ‘ass’s burial’ is first mentioned in 900AD at the Council of Reims. The year he becomes archbishop, Hervé convenes this meeting to pronounce anathema on the murderers of Foulques, his predecessor. Fulfilling the malediction ritual (pronouncing the malediction, breaking of candles, etc.), the ecclesiastics call for the accursed to receive the *sepultura asini*, that their bodies be deposited in manure, face on the ground.¹⁸ In fact, some passages of the Roman Pontifical (liturgical book used by bishops) link malediction and ‘ass’s burial’. Thus, in a chapter dedicated to a *terribilior excommunicatio*, the 10th century *Romano-Germanic Pontificale* reveals that those who monopolise or violate ecclesiastical possessions, but also thieves and murderers, are cursed, anathematized and buried in the manner of asses, in manure to the ground.¹⁹ At the same time, the monk Regino of Prüm describes the same penalty,²⁰ as do Burchard of Worms in the 11th century, the liturgist of the 12th century John Beleth, or *exempla* from the 13th and 14th centuries.²¹ In the case of *corpus insepultum*, the texts are all inspired by *Old Testament* passages, the *Book of Jeremiah* once again, as when the prophet relates the words of God about Joachim, he said: “An ass’s burial he shall have, cast out, a stinking corpse, beyond the gates of Jerusalem”.²²

Although the theme of *sepultura asini* is widely reported by liturgical, narrative and literary texts, it is clear that study of the application of such a sentence is now futile. Besides being deprived of a grave and lying in manure, the texts relate that the individual who receives an ass’s burial be lain outside the cemetery and, sometimes, outside the city. It is important to note that the exclusion is materialised by geographical isolation and by the granting of outrageous atypical treatments.

July 2016 <<https://www.biblegateway.com/versions/New-Revised-Standard-Version-Catholic-Edition-NRSVCE-Bible/>>.

18. Council of Reims: [...], *etiam in ipso sine vitae suae praesumat unquam dare: sed sepultura asini sepeliantur, et in sterquilinum super faciem terrae sint, ut sint in exemplum opprobrii et maledictionis praesentibus generationibus et futuris. Et sicut hae lucernas de nostris projectae manibus hodie extinguuntur, sic eorum lucerna in aeternum extinguatur. Sacrorum conciliorum, nova et amplissima collection*, ed. Giovanni D. Mansi. Venise-Florence: Huberto Welter, 1902: XVIII/I, col. 184 (First edition 1767).

19. Pontifical Romano-Germanique: *Canonica instituta et sanctorum patrum exempla sequentes, aecclesiarum Dei violatores et possessionis earum invasores, vastatores, vel raptores atque depraedatores aut homicidas Ill. [...]. Sepultura asini sepeliantur et in sterquilinum sint super faciem terrae. Le Pontifical romano-germanique du X^e siècle*. eds. Cyrille Vogel, Reinhard Elze. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963: I, 313-314 (chap. 88) (Studi e testi, 226, 227, 269).

20. Prumensis, Regino. “De ecclesiasticis disciplinis”, *Patrologiae. Cursus completus. Serie latina*, , ed. Jean Paul Mignr, Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1880, 243, col. 362 (l. II, chap. 416).

21. Vivas, Mathieu, *La privation de sépulture au Moyen Âge...*: 311-314.

22. Jeremiah 22: 19.



These examples lead to consideration of the ultimate shameful deprivation of burial: burial alive administered by some secular authorities.

Various secular authorities, which enact laws and endow institutions to punish different crimes, make the living or dead body the sign of the punishment. As such, 24 Agenais customs from the 12th-13th centuries, condemned murderers to be buried, alive or not, under the body of their victim.²³ This requirement is also found in some cities of Périgord, Quercy, Béarn or in Toulouse [see illustration. 1]. The generalisation of this sentence in the southwestern quarter of contemporary France would apply within the specific context of the creation of *bastides* between 1250-1270. In fact, most of these customs are concurrent with foundation charters written by Alphonse de Poitiers, Count of Poitiers and Toulouse, and Pons Maynard, royal notary in Agen. In view of the British presence in Aquitaine, it is therefore not surprising to find such a sentence in 1189 or 1190 in a charter of Richard the Lionheart (1189-1199). As he prepares to leave on crusade, the king of England makes orders to punish crimes that could occur on his ship. Thus, he states that “whoever kills on the boat will be attached to the body of his victim and thrown into the sea. As well, whoever kills a man on land will be attached in the same way and buried beneath the ground”.²⁴ The penalty of burying the murderer under his victim is found in a limited geographical area, as proved by its mention in the work of Thomas of Cantimpré (d. 1272). In one of these *exempla*, the preacher relates that a cleric “from Spain”, accused of murdering his wife, is condemned to be buried with the deceased in a pit.²⁵ Although the reference is not specific enough, the

23. See, for example, the customs of Agen: *E, sil plaguat mor d'aquela plagua, todas la calsas d'aquel homesidi son encorsas al Senher, paguat aquo que deuria a sa molher e a autrui tot premeirament, et avant quel Senher, paguat aquo que deuria a sa molher e a autrui tot premeirament, et avant quel Senher agues ni preses sas calsas. E, del cors d'aquel homicidi, diu lo Senher far justicia, so es assaber quel deu far sotzterrari viu sotz lo mort. E asso diu jutgar lo Senher ab sa cort, que devo estre lo Cosselhs et li prodome d'Agén. Coutumes d'Agén*, ed. Henri Barckausen. Bordeaux: Archives Municipales [Archives Municipales de la Ville de Bordeaux 5], 1890: 236; *The 'Costuma d'Agén': a thirteenth-century customary compilation in old Occitan transcribed from the 'Livre Juratoire'*, ed. and trans. (in English) Frank Ronald P. Akehurst. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010: 36-37, here 36.

24. Richard the Lion Heart, *Charter of 1189 or 1190: Qui hominem in navi interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus projiciatur in mare. Si autem eum ad terram interfecerit, cum mortuo ligatus in terra infodiatur*. Rymer, Thomas, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis, acta publica, inter reges Angliae, et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitatis ad saeculo duodecimo, viz. Ab anno 1101, ad nostra usque tempora, habita aut tractate*. London: J. Tonson, 1727-1735: I, 65; Rapin de Thoyras, Paul, ed. *Histoire d'Angleterre*. The Hague: Chez Alexandre de Rogissard, 1749: II, 631; Hoüard, David, ed. *Anciennes Loix des François ou additions aux remarques sur les coutumes angloises. Recueillies par Littleton avec les pièces justificatives des principaux points d'Histoire et de jurisprudence traités dans ces remarques*. Rouen: Imprimerie de Richard Lallemand, 1766: II, 319-320.

25. Thomas of Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus*, Book II, chap.1, 11: *Quid etiam et nunc dicam de quodam fratre Petro, ordinis Praedicatorum in Hispania; cuius meritis, mulier tridua mortua, suscitata est. Erat clericus receptor fratrum, qui uxorem bibulam habebat, per quam saepius gravabatur. Accidit ergo, ut mane mortua inveniretur, et imponeretur viro, quod eam vespere suffocasset. Captus igitur, triduo detinetur, et tandem iudicatur ad mortem. Facta ergo fossa in terra, deponitur vivens inferius, et mulier mortua desuper, secundum patriae leges. [...] Thomae Cantipratani. Bonum universale de Apibus*, ed. Georges Colvenere. Douai: ex Typographia Baltazaris Belleri, 1627: 117; *Thomas de Cantimpré. Les exemples du Livre des abeilles*, ed. and trans. (in French) Henri Platteau. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997: 104.



fact that the author mentions a “custom of the country” reinforces the idea of a geographically circumscribed sentence.

Punishment by interment of the murderer under his victim opens a debate on the burial's infamy.²⁶ It should be noted that it already establishes a close relationship between the murderer and the deceased. Thus, accidental or intentional, the premature death gives the deceased a special status: he is linked to his murderer. Then, even though the abuse is physical, the defamation of the convict and his relatives is undeniable.²⁷ Finally, if the probable public character of the penalty, though only the *exemplum* of Thomas of Cantimpré evokes the presence of onlookers, aims to educate the public present so as to deter potential criminals, it also represents outrageous judicial exposure.²⁸ It remains difficult to quantify the implementation of such punishment, especially in consideration of the scarcity and discontinuity of emission of sources by the courts at the time.²⁹ However, archaeological data provoke further reflection on burial as a sign of infamy.

Excavations at Lauzun castle (Lot-et-Garonne, 1991-1992) revealed an unusual burial which justly enriches the debate [see illustr. 2a et 2b].³⁰ Oriented north-south, this burial contains two individuals placed on their stomach, one may have had his hands tied in his back. It was discovered inside a tower begun between the late 12th and early 13th century [see illustr. 2c and 2d]. The archaeo-anthropologic and stratigraphic observations show that the burial took place before the construction of the tower and establishment of the castle. Radiocarbon dating of bone samples from both subjects confirms this impression: they provide a date range between 1030 and 1198. The filling of two other pits containing bone remains of (at least) four individuals suggests the use of this site as a cemetery. The presence of a parish graveyard 300 meters away, may indicate the burial of individuals topographically outcast, perhaps, by judicial decision.³¹ The idea of sites of justice as burial spaces

26. Vivas, Mathieu. “La mise en scène de l’outrage dans la mort à travers l’étude de la privation de ‘sepultura ecclesiastica’ et des sépultures atypiques (XI^e – XIV^e siècles)”, *Corps outragés, corps ravagés de l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge, Actes du colloque tenu à Poitiers les 15 et 16 janvier 2009*, Lydie Bodiou, Véronique Melh, Myriam Soria, eds. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011: 371-381.

27. On the *fama*, see Gauvard, Claude. “La ‘fama’, une parole fondatrice”, *Médiévales*, 24 (1993): 5-13; Porteau-Bitker, Annick; Talazac-Laurent, Annie. “La renommée dans le droit pénal laïque du XIII^e au XV^e siècle”, *Médiévales*, 24 (1993): 67-80.

28. Castan, Yves. “Exemplarité judiciaire, caution ou éveil des études sérielles”, *Histoire sociale, sensibilités collectives et mentalités. Mélanges Robert Mandrou*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985: 51-59.

29. At the moment, only one case of such a practice has been found: see Vivas, Mathieu. “Les lieux d’exécution comme espaces d’inhumation. Traitement et devenir du cadavre des criminels (XII^e-XIV^e s.)”, *Revue Historique*, 670 (2014): 295-312.

30. Faravel, Sylvie; Sireix, Christophe; Martin, Christian. “Le château de Lauzun (Lot-et-Garonne), évolution de la partie résidentielle de la fin du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle”, *Résidences aristocratiques, résidences du pouvoir entre Loire et Pyrénées (X^e-XV^e siècles). Recherches archéologiques récentes, Actes du colloque tenu à Pau les 3, 4 et 5 octobre 2002*, Dany Barraud, Florent Hautefeuille, Christian Rémy, eds. Carcassonne: Centre d’Archéologie Médiévale du Languedoc, 2006: 365-388.

31. Faravel, Sylvie; Sireix, Christophe; Martin, Christian. “Le château de Lauzun (Lot-et-Garonne)...”: 377.



has been studied by researchers from England³² and Germany³³ and, most recently, by French researchers.³⁴

Such burial sites, distant from the cemetery, raise the question of spatial distinction as a means of punishment and materialise the deprivation of Christian burial.³⁵

2. Beyond the cemetery: between ‘geographical punishment’ and ‘bad Christian’ status

At the same time as the consecration rite of the cemetery appears in the 10th century and is generalised in the 12th century, the Church tends to make the burial place a space dedicated only for ‘good Christians’: those baptised and living in harmony with Christian principles may be buried in the consecrated cemetery. For Christians, the acts committed during their lives thus determine the location of their graves and, consequently, their place in the afterlife. In the late 13th century, an *exemplum* of Thomas of Cantimpré perfectly encapsulates this idea.

While preaching in Brabant, the preacher meets a farmer who had a vision while crossing the cemetery at night: he saw three groups of dead. The first, most numerous group, far from the burial area, was composed of naked and bloody wretches. Less numerous, the second group consisted of individuals, less wretched in appearance and also outside the cemetery, but closer to the latter. The third group contained few people, dressed in bright clothes with shining faces, inside the burial area.³⁶

32. Reynolds, Andrew. “The Emergence of Anglo-Saxon Judicial Practice: The Message of the Gallows”. *Anglo-Saxon*, 2 (2009): 1-52; Reynolds, Andrew. *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs*. Medieval History and Archaeology. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

33. Auler, Jost, ed. *Richtstätten-archäologie*. Dormagen: Archeotopos, 2008-2012.

34. Vivas, Mathieu. “Les lieux d’exécution comme espaces d’inhumation...”; Charageat, Martine; Vivas, Mathieu, eds. *Les fourches patibulaires du Moyen Âge à l’époque Moderne. Approche interdisciplinaire, Actes du colloque international tenu à Bordeaux (Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine) les 23-24 janvier 2014*, 25 September 2015. 5 January 2016. Criminocorpus, Revue hypermédia. Histoire de la justice, des crimes et des peins, 16 June 2016 <<https://criminocorpus.revues.org/3016>>.

35. Vivas, Mathieu. “‘Christiana sepultura priventur’. Privation de sépulture, distinction spatiale et inhumations atypiques à la lumière des pratiques funéraires (X^e – XIV^e siècles)”, *De corps en corps. Traitement et devenir du cadavre. Actes des séminaires de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine (mars-juin 2008)*, Isabelle Cartron, Dominique Castex, Patrice Georges, Mathieu Vivas, Martine Charageat, eds. Pessac: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine, 2010: 193-214.

36. Thomae Cantipratani, *Bonum universale de apibus*, Book 2, chap. 53, 34: [...] *Et erat populus ille super id quod dici potest, aut credi, miseria miserandus, nudus penitus, et per omnia saevius plagis, et cruentatis vulneribus laceratus. Nec mora, a sacerdote illo iterato edito signo crucis, disparuit populus, et alius multo minor numero et horrore, surrexit. Habitu quidem pauper, et colore pallidus videbatur, quasi macie multa et tabe confectus, dissimiles tamen personae, secundum magis et minus. Iterato post haec a sacerdote signo crucis edito, populus repente discessit, et surrexit populus parvus numero, quem solius atrii spatium capere potuisset, longe dissimilis claritate et gloria omnibus hominibus mundi quoscumque vidi. Erant autem vestimenta eorum sicut nix a sole irradiata, et facies omni splendore iucundior, et dixit mihi sacerdos: discevis trium populorum dissimilitudines, quas vidisti? Prima illa miserrima gens, sine ulla contritione discedens a seculo, aeternaliter damnata est. Secundo apparentes, cum contritione, sed non peracta poenitentia, mortui sunt. Et illi quidem adhuc poenis gravissimis detinentur, sed tandem*



The beginning of the *exemplum* relates the story and describes the ‘ghosts’; the end of the text is devoted to the interpretation of the vision. Thomas of Cantimpré claims that the first group is composed of individuals who died without contrition: consequently they are eternally damned. The second group consists of people who died before completing their penance, but having performed contrition, once purged, their soul will rest in peace. Finally, the last group, inside the *cimiterium* are God’s chosen. From a proxemic viewpoint, the *extra cimiterium* spaces are hell and purgatory, while the consecrated cemetery represents heaven [see illustr. 3].

In this *exemplum*, the cemetery is perceived in concentric circles, the type of organisation dominating ecclesial representations in the Middle Ages. In fact, the construction of burial space is accompanied by the creation of an enclosed space (*intra cimiterium*) and a periphery (*extra cimiterium*) itself divided into a space adjacent to or distant from the cemetery. The spaces have different standings, whose visualisation requires boundaries marking the transition from the centre to the periphery [see illustr. 3]. The ‘polarisation process’ well studied by Alain Guerreau³⁷ is found here. Although the narrative links the three groups to three places in the afterlife, it also demonstrates that the cemetery and its margins are designed and thought of as spaces which anchor a social identity and a Christian’s future after his death to the ground.³⁸ Although the *exempla* are frequently taken as literary texts where imagination figures prominently, they cannot contradict practice: the mental construction of space cannot avoid social representation.³⁹ As such, stating that the ‘bad dead’ are outside the cemetery, would tacitly refer to the law suggesting they be buried on the outskirts of the consecrated area. Study of this *exemplum* invites debate on the existence of places specifically reserved for the burial of ‘bad Christians’. Unfortunately, normative sources are rare, discreet and discontinuous on the subject. However some interesting references can be found in synodal statutes and episcopal decisions, sources closer to reality which reflect

purgati, pervenient ad quietem. Tertia autem gens, populus electus est, qui peracta poenitentia cum Domino gloriatur. Hoc dicto, cum ipso populo sacerdos disparuit, et mox ad matutinam officium campana pulsatur. Ergo autem auditis matutinis et missa, de die regressus sum domum, et tribus mensibus elangui post istam terribilem visionem. Thomae Cantipratani, bonum universale de apibus...: 515-16.

37. Guerreau, Alain. “Quelques caractères spécifiques de l’espace féodal européen”, *L’État ou le roi. Les fondations de la modernité monarchique en France (XIV^e – XVII^e siècles)*, Actes de la table ronde du 25 mai 1991 tenue à l’École Normale Supérieure à Paris, Neithard Bulst, Robert Descimon, Alain Guerreau, eds. Paris: Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1996: 85-101; Guerreau, Alain. “Le champ sémantique de l’espace dans la ‘vita’ de saint Maieul (Cluny, début du XI^e siècle)”, *Journal des Savants* (1997): 363-419. See also Devroey, Jean-Pierre; Lauwers, Michel. “L’‘espace’ des historiens médiévistes: quelques remarques en guise de conclusion”, *Construction de l’espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations, Actes du 37^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.P. (Mulhouse, 2-4 juin 2006)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007: 435-453.

38. Baschet, Jérôme. *Les justices de l’Au-Delà. Les représentations de l’enfer en France et en Italie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris: De Boccard, 1993; Le Goff, Jacques. *The birth of Purgatory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.

39. Bourin, Monique; Zadora-Rio, Élisabeth. “Pratiques de l’espace: les apports comparés des données textuelles et archéologiques”, *Construction de l’espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations, Actes du 37^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S.P. (Mulhouse, 2-4 juin 2006)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2007: 139-147.



bishops' prerogatives in the control of funerary space. The example of section 1 from the Synod of Saintes (Easter 1282) is interesting.

Published by Geoffroy of Saint-Brice, bishop of Saintes (1276-1283), this article concerns burial of the excommunicated dead. It reports that 'corruption today has increased in the dioceses of Saintonge, because some opponents to the Church's principles contest the privation of burial within or near the cemetery [and] it therefore becomes difficult to distinguish the graves of the excommunicated dead from those of the faithful. By this decree, such situations are forbidden under penalty of excommunication. We do not want the violators of this constitution to bury the excommunicated dead within two arpents of land from the consecrated cemetery, under the penalty mentioned previously. In addition, two excommunicated dead must not be buried together outside the consecrated area to avoid mistaking them, by their number, for a consecrated burial ground' [see illustr. 4].⁴⁰

Although this synodal canon reports mismanagement of excommunicated bodies, it remarks above all that opposition to the application of specific treatment for them exists. Study of this synodal prescription therefore suggests, firstly that the medieval Christian cemetery is not as rigid or fixed in space and time as we would think, and secondly that burial of excommunicated dead within the cemetery was probably a common practice. Therefore, a specific funerary practice for the 'bad dead' did not exist. By referring to the number and adjacency of graves located *prope sacra cimiteria*, this requirement evokes the perception and representation of space by the community and, of course, insists on the visibility of burials located outside the cemetery. Relying on this view of the topography of the cemetery and its periphery, archaeologists have attempted to tackle the problem of burials topographically distant.

Graves located at cemetery margins can also be handled by archaeologists. For example, the discovery of an atypical burial in Bourges (Cher), in 2004, enriches the debate.⁴¹ A funeral space enclosed by two walls was discovered. It was occupied between the 10-11th and 15th centuries. All burials were between the two walls, except inhumation 301, placed 50 cm from the north wall [see illustr. 5]. Radiocarbon analysis suggests a date between 1300 and 1423. Thus, while the cemetery was still being used, the individual from burial 301 was consciously placed outside the

40. Constitution of Geoffroy of Saint-Brice, Easter 1282, art. 1: *De sepulture excommunicatorum. Cum in diocesi Santonensi corruptela inolverit quod cadavera excommunicatorum defunctorum ita prope cimiteria vel intra a quibusdam contemptoribus nervi ecclesiastice discipline intumulantur, ut vix discerni possint sepulture profane excommunicatorum a cui subjacere volumus violatores constitutionis hujus ipso facto, adjicientes sub pena predicta ne excommunicatorum corpora tradantur sepulture prope sacra cimiteria, per spatium duorum terre jugerum circumquaque, nec ultra quam duo corpora excommunicatorum ponantur simul extra metas predictas, ne propter multitudinem credatur ab aliquibus cimiterium sacrum esse. Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle, précédés de l'histoire du synode diocésain depuis ses origines 5: Les statuts synodaux des anciennes provinces de Bordeaux, Auch, Sens et Rouen (fin du XIII^e siècle), ed. Joseph Avril. Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, 2001: 74.*

41. Blanchard, Philippe; Georges, Patrice. *Perception et évolution d'un quartier périphérique de Bourges à travers la fouille de la parcelle du 35, rue de Sarrebourg*. Orléans : Service Régional d'Archéologie du Centre (Rapport Final d'Opération, unpublished), 2006.



sepulchral space: an outlying location which would be noted by the community. It is difficult for archaeologists and archaeo-anthropologists to comment more fully on the causes of such a burial: they may, however, evoke its oddity. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognise a desire to differentiate this individual, by isolating him from the others for several possible reasons and so evoke a singular and differential funerary practice.

3. Ways to reintegrate the bosom of the Church and *ad tempus* burial space

Although the Church tries to expel the 'bad Christians' and the 'bad dead', it doesn't banish from its bosom those who wish to repent. It provides rituals that allow reintegration to the Christian community by annulling excommunication and offering again the right to enjoy a *sepultura ecclesiastica*. This includes repentance, for instance, expiatory pilgrimage and confession (made mandatory by canon 21 of the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215). The Church also allows that at the brink of death, if 'bad Christians' show repentance, they can be absolved,⁴² as seen in the synods of Bordeaux (1255) and Saintes (c. 1260).⁴³

The Church also gives weight to the entourage and the family who, during the lifetime or after the death of their 'bad Christian', can intervene favourably on the future of the body and soul of the deceased. An act from the late 12th century reports that Viscount Aimeri of Rochechouart was, for various abuses but particularly for 'bad customs', damned and condemned to be deprived of burial. His son, also named Aimeri, and his bailiff Aimeri Brun, approved by bailiffs, provosts and sergeants of the deceased father, swear on the Gospel and in the presence of the Bishop Sébrand of Limoges to abandon bad customs in the community and on the people of Saint-Augustin de Forges.⁴⁴ Even if there is a dispute concerning the administration of Saint-Augustin de Forges, it appears that the son of the viscount deprived of burial, supports and hopes to obtain a Christian burial for his father.

Hence, the Church cares for the salvation of the souls of all Christians, good or bad, and always provides a way for them to return to the fold. The Church seems

42. Vivas, Mathieu. *La privation de sepultura au Moyen Âge...*: 284-287.

43. Synodal statutes of Bordeaux, year 1255, art 11, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle...*: 16; Synodal statutes of Saintes, year c.1260, art 35, *Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle...*: 46.

44. Charter of the end of 12th century: *Notum vobis fieri volumus quod cum Aimericus de Rupecauardi propter dampna et gravamina et indebitas consuetudines et exactiones quas pluribus ecclesiis et ville Sancti Augustini de Forges intulerat, sepultura careret, Aimericus de Rupe Cauardi filius eiusdem Aimerici mortui et Aimericus Bruni qui terram et filium eiusdem mortui balliabat, [...] super sanctum Evangelium in presentia nostras iuraverunt quod ipsi de cetero villam et terras et homines de Forges et pertinentiis eius in blado et denariis et omni rerum servitio preter lo forestatia et viginti solidos quos feudales prenominati A. de Rupe Cavardi super villam de Forges et homines eius exactorie et per violentiam posuerat et quibus eandem villam cum omnibus pertinentiis manuteneret et ab omni malignitium defensare tenentur incursione, [...]*, Becquet, Jean. "Les évêques de Limoges aux X^e, XI^e et XII^e siècles". *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, 108 (1981): 115-116.



to consider the privation of Christian burial as temporary, as shown by the status of the cemetery margins.

Although some normative sources and *exempla* insist on absolution being received *ante mortem*, other texts indicate that it may be granted *post mortem*. They state that to receive absolution, 'bad dead' buried outside the cemetery should be exhumed. In the 13th century, several synodal statutes relate that excommunicated dead 'should not be buried in the ecclesiastical cemetery before absolution, but can be deposited next to the cemetery in a wooden coffin and buried in the ground, and then, for absolution, may be exhumed, absolved and buried in the ecclesiastical cemetery'.⁴⁵ Far from the physical disgrace recorded in the Old Testament, we can see that the body of 'bad dead' receives a minimum of attention, that is, a coffin and an interment. Although this confirms that the *juxta cimiterium* space is devoted to the reception of excommunicated corpses, it proves, firstly, that absolution allows reinstatement *intra cimiterium* and, secondly, that the Church authorises binding and loosing both on earth and in the afterlife. As such, the status of the cemetery margins departs from that of the space of banishment: the margins seem rather to represent an area for temporary exclusion. Although atypical, these treatments lead us to reflect, paradoxically, on the humanity of such practices. It is not a question of discussing the differences between the 'duty to bury' and the 'need to bury',⁴⁶ but of showing that the act of burying *juxta cimiterium* cannot be reduced to infamous punishment or even to exclusion. During the 11th to 13th centuries, liturgists and canonists, taking their sources in writings of authors from Late Antiquity, consider the foundations of the duty of burial. For a large part based on the Augustinian discourse, they recall that burial is not necessary for salvation, but it is essential for the living who feel the need to bury their loved ones. The duty of burial is therefore based on human feelings. Far from the Old Testament images of bodies abandoned to the wild beasts, the burial of 'bad Christians' on the outskirts of the cemetery is not therefore a punishment: it rhymes with duty of *humanitas*.

4. Conclusion

At the end of these few pages, we are concerned with two issues: firstly, how the Church paid heed to 'bad Christians', and, secondly, the manner in which different judicial authorities handled criminal corpses. These two themes are assessed at two

45. Synodal statutes of Nîmes, Arles, Béziers, Lodève and Uzès, year 1252, art 131: *Verumtamen licet signa penitentiae precesserant, si non fuerit in infirmitate vel mortis articulo ab aliquo absolutus, non debet ante absolutionem in cimiterio ecclesiastico sepeliri, sed juxta cimiterium poni poterit in aliquo ligneo monumento, vel in terra sepeliri, et postmodum cum debebit absolvi, debet exhumari, et absolvi et in cimiterio ecclesiastico sepeliri. Les statuts synodaux français du XIII^e siècle, précédés de l'historique du synode diocésain depuis ses origines 2: Les statuts de 1230 à 1260*, ed. and trans. (in French) Odette Pontal. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1983: 373.

46. On this topic, see Baudry, Patrick. "La mort: une dimension sociale", *Antigone et le devoir de sépulture, Actes du colloque international de l'université de Lausanne (mai 2005)*, Muriel Gilbert, ed. Geneva: Labor & Fidès, 2005: 177-187; Thomas, Louis-Vincent. *Rites de mort pour la paix des vivants*, Paris: Fayard, 1985.



levels: that of the body —alive or dead— and that of the space —funeral or other. By going over a study on atypical burials and burials located *extra cimiterium*, we can rise above the idea that individuals buried outside the cemetery are simply ‘excluded’. Commencing by *cimiterium* and *sepultura ecclesiastica* certainly comforts older studies by certifying that consecration of a burial induces opposition between sacred and secular space, but it also encourages the prospect of an antagonism between ‘good’ and ‘bad Christians’, between ‘good’ and ‘bad dead’.

Deprived of *sepultura ecclesiastica*, what happens to the body of ‘bad Christians’? Although biblical imagery reports that their body should be abandoned at the mercy of wild beasts, we now find that the bodies of ‘bad Christians’ may be temporarily interred *juxta cimiterium*: *sepultura ecclesiastica* privation is not, therefore, always manifested by prohibition of burial. Study of written sources and archaeological data highlights a topographic configuration more complex than a simple duality *intra/extra cimiterium*. Indeed, the cemetery margins can be understood as spaces specifically delivered to the burial of ‘bad Christians’. They are, however, like purgatory, places of transition: a person buried *prope cimiterium*, after *post-mortem* absolution and/or reconciliation, can be exhumed and be reinterred in the consecrated cemetery. So far, very little attention has been paid by the scientific community on the displacement and reintegration of the body of the ‘bad dead’. These actions are all the more important because they do not apply to all ‘bad dead’. Thus, if the corpse of a heretic can indeed be exhumed, it can also be exhumed and burned, as Bernard Gui preconciates: the absence of osseous remains does not allow any reintegration into the bosom of the Church.⁴⁷

After work on the integration and relegation of the *Ecclesia*, the question of social reintegration may be confronted. To this end, we strive to show that excommunication and deprivation of *sepultura ecclesiastica* are not irrevocable punishments. Thus, penance, absolution and reconciliation, both *ante* and *post mortem*, are the means of returning to the world of ‘good Christians’ or of the ‘good dead’. Faced with these methods of resocialisation, we can imagine that the Church remains conscious and responsible for the salvation of the souls of all Christians, ‘good’ or ‘bad’, dead or alive. Burial on the ‘bad dead’ side of the consecrated cemetery does not necessarily rhyme with ‘exclusion’ nor is a synonym for permanent deprivation of *sepultura ecclesiastica*. Assuming that excommunication and deprivation of *sepultura ecclesiastica* are not categorical sentences of exclusion, it is clear that they are related to desocialization. By a more or less prolonged temporary banishment, desocialization prevents a person from participation in the social life of, but not complete exclusion from, the community. It represents a medieval, Christian model of exclusion that should certainly not be beheld with contemporary eyes or prejudices.⁴⁸

47. Gui Bernard. *Practica Inquisitionis heretique pravitatis*, V, Appendices, II, 1 and 4. Édition: Gui, Bernard. *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, ed. and trans. (in French) Guillaume Mollat. Paris: H. Champion, 1926-1927: II, 128-131 and 136-137.

48. On multiple definitions of exclusion, see Xiberras, Martine. *Les théories de l'exclusion. Pour une construction de l'imaginaire et de la deviance*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1998.



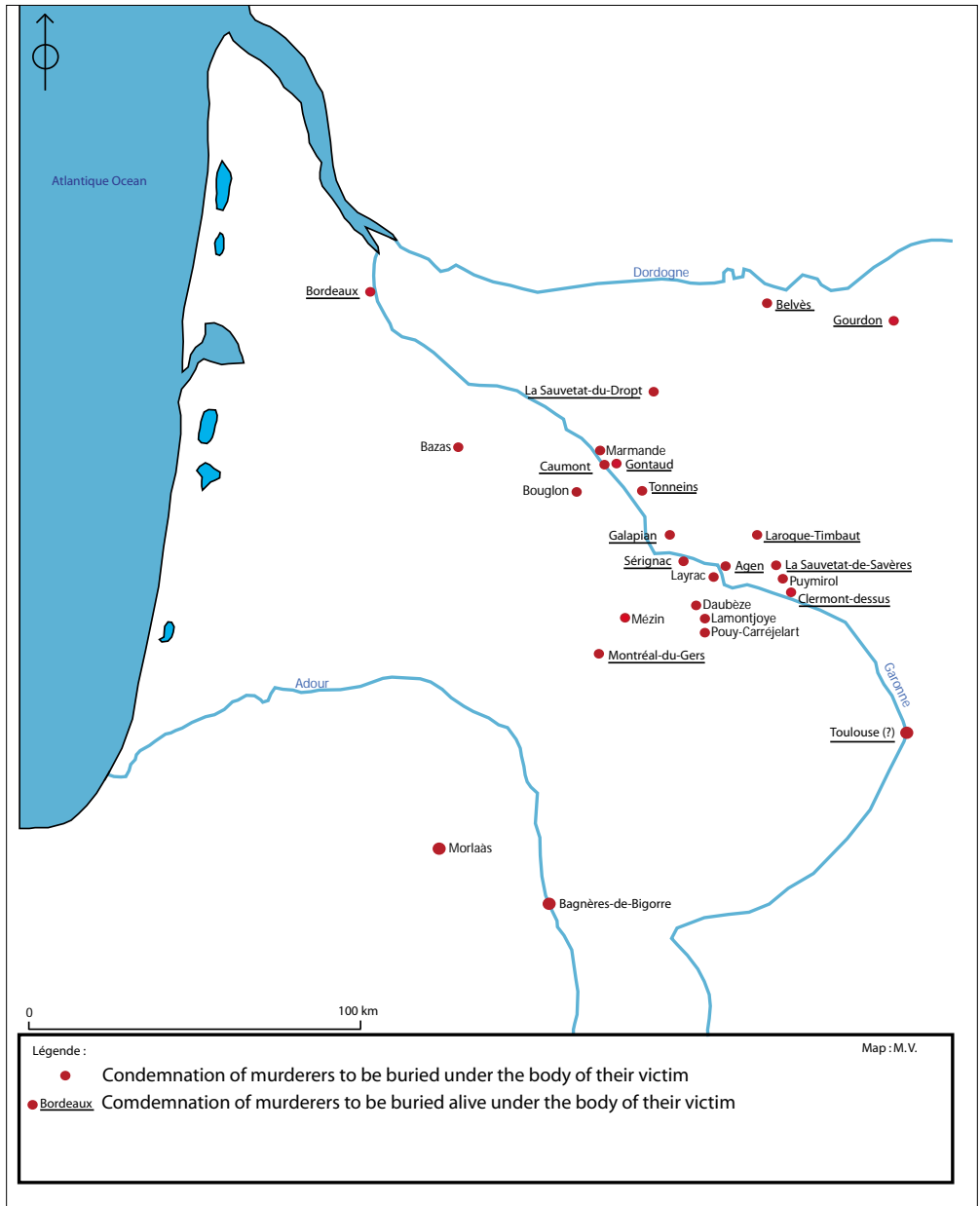


ILLUSTRATION 1: MAP OF LOCALITIES WHERE CUSTOMS MENTION THE CONDEMNATION OF MURDERERS TO BE BURIED UNDER THEIR VICTIM (MAP: MATHIEU VIVAS).



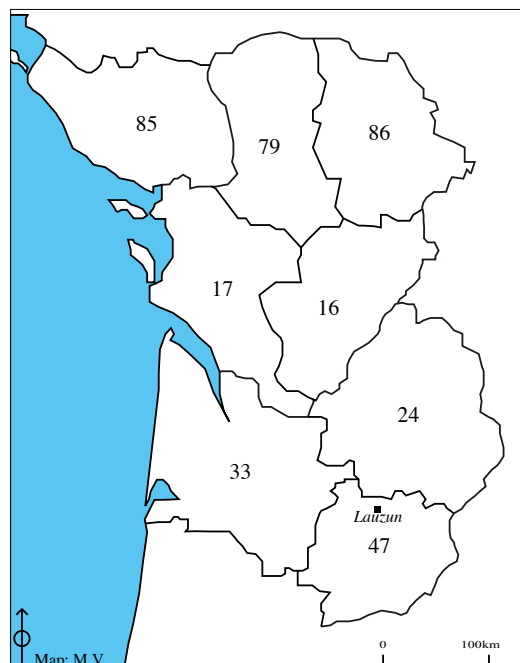


ILLUSTRATION 2A: THE LOCALISATION OF THE CASTLE OF LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE). ON THE MAP, THE NUMBERS CORRESPOND TO THE NUMBERS OF DEPARTMENTS.



ILLUSTRATION 2D: PICTURE OF THE DOUBLE BURIAL. THE PICTURE IS TAKEN FROM FARAVEL, SYLVIE; SIREIX, CHRISTOPHE; MARTIN, CHRISTIAN. "LE CHÂTEAU DE LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE)...: 380, FIG. 18.



ILLUSTRATION 2B: THE CASTLE OF LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE). THE PLAN IS TAKEN FROM FARAVEL, SYLVIE; SIREIX, CHRISTOPHE; MARTIN, CHRISTIAN. "LE CHÂTEAU DE LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE)...: 375, FIG. 13.



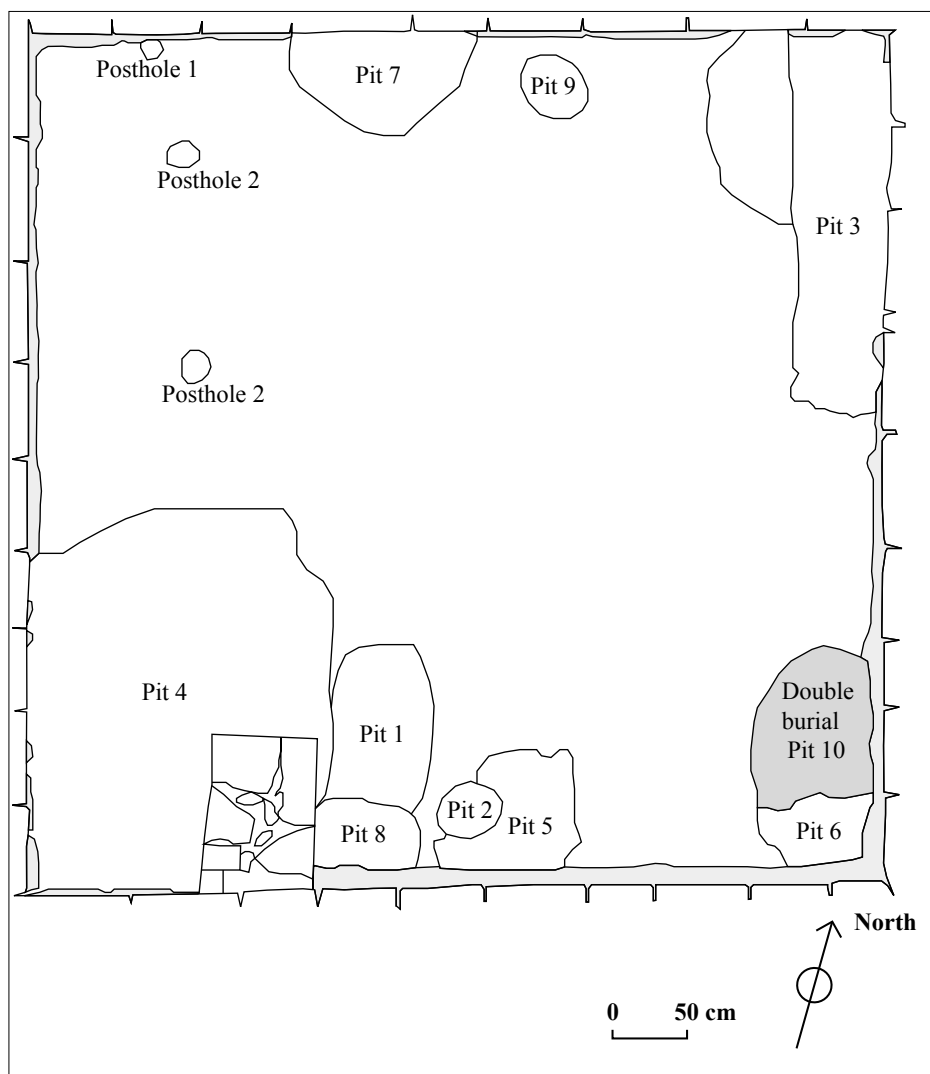


ILLUSTRATION 2C: DONJON OF THE CASTLE OF LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE). THE DRAWING IS TAKEN FROM FARAVEL, SYLVIE; SIREIX, CHRISTOPHE; MARTIN, CHRISTIAN. "LE CHÂTEAU DE LAUZUN (LOT-ET-GARONNE)...: 380, FIG. 19. IN THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE DUNGEON, THE DOUBLE BURIAL.

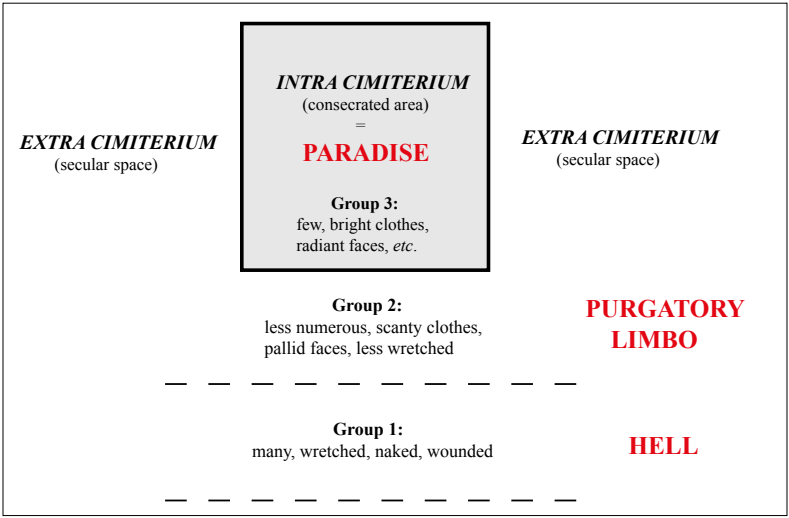


ILLUSTRATION 3: SCHEMA OF THE FARMER'S VISION REPORTED BY THOMAS OF CANTIMPRÉ (DRAWING: MATHIEU VIVAS).

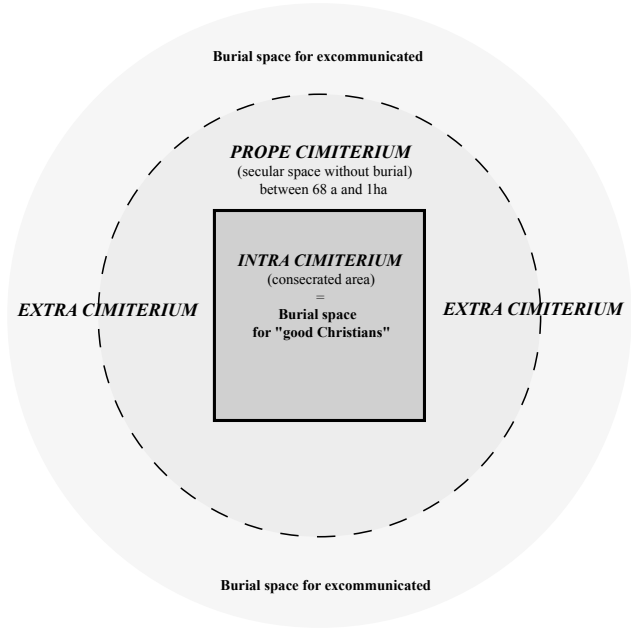


ILLUSTRATION 4: SCHEMA OF THE CEMETERY AND ITS PERIPHERY ACCORDING TO THE ARTICLE 1 OF THE ADDITIONAL SYNODAL STATUTES OF SAINTES (EASTER 1282). DRAWING: MATHIEU VIVAS.



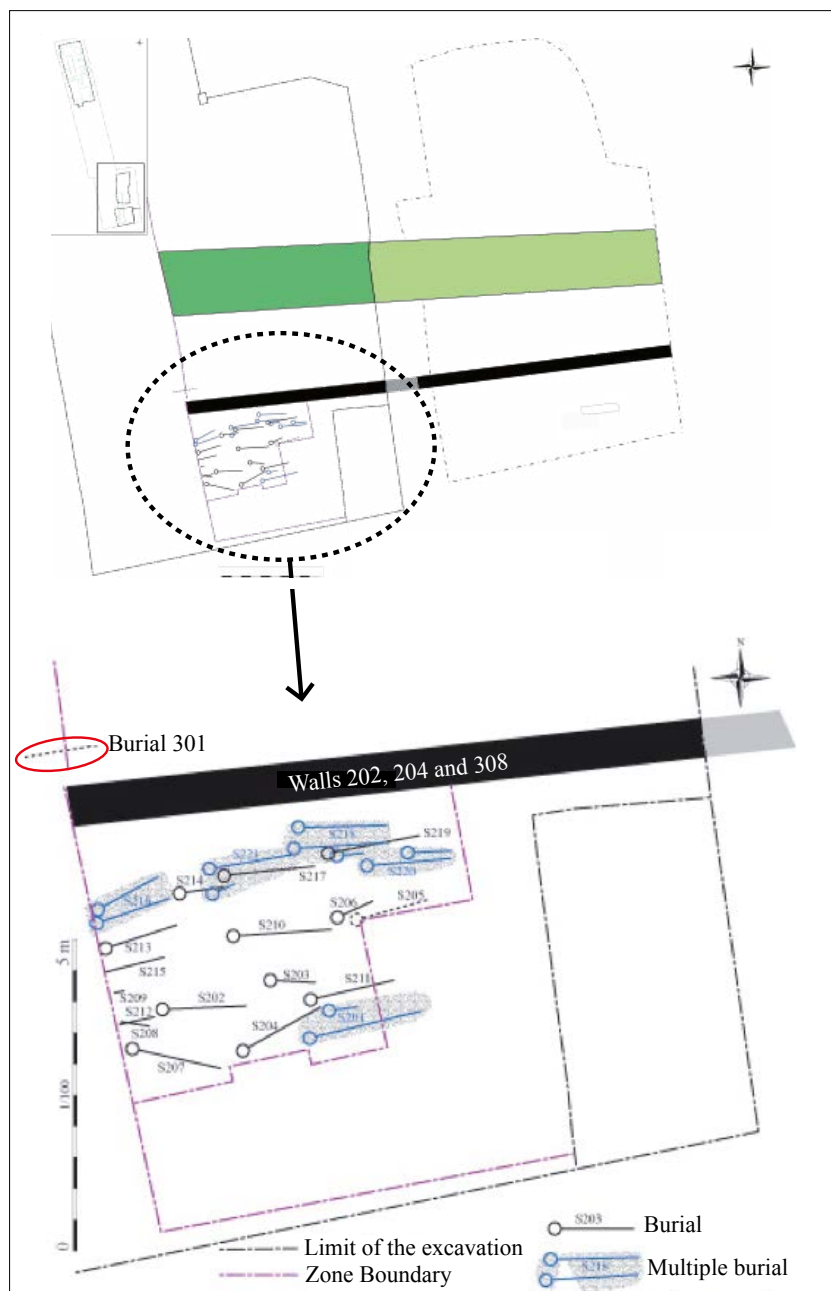


ILLUSTRATION 5: EXCAVATION OF THE CEMETERY NAMED THE *CIMETIÈRE DES PAUVRES*, BOURGES (CHER). THE PLANS ARE TAKEN FROM BLANCHARD, PHILIPPE; GEORGES, PATRICE. *PERCEPTION ET ÉVOLUTION D'UN QUARTIER PÉRIPHÉRIQUE DE BOURGES...*: 139, FIG. 107.

*IMPERATOR BURDINUM HISPANUM ROMANAE
SEDI VIOLENTER IMPOSUIT.*
A RESEARCH PROPOSAL ON
THE ARCHBISHOP OF BRAGA AND ANTIPOPE
GREGORY VIII, MAURICE ‘BOURDIN’

FRANCESCO RENZI
UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO
PORTUGAL

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to investigate the image of Archbishop of Braga and Antipope Gregory VIII (1118-1121), Maurice “Bourdin”. Often modern historiography has considered Maurice as only a minor figure of the Church History of the beginning of the 12th century, but a reading of the 12th and 13th century literary sources offers a very different image of him. The use of these kinds of sources and the adoption of a strong international perspective would show how it is possible to rethink Maurice “Bourdin”’s life and career and to revise many features of the Roman Church History and its relations with *Hispania* in the central centuries of the Middle Ages.¹

KEYWORDS

Maurice “Bourdin”, Rome, Antipope, Braga, Gregory VIII.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Mauritius “Burdinus”, Roma, Antipapa, Bracara Augusta, Gregorius VIII.

1. FCT-CITCEM SFRH/BPD/110178/2015. This article is part of the post-doctoral project founded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. I would like to thank Annemie Lemaans and Bruce Stuart for the English revision of the text.

1. Introduction

Quem electum imperator duxit in pulpitem, ubi ipse electus interrogantibus de nomine suo dixit; Meum nomen est Burdinus; set quando papa Urbanus ordinavit me episcopum, nominavit me Mauritium. Tunc quidam de indutis habitu ecclesiastico de pulpito ad populum tertio clamavit: Vultis dominum Mauritium in papam? Qui tertio respondentes et clamantes dixerunt: Volumus

Landolphus Iuniore, *Historia Mediolanensis*.²

The aim of this paper is to introduce the first results of my postdoctoral project entitled “*All the Roads lead to Portugal. The Life and the European Trajectory of Archbishop Maurice “Bourdin” of Braga (11th-12th centuries)*” financed by the FCT of Lisbon (Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia) and directed by Professor Luís Carlos Amaral of the University of Oporto. The research project does not only concern a general biographical revision of the figure of the Archbishop of Braga and the Antipope —known as Gregory VIII— Maurice “Bourdin”. The main purpose of my research plan is to use Maurice “Bourdin”’s life and career as a case-study, in order to illustrate two main aspects.

The first is the internationality of the See of Braga and of the County of Portugal in the early 12th century. These territories were geographically at the “borders” of Europe, but they were absolutely not the “periphery” of the medieval world. On the contrary, Portugal, and more in general, the North-Western Iberian Peninsula were at the heart of a number of important European historical processes. These dynamics were tightly connected to the Roman Papacy, even before the affirmation of the royal claims of Afonso I Henriques (d. 1185) against the Kings of León-Castile and León between the second and the third quarter of the 12th century.³ The second aspect is to consider the Archbishop of Braga, Maurice “Bourdin”, as a possible key-figure to analyse the consequences and the effects of the transformation of the Roman Church that began with the introduction of the *Reichskirche* system in Rome under the Emperor and King of Germany Henry III (d. 1056).⁴ Through a 12th century

2. “My name is Burdinus, but once Pope Urbanus ordained me as a bishop he named me ‘Maurice’. Then, one of the present clergymen asked the crowd three times with loud voice: ‘Do you want Maurice as the pope?’ And the people answered three times, ‘We want.’” Landolphus Iuniore. “*Historia Mediolanensis ab anno MXCV usque ad annum MCXXXVII*”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann-Philipp Jaffé. Hannover: Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1868: XX, 49. This is my English translation.

3. On the new Portuguese historiographical tendencies, see the recent work of Rosa, Maria de Lourdes; Vasconcelos e Sousa, Bernardo; Branco, Maria João, eds. *The historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*, José Mattoso, dir. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011. In this volume see the essay of Mattoso, José. “Medieval studies in Portugal: an overview”, *The historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 11-23. See also the very important work of Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmiréz. Constancia y variación”, *O século de Xelmírez*, Fernando López Alsina, Henrique Monteagudo Romero, Ramón Villares, Ramón Yzquierdo Perrín, dirs. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 2013: 75-92.

4. Fliche, Augustin. *La Réforme grégorienne*. 3 vols. Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniens, 1924-1937.



Antipope's point of view, it is possible to reconsider and renew the historiographical conclusions on some of the main ecclesiological and political features of the Roman Church during the central centuries of the Middle Ages. These features, in fact, are still interpreted through the too rigid scheme of the "Gregorian Reform," a model elaborated by the French historian Augustin Fliche in the first half of the past century. The study of Maurice "Bourdin" gives the opportunity to revise several complex problems such as: the difficulties connected to the interpretation of the *Decretum in electione papae* of 1059 in electing and consecrating a Pope; the conflict and the collaboration between the Popes and the Emperor/Kings of Germany; the international circulation of clergymen in medieval Europe; the relationships between Rome and the Iberian Peninsula from the end of the 11th century; the relic traffic and the pilgrimages from Spain and Portugal to the Holy Land; and the role of both Roman urban clergy and aristocracy in this political bargaining. Such a richness of historical problems deserves a new historiographical attention.⁵

In this work I will focus on a lesser-known perspective, i.e. the international career of Archbishop Maurice as seen through the literary sources. To achieve this objective, first I will revise the traditional historiographical interpretations on the figure of Maurice "Bourdin". Second, I will discuss some possible research perspectives through the introduction of the 12th and 13th century literary sources and the images concerning the Archbishop of Braga and Antipope Gregory VIII. These sources might help us to rethink both the life and the political trajectory of Maurice "Bourdin" in the Iberian Peninsula and as an Antipope in order to reformulate many questions about the history of Portugal and of the Roman Church between the 11th and the 12th centuries.

2. State of the art (1940-2016): the negative image of Maurice 'Bourdin' in the European Historiography and new research perspectives

After the biography written by Étienne Baluze (1630-1718) and the 19th-early 20th century works of von Giesebrecht, Gregorovius and Meyer von Kronau,⁶ the first important modern monograph entirely dedicated to Maurice "Bourdin" is the one published by Carl Erdmann in 1940. In this work, the author analysed the

5. For the critics to Filche's model of "Gregoria Reform" see: Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "Dalle chiese alla monarchia papale", *Chiesa, Chiese, Movimenti religiosi*, Glauco Maria Cantarella, Valeria Polonio, Roberto Rusconi, eds. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2001: 5-74. Longo, Umberto. "La riforma della Chiesa tra Pier Damiani a Bernardo di Chiaravalle. Un concetto da declinare al plurale", *La società monastica nei secoli VI-XII. Sentieri di ricerca*, Marialuisa Bottazzi, Paolo Buffo, Caterina Ciccopiedi, Luciana Furbetta, Thomas Granier, eds. Trieste-Rome: CERM-École française de Rome, 2016: 113-132.

6. Baluze, Étienne. *Vita Mauricii Burdini archiepiscopi Bracarenensis*, *Miscellanea historica*. Lucca: ed. Mansi, 1761: I, 137-148. In the 16th century, Baronius already quoted Maurice in his *Baronii, Caesaris. Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*. Paris: Barri-Ducis, Ludovicus Guerin Editor, 1869: XVIII, 36-37, 278-279, 298-300 and 336-337.



career of Maurice in Portugal, his relation with the other Iberian episcopal Sees, and his connections with the Papacy and the Empire.⁷ This monograph should be placed within the wider research perspective of the German historian, who, in 1927, published his very important work on the relationship between Portugal and Rome, a study that is still the starting point for research on Portuguese medieval political and ecclesiastical history.⁸ Erdmann recognized in the Archbishop of Braga an interesting figure to study, but his final judgement was deeply negative. Maurice's life would lack of "human greatness" and "right ideas", and only because of a series of coincidences he was to become an historical character.⁹ Few years later, Erdmann's work was partially revised by Pierre David in a detailed essay focused on Maurice "Bourdin" and published in a collection of studies dedicated to Medieval Galicia and Portugal. Even if the final conclusion of Pierre David was more moderate, the French historian basically shared Erdmann's negative opinion: Maurice "Bourdin" was a too ambitious man and his pretensions were completely unrealistic.¹⁰

In the following decades, scholars worked on the figure of Maurice "Bourdin" in the broader context of both conflicts with the Archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez —his greatest rival in the North-Western Iberian Peninsula— and his relationships with Henry of Burgundy, Count of Portugal (d. 1112), and his wife, Countess-Queen Teresa Alfonso (d. 1130), daughter of King Alfonso VI of León-Castile (d. 1109).¹¹ Other scholars contextualized the ecclesiastical career of Archbishop Maurice in the clash over the Iberian Primacy, which deeply involved the See of Braga, Compostela, Tarragona and Toledo all through the 12th and the 13th centuries.¹² In this perspective, the historical heritage of Maurice "Bourdin" and the

7. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino (Gregório VIII)*. Coimbra: Publicações do Instituto Alemão da Universidade de Coimbra, 1940. Giesebrecht, Wilhelm von. *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*. Leipzig: Schwetschke Verlag, 1877: Chapter III/2. Gregorovius, Ferdinandus. *Storia della città di Roma*. 3 vols., trans. (to italian) Luigi Trompeo, Rome: Gherardo Casini Editore, 1988. Meyer von Kronau, Gerold. *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches unter Heinrich IV. und Heinrich V. zu 1116 bis 1125*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1909: VII.

8. Erdmann, Carl. *Papsturkunden in Portugal*. Berlin: Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1927: 1-152.

9. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...*: 71.

10. David, Pierre. "L'enigme de Maurice Bourdin", *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI^e au XII^e siècle*, Pierre David, dir. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1947: 441-501.

11. Soares, Torquato Sousa. "O governo de Portugal pelo Conde Henrique de Borgonha: Suas relações com as monarquias Leonesa Castelhana e Aragonesa". *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 14 (1974): 365-397. Bishko, Charles Julian. "Count Henrique of Portugal, Cluny, and antecedents of the Pacto Sucessório". *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 13 (1971): 155-190. Reilly, Bernard Franklin. *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1065-1109*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982: 37-55. Fletcher, Richard Alexander. *Saint James's Catapult. The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984: 48-50 and 202-206. Estefânio, Abel. "O pacto sucessório revisitado: o texto e o contexto". *Medievalista*, 10 (2011): 1-60. Amaral, Luís Carlos; Barroca, Mário Jorge. *A Condessa-Rainha Teresa*. Maia: Círculo de Leitores e Autores, 2012: 133-154, 175, 187-195, 198-207, 209-214 and 274-286.

12. Feige, Peter. "La primacía de Toledo y la libertad de las demás metrópolis de España: el ejemplo de Braga", *La introducción del Cister en España y Portugal*. Burgos: La Olmeda, 1991: 61-132. Herbers, Klaus. "El papado y la Península ibérica en el siglo XIII", *Roma y la Península ibérica en la alta Edad Media*. La



memory of his experience as an Antipope in Rome was still very popular in the 13th century. Patrick Henriët demonstrated, in fact, how Maurice's 'sacrilegious' choice to take the imperial side against the papacy was recorded in the Toledan texts, and it was used as an argument against the Primacy pretensions of the Archbishops of Braga until the second/third quarter of the 13th century.¹³ Finally, scholars, including Ian Stuart Robinson and Mary Stroll focused on Maurice's experience as an Antipope. In fact, Maurice was promoted to the See of Saint Peter by the Emperor and King of Germany, Henry V, in opposition to Pope Gelasius II (1118-1119) and in a first phase to Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124).¹⁴

Often these different historical aspects have been separately analysed, by considering Archbishop of Braga Maurice "Bourdin" —following the conclusions of Erdmann— only as a minor character, a very weak and unlucky man, who completely failed in his political and ecclesiastical aspirations because of Emperor Henry V's political and military abandon and the opposition of both Diego Gelmírez and Archbishop Bernard of Toledo in the Kingdom of León-Castile and Pope Calixtus II in Rome.¹⁵ More recently, Glauco Maria Cantarella suggested another perspective. He defined Maurice "Bourdin" not only as an ambitious man, but also as a solution, or at least one among the possible solutions, for the Investiture Controversy.¹⁶ Considering the negative image of Maurice "Bourdin" in the historiographical literature, this idea sounds provocative, but it might also stimulate a debate on the role of the Archbishop of Braga in the final phase of the Investiture Controversy in the years 1117-1122.

Probably born and raised in Limoges or in the Limousin region—in the opinion of many scholars, he was a Cluniac monk— Maurice arrived in Castile and became archdeacon in Toledo under the authority of Archbishop Bernard I of Sédirac or of Sauvetat (d. 1124/1125). Maurice then became a bishop in Portugal in the

construcción de espacios, normas y redes de relación, Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, Klaus Herbers, eds. León: Universidad de León, 2009: 29-80.

13. Henriët, Patrick. "Political Struggle and the legitimation of the Toledan Primacy: The Pars Laterani Concilii". *Building legitimacy: Political discourses and forms of legitimacy in medieval societies*, Isabel Alfonso Antón, Hugh Kennedy, Julio Escalona Monge, eds. Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2004: 291-318.

14. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "I Normanni e la chiesa di Roma. Aspetti e momenti," *Chiese Locali e chiese Regionali nell'alto medioevo. Atti della LXI Settimana di Spoleto (Spoleto, 4-9 aprile 2013)*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2014: 377-406. Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II (1119-1124). A Pope born to rule*. Brill: Leiden-Boston, 2004: 52-57 and 329-332. Robinson, Ian Stuart. *The Papacy, 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1990: 132-33 and 253-254.

15. For general overview, see Colotto, Cristina. "Gregorio VIII antipapa", *Enciclopedia dei papi*. Rome: Treccani, 2000: II, 246. See also Costa, Avelino de Jesus da. "Burdino, Maurício (Gregório VIII)", *Dicionário de História de Portugal*. Porto: Livraria Figueirinhas, 1990: I, 393-394. On the slight importance of Maurice "Bourdin" in modern historiography, see the pages dedicated to him by Johrendt, Jochen. "Rom zwischen Kaiser und Papst—die Universalgewalten und die ewige Stadt", *Heinrich V. in seiner Zeit Herrschen in einem europäischen Reich des Hochmittelalters*. Gerhard Lubich, ed. Vienna-Cologne-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2013: 169-190, especially 178, 182 and Hartmann, Florian. "Heinrich V. im Diskurs Bologneser Gelehrter", *Heinrich V. in seiner Zeit Herrschen in einem europäischen Reich des Hochmittelalters*. Gerhard Lubich, ed. Vienna-Cologne-Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2013: 191-214, especially 192.

16. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "I Normanni e la chiesa di Roma...": 388.



important frontier See of Coimbra, before becoming the successor of Saint Gerald in the prestigious Archiepiscopal See of Braga in 1109.¹⁷ The sources of the 12th and the 13th century also give much interesting information about his pilgrimage in Jerusalem, his stay in Constantinople, and his persistent contacts with Rome. Maurice “Bourdin” was, in fact, very close to Pope Paschalis II (1099-1118), and John of Gaeta, the future Gelasius II (who was to die at Cluny in January 1119), who appointed him for a diplomatic mission to deal with the Emperor Henry V. In this occasion, Archbishop Maurice passed to the imperial side, crowning Henry V against Pope Paschalis II’s will.¹⁸ The Pope immediately reacted by excommunicating the Archbishop of Braga from Benevento. In March 1118, Maurice “Bourdin” was elected Pope in Rome, and on the 25th day of the same month, Gelasius II wrote Bernard, Archbishop of Toledo, on the second excommunication of Maurice.¹⁹ After two years in Rome Maurice fled to Sutri, between Viterbo and Rome, where in 1121, Maurice was captured by Pope Calixtus II and then imprisoned in the monastery of Saint Trinity of Cava de’ Tirreni near Salerno in the Norman Kingdom of Southern Italy (although there exists a different tradition on Maurice’s imprisonment in the Rocca Janula, in *the terra Benedicti* near Montecassino, and in the Castle of Fumone near Rome)²⁰ where, following the *Annales Palidenses*, Maurice “Bourdin” was still

17. Mattoso, José. *Identificação de um país: ensaio sobre as origens de Portugal, 1096-1325*. Editorial Estampa: Lisboa, 1985: 193. Veloso, Maria Teresa Nobre. “D. Maurício, monge de Cluny, bispo de Coimbra, peregrino na Terra Santa”. *Estudos de Homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006: I, 125-135. For the documents and data on Maurice, see *Livro Preto: Cartulario da Sé de Coimbra*, eds. Manuel Augusto Rodrigues, Avelino de Jesus da Costa. Coimbra: Arquivo da Universidade de Coimbra, 1999: CLV-CLVIII and 70-855 (docs. No. 40, 47, 47-A, 52, 54, 69, 1116, 117, 151, 172, 183, 217, 217-A, 254, 262, 264, 266, 281, 285, 285-A, 305, 313, 318, 320, 321, 325-327, 329, 338, 340, 376, 377, 381, 390, 393, 414, 431, 433-436-A, 533-536-A, 538-542, 546-548, 553, 565-566-A, 578, 578-A, 592, 601, 605, 614, 619, 621, 622, 627, 629 and 633). *Liber Fidei sanctae bracaraensis ecclesiae*, eds. José Marques, Maria Teresa Nobre Veloso, Joaquim Tomás Silva Pereira. Braga: Arquidiocese de Braga, 2017: I, 238-782 (docs. No. 139, 322, 381-384 and 569) and II, 888-967 (docs. No. 651, 688-692, 694, 695, 697-703, 708 and 709). *Documentos medievais portugueses (1095-1185)*, ed. Rui Pinto de Azevedo. Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da Historia, 1962: II, 124-321 (docs. No. 14, 17, Bishop of Coimbra, 22, 27, 29, 30, 40, 41, 48, 51, 54, 55, 58, 59, 488, Archbishop of Braga). Furthermore in 1103, Gerald of Braga chose Maurice as his temporary substitute during his temporary travel to Rome on the date of Bernard of Sédirac’s death see Lay, Stephen. *The reconquest Kings of Portugal. Political and cultural Reorientation on the medieval Frontier*. New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2009: 21.

18. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power. The Papacy following the Investiture context*. Leiden: Brill, 1991: XIX; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia*, Brussels-Ghent-Mainz-Munich-Regensburg-Vienna: Berolini Veit et socius, 1851: 523 (reg. 4882; Gaeta 1118 March 10th); Gelasii II, “Epistolae et privilegia”, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris: Garnier Fratres, Editores et J. P. Migne successores, 1893: CLXIII, cols. 487-488 (ep. II).

19. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 523 (reg. 4886; Gaeta 1118 March 25th) ; Gelasii II, “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, col. 491 (ep. VI). Colotto, Cristina. “Gregorio VIII...”: 246.

20. See “Die Chronik von Montecassino (Chronica monasterii Casinensis)”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Harmut Hoffmann. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1980: XXXIV, 547: *Eodem vero anno papa Honorius urbem egrediens ascendit ad hoc monasterium atque a supradicto abbate et fratribus honorifica satis processione receptus, super altare beati Benedicti missam sollempniter celebrans sero iam ad civitatem rediit. Demum vero Mauricius heresiarcham de Ianula, in qua eum papa Calixtus exiliaverat, abstrahens apud Fumonem exilio religavit*. Cardinal Boson. “Les vies des Papes”, *Le ‘Liber Pontificalis’*, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris: Ernest Thorin Editeur, 1892: II, 377 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, “Vita Calixti II”]:



alive around 1137 during the reign of King Roger II of Sicily (d. 1154).²¹ This brief *excursus* on Maurice “Bourdin”’s biography should encourage us at first to rethink the career of the Archbishop of Braga and place it in a significant international perspective across Western Europe between the end of the 11th and the first quarter of the 12th century.

Starting from this point, it is important to apply to this case-study the most recent and significant historiographical acquisitions, now presented in a four-part outline. The first section considers the dynamics of the Archbishopric of Braga as important for the study of the whole Iberian Peninsula, definitively abandoning the idea of the existence of a rigid political frontier between Portugal and the other Iberian Kingdoms.²² At the same time, the history of Portugal should be included and analysed in the transformation of the relationship between the Iberian monarchs and the Roman Popes in particular after the problematic introduction of the Roman Rite in the last quarter of the 11th century (few years prior to Maurice’s arrival in the Iberian Peninsula.) and together with the role played by Cluny especially in the troubled years of the abbacy of Pons of Melgueil (d. 1126). The second point in the outline is the contextualization of the trajectory of Maurice “Bourdin” in the complex framework of the conflict between Pope Paschalis II and Emperor Henry V to solve the Investiture Controversy, from the agreement of Settefratte in 1111 to the definitive deterioration of the relationship between these two in the year 1117.²³ It is in this moment that Maurice “Bourdin”’s ecclesiastical career completely changed.

Postmodum vero Burdinum fecit in arce Fumonis retrudi et inde ad monasterium Cavense, ubi perseverans in sua rebellione vitam finivit, transferri. “Annales Casinenses”, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio), ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1866: XIX, 308: 1121. Calixtus papa Burdinum apud Sutrum captum, apud Cavae custodiam mancipavit. 1122. Idem papa eundem Burdinum de Cava extractum in Ianula custodiendum tradidit. 1125. Ricchardus de Caleno terram sancti Benedicti hostiliter ingressus, castella eius incendit, predictum papam Burdinum de Ianula tractum in Fumonem reliquit. Martini Oppaviensis. “Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum”, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio), ed. Ludwig Weiland. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1872: XXII, 435: Burdinus arche fumonis est retrusus.

21. “Annales Palidenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, 76. Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II...: 52-55 and 329-331*. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...: 51-54*; David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 484-486.

22. See the very important works of Barros, Carlos. “La frontera medieval entre Galicia y Portugal”. *Medievalismo*, 4 (1994): 27-40; Pizarro, José Augusto De Sotto Mayor. “De e para Portugal. A circulação de nobres na Hispânia Medieval (séculos XII a XV)”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 40/2 (2010): 889-924; Mattoso, José. *História de Portugal. A monarquia feudal (1096-1480)*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 2010: I, 36 and following. Calderón Medina, Inés; Martins Ferreira, João Paulo. “Beyond the Border. The Aristocratic mobility between the Kingdoms of Portugal and León (1157-1230)”. *E-Journal of Portuguese History*, 12/1, (2014): 2-48.

23. Amaral, Luís Carlos. *Formação e desenvolvimento do domínio da diocese de Braga no período da Reconquista (século IX-1137)*. Porto: University of Porto (PhD Dissertation), 2007: 356, 384-390, 406, 417-419, 433, 446-459, 465, 522 and 553. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. “Come in uno specchio? Di nuovo su Ponzio di Cluny (1109-1122/26)”. *Bullettino dell’Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo*, 116 (2014): 60-91. Deswarte, Thomas. *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape: l’Espagne et Rome (586-1085)*. Paris: Garnier, 2010: 396 and following. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Pasquale II e il suo tempo*. Napoli: Liguori, 1997: 94-101.



The third point consists in connecting the figure of Maurice “Bourdin” with the new research on ecclesiology. The studies of Avelino de Jesus da Costa and Luís Carlos Amaral already showed that, since 1090, the See of Braga had contacts with the Holy See.²⁴ Bishop of Braga Pedro, in fact, got in touch with Antipope Clement III (d. 1100), the former Archbishop of Ravenna Wibert, to obtain for Braga the metropolitan title after the restoration of the See in 1070-1071.²⁵ Pedro was deposed the following year and the See of Braga had to wait until 1100 to receive the archiepiscopal dignity.²⁶ Why should a legitimate bishop get in touch with an Antipope? Was Pedro so ambitious as to look for the support of an Antipope to reach his goals? The case of Pedro of Braga is very important because of two reasons. First, it shows the necessity to avoid a too rigid and anachronistic division between the Pope (legitimate) and the Antipope (illegitimate), as in the traditional perspective of Erdmann or David reconsidering the role of Antipopes in the 11th and 12th centuries. This point is very important, if we are to understand the role Maurice of Braga played. The traditional historiographical interpretation privileges the *Pope* as the canonically elected candidate to the Holy See; but one can ask: what then happens if the procedure of election is not universally accepted, defined or respected? The *Decretum in Electione Papae* was criticized, in fact, by the imperial side as well as by Cardinal Deusdedit in his canonical collection of 1086-1087.²⁷ Moreover, if one follows the traditional scheme, how should we consider Pope Gregory VII's election? As demonstrated by Ovidio Capitani and Glauco Maria Cantarella, Gregory's election is very obscure, and the protocol of Gregory VII's *Registrum* seems more a “pastiche” produced to justify a very unclear election than a reliable report of the events. Was Gregory VII an Antipope?²⁸

The term *Antipope* was often a pejorative word used by the supporters of a candidate against their adversaries or an *a posteriori* definition, but in the contemporary moments of conflict, all the candidates claimed to be the legitimate one. In 2012, Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri argued, “An antipope is instead a pope whom another pope declares illegitimate and who loses his conflict, either on the battlefield or in the media. What I am getting at is that an antipope can only exist through a mirror: the mirror of his opponent”. This non-finalistic historiographical

24. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 446 (reg. 4006; Ravenna 1090 April-May); Baluze, Étienne. *Miscellanea*. Lucca: Apud Vincentium Juntivm, 1761: I, 132.

25. Costa, Avelino de Jesus da. *O bispo D. Pedro e a organização da diocese de Braga*. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1959: 16-73; Amaral, Luís Carlos. “O património fundiário da Sé de Braga entre 1071 e 1108”. *Congresso Internacional IX Centenário da Dedicção da Sé de Braga*. Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa-Faculdade de Teologia de Braga, 1990: I, 513-527 and Amaral, Luís Carlos. *Formação e desenvolvimento...*: 304-105.

26. Amaral, Luís Carlos. “O património fundiário da Sé de Braga...”: 527.

27. Capitani, Ovidio. *Tradizione e interpretazione: dialettiche ecclesiologiche del secolo XI*. Milan: Jouvence, 1990: 27-30 and 44-48. Of the same author, Capitani, Ovidio. “Gregorio VII”. *Enciclopedia dei papi. Treccani*. 8 August 2010 <[www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santo-gregorio-vii_\(Enciclopedia-dei-Papi\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/santo-gregorio-vii_(Enciclopedia-dei-Papi)/>). Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Il sole e la luna. La rivoluzione di Gregorio VII 1073-1085*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 2005: 81-86. See also Stroll, Mary. *Popes and Antipopes. The politics of Eleventh century Reform*. Leiden: Brill, 2012: 96-107.

28. Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Il sole e la luna...*: 83.



perspective, as noted by the Italian scholar could help us as we take another look at the past.²⁹ This seems important, for as historians acknowledge: the *Antipope* was often able to control Rome thanks to his supporters, while the *Pope* in such a time could not even cross the city walls. Elected in the Council of Bressanone in 1080 against Gregory VII, Wibert/Clement III was for twenty years one of the main protagonists of the Roman Church History. It is not a mere coincidence that his death was welcomed with relief by the biographer of Pope Paschalis II in the *Liber Pontificalis*. Obviously, not all the Antipopes were as powerful as Clement III, but it would be a misleading idea to consider the victory of the “legitimate Popes” over their “Antipopes” as *obvious* and *inevitable*. This is a first reason why we should reconsider the career of Maurice “Bourdin”, who was able to stay in Rome for two years: a considerable time for a Pope in the 11th and the 12th century.³⁰

Second, the experience of Bishop Pedro at the end of the 11th century is not only a local problem concerning Braga or the Iberian *milieu*, but it also opens enormous problems that deserve further consideration. Was Pedro a full supporter of Antipope Clement III against Pope Urban II? Were there constant contacts between Antipope Clement III and the *Hispania*, or was this an isolated episode? It would be important to revise the individual relationships of the Iberian bishops with Rome to understand if there were echoes in the Iberian Peninsula of the conflict between Clement III and Urban II at the time of the entry of the Roman rite in the Iberian Peninsula. Another problem is to understand how, only twenty years after the restoration of the See of Braga, Bishop Pedro (practically and financially) got his contacts with Wibert/Clement III and his men. What is important to highlight in this context is that Maurice “Bourdin” and his successor in Braga, Paio Mendes (1118-1137), renewed and reinforced those connections with Rome. Even if the Archbishops of Braga, after the years 1115-1120, partially lost their position in the ecclesiastical context of the *Hispania*, from the 1120's they started playing an increasingly important role in the County of Portugal and after its creation in the new Kingdom founded by Afonso Henriques, improving their international weight thanks to the relationship with Rome. This strategy might constitute also a model for the politics of the first King of Portugal, because Rome was considered as an opportunity of legitimization by Portuguese political and ecclesiastical *élites* against the other Iberian Kingdoms or the Episcopal Sees.³¹ At the same time, Popes were absolutely interested in inserting themselves and their legates in local conflicts, consolidating their primacy

29. See Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. “Popes through the Looking Glass, or ‘Ceci n’est pas un pape’”. *Reti Medievali*, 13/1 (2012): 121-136 and in particular 127.

30. For the complex relationship between Popes, clergy and Roman *Populus*, see Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo. Istituzioni e politica cittadina (secoli VIII-XIII)*. Viella: Rome, 2002: 19-36 and 82-99.

31. Mattoso, José. *Don Afonso Henriques*. Lisboa: Círculo de Leitores, 2007: 359-360. Branco, Maria João. *D. Sancho I: o filho do fundador*. Lisboa: Círculo dos Leitores, 2006: 80-81. Soto Rábanos, José María. “¿Se puede hablar de un entremado político religioso en el proceso de independencia de Portugal?”. *Hispania. Revista española de historia*, vol. 67/227 (2007): 798-826. See also Branco, Maria João; Farelo, Mário. “Diplomatic Relations: Portugal and the others”, *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 231-259 and Vilar, Hermínia Vasconcelos; Rosa, Maria de



throughout the 12th century. This historiographical framework is very important, if we are to avoid considering any aspect related to the Papacy and its relationships with local Churches as a necessary consequence of the ‘Gregorian Reform’, by following the model elaborated by Franz-Josef. Schmale in 1961 to interpret the Schism of 1130. First, even if nobody wants to deny the fundamental impact of Gregory VII, it is not possible to forget that the *Reform* (or the *Reforms* as suggested by Umberto Longo) of the Roman Church started before his pontificate: many problems were previous to Gregory VII and he could not solve them (or he was not interested in doing so) during his pontificate.³² Second, it is necessary to contextualize every single Antipope, including Maurice “Bourdin”, in his precise chronology, studying the dialectic of ‘Papacy-Empire’, the internal dynamics of the papal environment, and the role played by the new Roman aristocratic families in the papal elections during the first half of the 12th century.

Finally, the fourth point, it is decisive to contextualize the experience of Maurice “Bourdin” as an Antipope in the reality of the city of Rome and in the general framework of the deep transformation of the ecclesiastical urban structures, characterized by the progressive division between the Roman clergy and the new international Roman *Curia* mainly composed by men often coming from outside the *Urbs*.³³ The complexity in defining and interpreting the historical figure of Maurice “Bourdin” is clearly expressed by medieval sources, as I will immediately show.

3. Just an Antipope? The literary sources of the 12th and 13th centuries on Maurice ‘Bourdin’: first results and research perspective

The study of 12th and the 13th century literary sources offers some extraordinary research opportunities. First, I tried to develop a detailed list of all the texts concerning Maurice “Bourdin”. This first research step gave very interesting results. Basing on the fundamental work of Meyer von Kronau, I have compiled a list of

Lourdes. “The Church and the religious practices”, *The Historiography of Medieval Portugal (1950-2010)*. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais, 2011: 323-348.

32. Longo, Umberto. “La riforma della Chiesa...”: 123-124. For a critical view of the historiographical interpretation of the Schism of 1130 given by Schmale, Franz-Josef. *Studien zum Schisma des Jahres 1130*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1961 — see the excellent work of Milanese, Giorgio. “Bonifica” delle immagini e “propaganda” in Aquitania durante lo scisma del 1130-1138. Verona: Scripta Edizioni, 2013: 27-56. See also Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 82-88 and Bloch, Herbert. *Montecassino in Middle Ages*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1986: II, 953-955.

33. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma nel medioevo...*: 86-101. Maire Vigueur, Jean-Claude. *L'altra Roma. Una storia dei romani all'epoca dei comuni (secoli XII-XIV)*, trans. (to italian) Paolo Garbini. Turin: Einaudi, 2013: 148-199; Paravicini Bagliani, Agostino. *Morte e elezione del papa. Norme, riti e conflitti*. Rome: Viella, 2013: in particular 3-29; Wickham, Chris. *Roma medievale. Crisi e stabilità di una città*, Alessio Fiore; trans. (to italian) Luigi Provero and Alessio Fiore, Rome: Viella, 2014: 222-265. Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 82-87.

eighty-four literary texts in which the Archbishop of Braga (Antipope Gregory VIII) is mentioned. This highly relevant number of sources only covers the period between the first half of the 12th and the third quarter of the 13th century.³⁴ A second significant element is that only seven sources come from the Iberian Peninsula, and only four of these are from Portugal.³⁵ The texts proceed, in fact, from many other Western European areas: the Kingdom of France, Normandy, the Kingdom of England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Italy.³⁶ Roman and Papal sources (included

34. Meyer Von Kronau, Gerold. *Jahrbücher des deutschen Reiches...*: VII, 65, 68 (footnote 20), 69-75, 81, 85, 97, 103, 110 (footnote 15), 139, 148 (footnote 3), 155, 162-165, 182-1987, 335-339 and 357-358.

35. *Historia Compostelana*, ed. Emma Falque Rey. Turnhout: Brepols, 1988: 126-128, 162-164, 194-197, 217-218, 223-226, 229-232, 246-249 and 286. Roderici Ximenii de Rada. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae sive Historia gotica*, ed. Juan Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987: 226-227 and 210-212. *Pars Concilii Laterani*, ed. by Fidel Fita, in: Fita, Fidel. "Santiago de Galicia. Nuevas Impugnaciones y Nueva Defensa (V)". *Razón y Fé*, 1/2 (1901): 178-195. "Vita Sancti Geraldii"; "Vita Sancti Martini Sauriensis"; "Vita Tellonis". *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, ed. Alexandre Herculano. Lisbon: Academiae Scientiarum Olisiponenis, 1856: I, f. I, 56; 60 and 64. Iohannes de Deo. "Cronica", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 321-322.

36. Sugerio Abbate B. Dionysii. "Vita Ludovici Regis VI, qui Grossus dictus", *Patrologiae. Coursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1854: CLXXXVI, cols. 1309-1312. Tépulpe de Morigny. *Anno Domini MCXLVII Mauriniacensis Monasterii Chronicon. Ab anno Christi 1108 usque ad annum 1147*, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris: Ex bibliotheca viri cl. Alexandri Petavii senatoris Parisiensis, 1890: IV, cols. 142-143. Albericus. "Chronica Albrici monachi Trium Fontium a monacho novi monasterii Hoiensis interpolata". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1874: XXIII, p. 822. "Chronica universalis mettensis". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Haniiani, 1879: XXIV, 515. Petrus Bechinus. "Chronico"; Ernaldus abbas Bonae Vallis. "Ex Vitae S. Bernardi, Liber II"; Gaufredus de Collone. "Chronico", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1882: XXVI, respectively at 101, 616 and 478. "Qualiter Tabula S. Basilii continens in se magnam Dominici Ligni portionem Cluniacum delata fuerit tempore Pontii abbatis", *Recueil des historiens des croisades*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1895: V, 295-298. Orderici Vitalis angligenae coenobii Uticensis monachi. "Ecclesiasticae Historiae", *Patrologiae. Coursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1855: CLXXXVIII, cols. 849-850, 856, 873-878, 881 and 893. "Ex annalium Uticensium continuation", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1882: XXVI, 507. Eadmeri Cantuariensis. *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule. London: Longman & Co., 1884: 246-248 and 294. Gulielmus Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum libri quinque*, ed. William Stubbs. London: Rolls Series 90, 1887-1889: II, 663-664. Matthaei Parisiensis Monachi Sancti Albani. *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richard Luard. London: Longman & Co., 1882: VI, 108-109. "Ex Rogeri de Hoveden chronica". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Felix Liebermann, Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 140. Iohannis monachi. "Ex continuatione chronichi Florentii wigorniensis opera"; "Ex Henrici Huntingdoniensis archidiaconi historia anglorum"; "Ex Simeonis Dunelmensis historia regum", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1881: XIII, 130-131, 148, and 157-158. "Annales Dorenses". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Felix Liebermann, Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 523. "Ex annalibus Wintoniensibus". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 452. "Ex Annalibus de Margan", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Felix Liebermann, Reinhold Pauli. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 418-419. "Ex annalibus Melrosensibus". *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1885: XXVII, 434. Landolphus Iuniore. "Historia Mediolanensis...": 40-42. Martini Oppaviensis. "Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*,



the papal *enclave* of Benevento in Southern Italy, I am referring to the *Chronicon* of Falco of Benevento) like the *Liber Pontificalis* or the *Annales Romani*, and texts from Central Italy.³⁷ Other literary sources come from the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, Flanders, and the imperial cities of Strasbourg and Liège.³⁸ Finally, there are many sources coming from Germany, the Duchy of Bavaria (including the Archiepiscopal See of Salzburg), Switzerland, and Austria, together with the *Chronica Slavorum* written by Hemold of Bosau.³⁹ Moreover, Archbishop of Braga Maurice “Bourdin”

ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1872: XXII, 435 and 469. Sicardus episcopus Cremonensis. “Cronica”, and Albertus Milioli notarius regini. “Liber de temporibus”; Albertus Milioli notarius regini. “Cronica imperatorum”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, respectively 163, 430-445 and 635. Thomae Tuscii. “Gesta imperatorum et pontificum”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1873: XXII, 496.

37. Falco of Benevento. *Chronicon Beneventanum. Città e feudi nell'Italia dei normanni*, ed. Edoardo D'Angelo. Florence: SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998: 232-296. “Annales Beneventani”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1839: III, 184. Guillaume, Pierre. “Liber Pontificalis”, *Le ‘Liber Pontificalis’*, ed. Louis Duchesne. Paris: Ernest Thorin Editeur, 1892: II, 303-305, 311-318 and 322-326 [respectively “Vita Paschalis II”; “Vita Gelasii II”; “Vita Calixti II”]; Cardinal Boson. “Les vies des Papes”...: II, 376-377 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, “Vita Gelasii II” and “Vita Calixti II”]. The author of the lives of pope Gelasius II and Calixtus II was Pandolph of Pisa; there are doubts on his authorship of the life of Paschalis II, see Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma*...: 60 (footnote 50). “Annales Casinenses”...: 308; Petrus Diaconus. “Chronica monasterii Casinensis”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Hartmut Hoffmann. Berlin: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1980: XXXIV, 377, 525-527 and 532; “Annales Romani”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Theodor Mommsen. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1898: V, 478-479. “Catalogus Pontificum Romanorum Viterbiensis”; Gotifredi Viterbiensis. “Pantheon; Catalogus pontificum et imperatorum romanorum tiburtinus”, all in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1872: XXII, 256; 350 and 357. “Annales Ceccanenses”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1866: XIX, 282. “Cronica Pontificum et imperatorum Tiburtina”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, p. 261.

38. Romualdi Salernitani. “Chronicon”, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (Ser. II)*, ed. Carlo Alberto Garufi. Città di Castello: Coi tipi della casa editrice S. Lapi, 1909: VII/1, 208-210. “Anselmi Gemblacensis continuatio”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Bethmann. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1848: VI, 377. Balduini Nivonensis. “Chronicon”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1880: XXV, 527. Hesso Scholasticus. “Relatio de concilio remensi”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 421, 428. “Chronicon Rythmicum”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 428. “Laurentii gesta episcoporum viridunensium”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1852: X, 505. “Annales Parchenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, eds. Otto Label, Ludwig Weiland. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, 605.

39. Henrici Archidiaconi. “Gesta archiepiscoporum Salisburgensium (Vita Chunradi archiepiscopi)”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1854: XI, 64; “Casus Monasterii Petrihusensis”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1868: XX, 661. Uodascalus. “De Eginone et Herimanno”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 435 and 496. Wolfger von Prüfening. “Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii et episcopi Mettensis”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed.



is quoted in several types of sources: annals, chronicles, monastic texts, biographies of Popes or Bishops, reports of Councils, treaties on the Church Schism or on the Antichrist, just to quote some of the most important examples.⁴⁰

The quantity, the typologies, and the geographical distribution of sources reveal the necessity to start considering Archbishop Maurice-Antipope Gregory VIII as an important “player” of his time, internationally known, who had been a serious problem for both Pope Gelasius II and Calixtus II between 1118 and 1121. His profile is completely different from the other Antipopes who appeared at the beginning of the 12th century during the pontificate of Pope Paschalis II: Theodoric (1100-1101),

Philipp Jaffé. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1856: XII, 470. Geroh Reicherspergensis. “Ex commentario in psalmos” and Geroh Reicherspergensis. “De investigatione Antichristi”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores, Libelli de Lite*, ed. Ernst Sackur. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1897: III, 50, 335, 338, 354-355 and 502. In the same volume, see the anonymous “Tractatus de scismatis”: 124 and 128-129. “Cronica apostolicorum et imperatorum basileensia”. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum (in folio)*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1903: XXXI, 291. Magnus Presbyter. “Annales Reicherspergenses” and “Chronicon Magni Presbyteri”, both in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861: XVII, 452-453 and 487. Ekkehardus Uraugiensis. “Chronicon Universale”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1844: VI, 253-255. Hemoldus Presbyter, “Chronica slavorum a. 800-1172”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1869: XXI, 44. “Annales Admutenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1860: IX, 578. “Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Ludwig Weiland. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1874: XXIII 104. Ottonis episcopus Frisigensis. “Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum Nova Series*, ed. Adolph Hofmeister. Hannover-Leipzig: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1912: XLV, 330-332. “Annales Palidenses”; “Annales Rosenveldenses” and “Annales Magdeburgenses”, all in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)* ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, respectively 76, 104, and 182. “Annales Stadenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)* ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1859: XVI, 322. “Annales Hildesheimenses”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, Georg Waitz, ed. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1878: VIII, 64. Annalista Saxo. “Chronicon Regni”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Klaus Nass. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 2006: XXXVII, 561-568. Honorius Augustodunensis. “Ex summa Honorii a. 726-1133”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Roger Wilmans. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1852: X, 13. “Chronicon breve fratris, ut videtur, ordinis theutonicorum” and “Flores temporum auctore fratre ordinis Minorum”, both in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1980: XXIV, respectively 152 and 246. “Sächsische Weltchronik”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Deutsche Chroniken*, ed. Ludwig Weiland. Hannover, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877: II, 192. Alexander Minorita. “Expositio in Apocalypsim”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Alois Wachtel. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1955: I, 409 and 414. *Annales Patherbrunnenses*, ed. Paul Scheffer-Boichorst. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerischen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1870: 134. “Cronica regia Coloniensis (Annales colonienses maximi)”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Georg Waitz. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1861: XVII, 752. Heimo von Bamberg. “De decursu temporum”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters*, ed. Hans Martin Weikmann. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004: XIX, 469-470.

40. As a matter a space, it is not possible to give all the editions and at least a general bibliography concerning the works I quoted. I planned to do this in a future publication entirely dedicated to the sources about Maurice “Bourdin”.



Adalbert (1101); Maginulf/Sylvester IV (1105-1111). While these three antipopes are recorded in a more limited range of sources like the *Liber Pontificalis* or the *Annales Romani*, Maurice is always present in the narration of some of the most important authors of the 12th century such as William of Malmesbury or Orderic Vital.⁴¹ The fact that Maurice was perceived as a concrete danger for both Gelasius II and Calixtus II seems to be confirmed by several sources. The monk and biographer of Saint Anselm, Eadmer of Canterbury, wrote that some bishops in the Kingdom of England decided to sustain Maurice/Gregory VIII, while the King Henry I *Beauclerc* and the Archbishop of Canterbury supported Pope Calixtus II.⁴² A later author of the 13th century, the monk of Saint Albans, Roger of Wendover, did not mention Maurice “Bourdin”/Antipope Gregory VIII, but he considered Gelasius II as an Antipope.⁴³ I do not think this is a mere mistake of the author, but pechoes of both the crisis of 1118-1119 and the bad reputation of Gelasius II outside of Rome at the moment of his election, as affirmed in the life of the Bishop of Metz, Theoger of Saint George, written by Wolfer of Prüfening.⁴⁴ The problem represented by Maurice “Bourdin” is also confirmed by another German source: the *Annalista Saxo*. The source tells about the elections of new bishops in the Kingdom of Germany in 1119. One of them, the Bishop of Magdeburg, Rudgar of Veltheim (*Rokkerius* in the source), after his election declared to be on the side of Pope Calixtus II and that he would had fought against the “heresy” of Emperor Henry V and Maurice “Bourdin”.⁴⁵ This passage might suggest that Maurice/Gregory VIII was considered by the supporters of Pope Calixtus II as a major issue of concern and there was the necessity that there be no ambiguities in the German episcopal environment in supporting Guy of Vienne.⁴⁶ Such a necessity seems clear if the newly elected bishop should swear fidelity to his cause soon after his episcopal election. At the current

41. “Vita Paschalis II”...: II, 298 and “Annales Romani”...: 477-478. Martini Oppaviensis. “Chronicon...”: 435. See also Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Pasquale II*...: 53-57. See footnote 36 in this work for William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vital. See footnote 37 in this work for the references to the *Liber Pontificalis* and the “Annales Romani”. For a complete list of the sources concerning Theodoric, Adalbert, and Maginulf see Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*...: I, 519-521. Maginulf took the name of Sylvester IV and not Gregory VIII as sustained by David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 493. The exception is John of Salisbury who does not directly mention Maurice-Gregory VIII even if he dealt with the papal coronation of Emperor Henry V and his wife Matilda, which could be only made by Maurice (as noticed by the same editors): a *damnatio memoriae* of the Archbishop of Braga? See *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. and trans. (to English) Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986: 85 (footnote 3).

42. Eadmeri Cantuariensis, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*...: 294.

43. Rogeri de Wendover. *Chronica sive Flores Historiarum*, ed. Henry Coxe. London: Sumptibus societatis, 1841-1844: II, 194. *Scisma orta est Romae propter Gelasium antipapam. Anno Domini MCXVIII., defuncto papa Paschali, Gelasius antipapa anno uno successit*. In another passage Roger of Wendover call Gelasius “Pope” (p. 196). *Quod, defuncto papa Gelasio, Calixtus successit*.

44. Wolfer von Prüfening. *Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii et episcopi Mettensis*...: 470.

45. *Annalista Saxo*. “Chronicon Regni”...: 564.

46. On the political bargaining in Germany in the years 1118-1119, see Schneidemüller, Bernd. “Regni aut Ecclesie turbator. Kaiser Heinrich V. in der zeitgenössischen französischen Geschichtsschreibung”. *Auslandsbeziehungen unter den salischen Kaisern. Geschichte Auseinandersetzung und Politik*, Franz Staab, ed. Speyer: Verlag der Pfälzischen Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, 1994: 195-222. For a general panorama on the Reign of Henry V, see the essay of Dendorfer, Jürgen. “Heinrich V. König



state of the research, it is not easy to establish if Maurice “Bourdin” had other supporters in the Kingdom of Germany apart the Bishop of Augsburg Hermann,⁴⁷ but it will be stimulating to revise both German and English episcopal chronotaxis to understand if under these episcopal elections or depositions there were also repercussions of the Papal crisis of the years 1118-1119 and if this crisis was used to solve internal affairs of both Kingdoms.⁴⁸

On the problem represented by the case of Maurice “Bourdin”, the sources of the pontificate of Calixtus II are illuminating. Defeating and capturing Maurice “Bourdin” was so important for the Pope that he gave his own version of the facts in a letter sent to the bishops of Gaul in 1121.⁴⁹ The *Annales Romani* also described the humiliation reserved to Maurice “Bourdin”. After his capture in Sutri, the Antipope Gregory VIII was deprived of his clothes, put on a camel dressed only with a sheep skin, obliged to ride in Rome followed by Calixtus II and his men, and exposed to the insults of the Romans, the perfect parody of the “triumphal” arrival in the *Urbs* attributed to Calixtus II by the chronicler Falco of Benevento.⁵⁰ This humiliating ritual was not unusual in its severity if one thinks of the torture inflicted on Pope John XVI by Emperor Otto III in 998, or the terrible murder of Odon of Quarrel in Messina in 1168.⁵¹ At the same time, it is known that Pope Calixtus II decided to promote a cycle of frescoes portraying the victory of the legitimate Popes on the Antipopes and among them, of course, there was Maurice “Bourdin”.⁵² The exemplar punishment and the iconographic program promoted by Calixtus II that partially survives in some sketches of the 16th century seems to be a *damnatio*, but not a ‘destruction’ of the memory of Gregory VIII. The memory of Maurice “Bourdin”’s defeat should be fixed and transmitted to the future generations.⁵³ As

und Große am Ende der Salierzeit”, *Die Salier, das Reich und der Niederrhein*, Tilman Struve, ed. Cologne-Weimar-Vienna: Böhlau, 2008: 115-170.

47. Uodascalus, “De Eginone et Herimanno”...: 435. See David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 497.

48. For a general overview on this point, see Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II*...: 357-381.

49. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*...: 537 [reg. 5041; Sutri 1121 April 27th]; Calixti II. “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, cols. 1205-1206 [ep. CXXXI].

50. Falco of Benevento. *Chronicum Beneventanum*...: 252. On the work of Falco, see Loud, Graham. “The Genesis and the Context of the Chronicle of Falco of Benevento”. *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XV (1993): 177-198. D’Angelo, Edoardo. “Giuseppe del Re’s ‘Critical’ Edition of Falco of Benevento’s Chronicle”. *Anglo-Norman Studies*, XVI (1994): 75-81. Delle Donne, Fulvio. “Coscienza urbana e storiografia cittadina. A proposito di una nuova edizione del “Chronicon” di Falcone di Benevento”. *Studi Storici*, 40 (1999): 1127-1141. On the the ritual ride of the Pope, see Paravicini-Bagliani, Agostino. *Morte e elezione del papa*...: 129-134.

51. Stroll, Mary. *Calixtus II*...: 332 and Cantarella, Glauco Maria. *Una sera dell’anno mille. Scene di Medioevo*. Milan: Garzanti, 2004: 45.

52. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power*...: 20-21. See also Schilling, Beate. *Guido von Vienne-Papst Calixt II (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften 45)*, Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1998: 589-603.

53. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power*...: 17-39, 67-70 and 208-211. See also the very interesting essay of Lila Yawn about the papal political use of the images, “Clement’s New Clothes. The Destruction of Old S. Clemente in Rome, the Eleventh-Century Frescoes, and the Cult of (Anti)Pope Clement III”. *Reti Medievali*, 13/1 (2012): 175-205. See also Gatto, Ludovico. “Callisto II e l’Europa”, *Scritti per Isa, Raccolta di studi offerti a Isa Lori Sanfilippo*. Antonella Mazzon, ed. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2008: 487-504.



noted by M. Stroll, Suger, abbot of Saint Denis also reported on these paintings concerning the triumph of Calixtus II over Maurice in his *Vita Ludovici Regis VI*.⁵⁴ In a late anonymous Toledan source of the 13th century, the *Pars Concilii Laterani* studied by Fidel Fita, Mary Stroll and Patrick Henriët, the author to confirm the veracity of his negative tale on Maurice “Bourdin” wrote: *Siquis astancium dubitat erigat oculos ad presentes loci parietes, et ad occultum videbit huiusmodi istoriam picturatam* confirming once more the existence of these painted images in the Lateran.⁵⁵ Other sources recorded Maurice’s experience as an Antipope as a real Schism in the Roman Church.⁵⁶ In the Geroh’s *De Investigatione Antichristi*, Maurice “Bourdin” is taken as an exemplar of an Antipope. Geroh associated Maurice with Wibert/Clement III, and the Archbishop of Braga is one of the few Antipopes mentioned by the author, together with Novatian (251-258) and Peter Pierleoni/Anacletus II (1130-1138). Maurice is considered at the same level of Clement III and Anacletus II by Geroh. Note the significance here: from a minor character to a model of Antipope.⁵⁷ Finally, a last important aspect of the data: the transmission of the memory about Maurice did not end in the 13th century, but it continued until the 15th century, for example, in the case of the “Treaty on Schismatics” written by Thomas Ebendorfer (d. 1464).⁵⁸ The focus on the Archbishop of Braga shows the necessity to study the sources in a comparative perspective with those of other Antipopes of the 11th and of the 12th century, placing the research on Maurice “Bourdin” in the renewed interest on these topics as it is demonstrated by the thoughtful article of Umberto Longo and Lila Yawn on Wilbert/Clement III. Such a complex context articulates a complete revision of both Maurice’s career and the construction of the memory about him. Among scholars it is possible to observe an earlier tendency (criticized by Mary Stroll) to consider Maurice “Bourdin” only as mere instrument of Emperor Henry V.⁵⁹ This relationship is perfectly expressed by the sentence *Burdirum Hispanum Romanae sedi violenter imposuit* or the expression *papam suum*: “his pope,” that is, Henry V’s pope. These descriptions of the role of the Archbishop of Braga are present in many sources including the *Liber Pontificalis*, Landolphus Iunior

54. Sugerio Abbate B. Dionysii. “Vita Ludovici Regis VI...”: col. 1312 *ad tantae ultionis memoriae conservationem in camera palatii sub pedibus domini pape conculcatum depinxerunt*. See Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as power...*: 25 (footnote 32).

55. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as power...*: 27 and 209. “If someone among the presents has doubts on this story, he can raise his eyes and look at the walls; he will see this story painted” (*Pars Concilii Laterani*) Fita, Fidel. “Santiago de Galicia...”:190 This is my English translation of the text.

56. See for example Orderici Vitalis. “Ecclesiasticae Historiae”...: cols. 849-850.

57. Geroh Reichespurgensis. “De investigatione Antichristi”...: 354. For a complete list of the Antipopes see Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. “Popes through the Looking Glass...”: 121 (footnote 2).

58. Ebendorfer, Thomas. “Tractatus de Schismatibus”, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum Nova Series*, ed. Harald Zimmermann. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2004: XX, 40.

59. See footnotes 6-7 and 14-17 in this work. Stroll, Mary. *Symbols as Power...*: XIX. See the preface of Longo, Umberto; Yawn, Lila. “Framing Clement III, (Anti)Pope, 1080-1100”. *Reti Medievali*, 13/1 (2012): 115-119.



Ekkehard of Aura or Otto of Freising.⁶⁰ In these sources, very hostile to Maurice, he is represented as a creature, an 'idol' or as a 'simulacrum' made by the Emperor, the 'barbarian' Henry V,⁶¹ who could dispose of his life by determining Maurice's ephemeral success as the Antipope Gregory VIII as well as his terrible fall once the Emperor decided to join an agreement with Calixtus II.⁶² Nevertheless, Pierre David and Patrick Henriët observed that this was not the only way to represent Maurice-Gregory VIII: there were better and also worse representations of him.⁶³ The variety of images of this historical figure is impressive. Maurice acclaimed by the Roman *Populus* at the moment of his election; the sharp hunter of relics in the Holy Land and in Constantinople; the ambitious, bright and very well-educated man of William of Malmesbury; the Antichrist and the Devil; the ideal successor of Saint Gerald of Braga.⁶⁴

These images offer a multifaceted idea of the figure of Maurice "Bourdin", which needs to be studied again, in particular under two aspects. First, it is very important to revise chronologies and transnational connections in textual sources. This type of study applied to Maurice's biographical data offers very fascinating results. One of the most relevant cases is the close relationship between Romuald Archbishop of Salerno's⁶⁵ *Chronicon* and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De Rebus Hispaniae*. Erdmann and David noticed a similarity between these two works but did not develop a deeper analysis of the sources and of their chronologies.⁶⁶ The text analysis reveals how Romuald is the only author who gives precise biographical information about Maurice "Bourdin" outside from the Iberian Peninsula. This source often gives more detailed information than other important Iberian sources. In the *Historia Compostelana*, for example, there are many detailed passages dedicated to the Archbishop of Braga Maurice and his experience in Rome as 'Pope Wibert', but about Maurice's past career it is written only that he had been Bishop of Coimbra.⁶⁷ Moreover, there is a very complex chronological problem presented by both sources.

60. Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"....: II, 312-313 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Gelasii II*]; Ekkehardus Uraugiensis. "Chronicon Universale"....: 253; Landolphus Iunior, "Historia Mediolanensis"....: 40 and Ottonis episcopus Frisingensis, "Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus"....: 330.

61. Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"....: II, 314 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Gelasii II*].

62. Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"....: II, 315 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Gelasii II*]; Ekkehardus Uraugiensis. "Chronicon Universale"....: 254; Wolfer von Prüfening. "Vita Theogeri abbatis S. Georgii et episcopi Mettensis"....: 470; Gulielmus Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum libri quinque*....: 664; "Annales Hildesheimenses"....: 64; Annalista Saxo. "Chronicon Regni"....: 561; "Gesta episcoporum Halberstadensium"....: 104; Ernaldus abbas Bonae Vallis. "Ex Vitae S. Bernardi. Liber II"....: 101; *Historia Compostelana*....: chapter XIV, *De scismate et de reconciliatione Calixti Pape et Cluniacensis Abbatis*.

63. David, Pierre. "L'enigme"....: 487 and Henriët, Patrick. "Political Struggle"....: 305-306.

64. Landolphus Iunior, "Historia Mediolanensis"....: 41; *Historia Compostelana*....: chapter CXII, *Quando regina dedit caput beati Iacobo episcopo; Qualiter Tabula S. Basilii*....: 296-207; Willelmi Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum*....: 664; Téulphe. *Mauriniacensis Monasterii Chronicon*....: col. 142; Sugerio. "Vita Ludovici Regis VI..."....: col. 1312; Geroh Reichespergensis. "De investigatione Antichristi"....: 335 and 338; "Vita Sancti Geraldii"....: 56.

65. A city of the Normand Kingdom of Sicily, southern from Naples.

66. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino*....: 13 (footnote 1) and David, Pierre. "L'enigme"....: 460.

67. *Historia Compostelana*....: chapter CXII (*Quando regina dedit caput beati Iacobo episcopo*), 196-197.



Romuald died in 1181 and he wrote his *Chronicon* in the last part of his life,⁶⁸ while Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada wrote during the reign of Fernando III of León-Castile (1217-1252), concluding his work around 1243.⁶⁹

It is quite difficult to find a solution to this chronological problem because the two sources are very similar both in structure and contents. In Romuald of Salerno's account Maurice "Bourdin" assumes a complete different dimension: he is no longer the creature of Emperor Henry V, rather a man with his own objectives and strategies. First, Romuald asserts that the real name of Maurice was "Bourdin"; he changed his name to Maurice only when he became bishop of Coimbra. Sources give at least three versions of the origin of the nickname "Bourdin", but this specific version only appears in Romuald of Salerno.⁷⁰ Where did Romuald learn this information? As suggested by Wilhelm Arndt, Romuald probably had access to the *Historia Mediolanensis* written by Landolphus Iunior around 1136, almost forty years before Romuald and a century before Jiménez de Rada's works.⁷¹ Even if Landolphus does not mention the promotion of Maurice to the See of Coimbra as Romuald of Salerno does, the Milanese cleric writes *Meum nomem est Burdinus; set quando papa Urbanus ordinavit me episcopum, nominavit me Mauritium*.⁷² In any case, among the 12th century sources Landolphus' work seems to be the first source to include this information. For example, Eadmer of Canterbury and Orderic Vital call *Mauricium cognomento Burdinum* or *Burdinus*; William of Malmesbury refers to the Archbishop of Braga as *Mauricium Bracarensem episcopum, cognomento Burdinum*; Peter Deacon in the Chronicle of Montecassino calls him Maurice and the *Gesta* of

68. Zabbia, Marino. "Un cronista medievale e le sue fonti. La storia del papato nel Chronicon di Romualdo Salernitano". *Le storie e la memoria*. Roberto Delle Donne, Andrea Zorzi, eds. Florence: Firenze University Press, 2002: 248-249; online version in: *Reti Medievali*. 2002. Firenze University Press. 12 December 2016 <http://www.rm.unina.it/rmebook/index.php?mod=none_Delle_Donne_Zorzi>. See also the important work of Matthew, Donald. "The chronicle of Romuald of Salerno". *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages. Essays Presented to Richard William Southern*, Ralph Henry Carless Davis, John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981: 239-274.

69. Gómez Redondo, Fernando. *História de la prosa medieval castellana*. Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1998: I, 162-164 and Catalán, Diego. "Removiendo los cimientos de la Historia de España en su perspectiva medieval", *Cuadernos de História del derecho*, Extraordinary issue 1 (2004): 74.

70. For Pope Gelasius II "Bourdin" was a nickname given by the Normans, see the letter sent to Kuno of Preneeste, papal legate in Germany in 1118, see Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*...: 523 [reg. 4891; Capua 1118 April 13th]; Gelasii II, "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX]. In the *Annales Romani* this nickname was given by the Romans, see "Annales Romani...": 479. In the German *Annales Palidenses* this nickname *Burdinus* means donkey, an animal very abundant in the Iberian Peninsula in the opinion of the chronicler, *Burdinum, sic cognominatum propter ingentes asinos in Hispania habundantes*, see "Annales Palidenses...": 76. On this theme see Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino*...: 1-51 and 62-68 and David, Pierre. "L'enigme...": 445-451.

71. Romualdus episcopus. "Salernitanus. Romoaldi II archiepiscopi Salernitani Annales", *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores (in folio)*, ed. Wilhelm Arndt. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1866: XIX, 416, note n. 64 and Chiesa, Paolo. "Landolfo, Iunior", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani. Treccani*. 02 August 2017 <[www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/landolfo-iunior_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/landolfo-iunior_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)>.

72. See footnote 2 in this work.



the Bishops of Verdun, *Mauritium Burdinum*.⁷³ Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's account is similar to that of Landolphus Iuniore: *cum vocaretur Burdinus, factus episcopus fecit se Mauricium appellari*.⁷⁴ Was Landolphus a source for both Romuald and Rodrigo? There are other similarities between the two texts as well.

Romuald wrote that Maurice was first an archdeacon in Toledo; then he moved to Coimbra and after that he became Archbishop in Braga. At the death of Bernard of Sédirac, Maurice tried to corrupt Pope Paschalis II with a huge amount of money in order to obtain the title of Archbishop of Toledo and consequently the Primacy on the *Hispania*. Pope Paschalis II accepted the money, but he did not accord the See of Toledo to Maurice. At that point, his frustrated aspirations were the reason why he chose to support Emperor Henry V: revenge for the humiliation received.⁷⁵ This tradition is present, with some differences⁷⁶ in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada who has been always considered as the main source on Maurice's life together with the *Historia Compostelana*. The Archbishop of Toledo added that Maurice came from Limoges and that the Archbishop of Toledo Bernard of Sédirac was still alive (this is correct information) when Maurice apparently tried to buy his ecclesiastical office.⁷⁷ Romuald's tale on Maurice "Bourdin"'s simony might be linked to the strong interest showed by Romuald for the History of Popes; to the negative tradition on Paschalis II and his relation with money;⁷⁸ his knowledge of the work of Falco of Benevento and the *Liber Pontificalis* as noticed by Marino Zabbia.⁷⁹ On the other side, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's tale on Maurice could be read as a sort of polemic answer to the Archbishops of Braga who during Rodrigo's pontificate did not want to recognize the Primacy of Toledo granted in 1088 by Pope Urban II.⁸⁰ The episode of Maurice "Bourdin" could be interpreted as a way to openly delegitimize the attacks of Braga: how could the Portuguese Archbishops doubt the legitimacy of Toledo if they have among their predecessors an Antipope?⁸¹

73. Eadmeri, *Novorum in Anglia...*: 247 and 294. Gulielmus Malmesburiensis. *Gestis regum anglorum...*: 664. "Die Chronik von Montecassino...": 525-527. "Gesta episcoporum virdunensium...": 505. Orderici Vitalis. "Ecclesiasticae Historiae...": 507.

74. Roderici Ximenii de Rada. *Historia de rebus Hispaniae...*: 226.

75. Romualdi Salernitani. "Chronicon...": 209.

76. One of the more interesting research perspective is to understand why in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, and after, the *Pars Concilii Laterani* calls Calixtus II, Pope Alexander II, and Henry V, Emperor Otto. On this point see Henriët, Patrick. "Political struggle...": 303-304.

77. Roderici Ximenii de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae...*: book VI, chapter XXVII, 226-227 [*De Scismate et depositione Burdini*]. The narrative scheme and the information contained in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada are present in the work of Baronius in the 16th century, Baronii, Caesaris, *Annales Ecclesiastici...*: 36-37.

78. Glauco Maria Cantarella, "Pasquale II, papa", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani. Treccani*, 01 August 2017 <www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/papa-pasquale-ii_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/>.

79. Zabbia, Marino. "Un cronista medievale e le sue fonti...": 249-250.

80. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 450 [reg. 4021; Anagni 1088 October 15th]; Urbanii II papae, "Epistolae et privilegia", *Patrologiae. Cursus Completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne. Paris: J. P. Migne editorem, 1853: CLI, cols. 288-289 [ep. V].

81. Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *La iglesia de Toledo en el siglo XII (1086-1208)*. Rome: Iglesia Nacional de España, 1966: 177-179 e Lomax, Derek William. "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada como historiador", *Actas*



The image of Maurice constructed by Romuald of Salerno offers another element of interest. His portrait is much more complex than the ones inserted in the *vitae* of Gelasius II or Calixtus II written by Pandolph of Pisa around 1130 or in the papal biographies compiled by the Cardinal of Santa Pudenziana Boso in the third quarter of the 12th century. These authors defined, in fact, Maurice just as the Archbishop of Braga.⁸² In addition, in the papal letters of the period 1099-1121, not a single reference about Maurice's past as reported by Romuald of Salerno can be traced.⁸³ In the current state of the research, it is possible to conclude that Romuald's sources on Maurice were not coming from Rome or the papal environment. It is probable, too, that Romuald could have access to another local tradition. The monastery of Saint Trinity of Cava de' Tirreni, where Maurice was imprisoned, is not far from Salerno (less than twenty kilometers), and Romuald might have further information on Maurice's life because of geographical proximity. Furthermore, Romuald's interest for Iberian affairs is not surprising. Romuald was Archbishop of Salerno, when the wife of the King of Sicily William I (d. 1166) was Marguerite of Navarra, daughter of the King García IV Ramírez (d. 1150). Marguerite's brother, Rodrigo or Enrico Garcés Count of Montescaglioso, was also active in Sicily during the regency of Queen Marguerite (1166-1171).⁸⁴ There is a further curious and fascinating fact about the

del Quinto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas, François Lopez, Joseph Pérez, Noël Salomon, Maxime Chevalier, dirs. Bordeaux: Instituto de Estudios Ibéricos e Iberoamericanos, 1977: II, 587-592.

82. See Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"....: II, 314 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Gelasii II*]; Guillaume, Pierre. "Liber Pontificalis"....: II, 319 [Pandolph of Pisa, *Vita Calixti II*]; Cardinal Boson, "Les vies des Papes"....: II, 376 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, *Vita Gelasii II*].

83. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 493 [reg. 4546, without date]; Paschalis II, "Epistolae et privilegia", *Patrologia Cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris: Garnier fratres, editores et J. P. Migne successores: CLXIII, col. 201 [ep. CXCVIII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 508 [reg. 4746, Lateran 1114 December 4th]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 361-362 [ep. CDI]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 509 [reg. 4775, Benevento 1115 July 3rd]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 383 [ep. CDXXX]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 511 [reg. 4786, Anagni 1115 November 3rd]; Paschalis II, "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 390-391 [ep. CDXLI]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 511 [reg. 4787, Anagni 1115 November 3rd]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 391 [ep. CDXLII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 514 [reg. 4818, without date]; Paschalis II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 408 [ep. CDLXXIII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4882, Gaeta 1118 March 10th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 487-488 [ep. II]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4884, Gaeta 1118 March 16th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 489 [ep. IV]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4886, Gaeta 1118 March 25th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, col. 491 [ep. VI]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4887, Gaeta 1118 March 25th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 491-492 [ep. VII]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 523 [reg. 4891, Capua 1118 April 18th]; Gelasii II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX]; Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*....: 537 [5041, Sutri 1121 April 27th]; Calixti II. "Epistolae et privilegia"....: CLXIII, cols. 1205-1206 [ep. CXXXI].

84. See Houben, Hubert. *Roger II of Sicily: A Ruler between East and West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997: 108 and following. For more information see also Enzesberger, Horst. "Chanceries, charters and administration in Norman Italy". *The Society of Norman Italy*, Graham Loud, Alex Metcalfe, eds. Leiden: Brill, 2002: 139-140, and Cantarella, Glauco Maria. "Nel Regno del Sole. Falcando fra inglesi e normanni", *Scritti di Storia Medievale offerti a Maria Consiglia De Matteis*, Berardo Pio, dir. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2011: 91-120.



possible contacts between Salerno and the North-Western Iberian Peninsula in the 12th century. In 2013, Fernando López Alsina emphasized that the personal doctor of Archbishop of Compostela Diego Gelmírez was Robert of Salerno.⁸⁵ This was not a casual choice, if one thinks that Salerno was very well known in the Middle Ages for its *schola medica*.⁸⁶ Even if this episode does not directly concern Maurice “Bourdin”, it demonstrates that, at least in Galicia, there were connections not only with Genoa and Pisa, but also with Southern Italy⁸⁷. All these links between the Iberian Peninsula and the Kingdom of Sicily might be another informational channel for Romuald to know the political and the ecclesiastical situation in the Iberian Peninsula. In the same way, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada might know many details of Maurice’s life preserved in the Toledan memory, if one accepts the information contained in the sources. What is, therefore, the relationship between these texts? Is Romuald a source for Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada? How did the text travel from Salerno to Toledo in the 13th century? Or are both authors referring to a third tradition, as suggested by Pierre David?⁸⁸ In this case the study of the circulation of the texts in 12th century Europe is a completely new research perspective, especially if one considers that Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada’s *De Rebus Hispaniae* shows similarities with other international works like, for example, that of Otto of Freising.⁸⁹

The second aspect with which I deal is the discrepancy between the image of Maurice “Bourdin” in Rome by the papal sources and the few but relevant evidences

85. López Alsina, Fernando. “Diego Gelmírez, las raíces del Liber Sancti Jacobi y el Códice Calixtinus”, *O século de Xelmírez...*: 373.

86. See D’Angelo, Edoardo. “Scuola Medica Salernitana”, *Enciclopedia Fridericana*. 2005. Trecanni. 24 November 2016 <[87. López Alsina, Fernando. “La repoblación humana costera del norte peninsular”, *Los fueros de Avilés y su época*, Juan Ignacio Ruiz De La Peña Sola, María Josefa Sanza Fuentes, Miguel Calleja Puerta, dirs. Oviedo: Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 2012: 194-195.](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/scuola-medica-salernitana_(Federiciana)/>.</p>
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88. David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 460.

89. This connection has still to be studied, but it is interesting to notice that both sources report the existence of an inscription in Rome *Ecce Calixtus, honor patrie, decus imperiale, Nequam Burdinum dampnat pacemque reformat*. See on this point Stroll, Mary. Symbols as Power...: 27. Otto of Freising gives a general indication of Rome, in the opinion of Jiménez de Rada the inscription was in the Lateran. See Roderici Ximenii, *Historia de rebus Hispaniae...*: book VI, chapter XXVII, 226-227 and Ottonis episcopus Frisingensis. “Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus”...: 332. This connection is not strange, if one thinks to the relationships between Castile and Germany in the Middle Ages and Otto of Freising’s knowledge of Spanish affairs. See the works of Meyer, Bruno. “El desarrollo de las relaciones políticas entre Castilla y el Imperio en los tiempos de los Staufen”. *En la España medieval*, 21 (1998): 30-35; Pagani, Gianluca. “El imperio en la agenda alfonsí. Una Mirada bibliográfica”. *História, Instituciones, Documentos*, 31 (2004): 475-482 and Estepa Díez, Carlos. “El Reino de Castilla y el Imperio en tiempos del Interregno”, *España y el Sacro Imperio: procesos de cambios, influencias y acciones recíprocas en la época de la europeización (siglos XI-XIII)*, Julio Valdeón Baroque; Klaus Herbers; Rudolf Karl, dirs. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de Publicaciones e Intercambio Editorial, 2002: 87-100. It will be very important to follow the development of the research in progress by Graham Loud (University of Leeds) on the monastery of Cava de’ Tirreni, see: Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures, “Professor Graham Loud”. *Institute of Medieval Studies*, University of Leeds, 22 September 2016 <www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/profile/20046/280/graham_loud>. See also López Mayán, Mercedes. “Pontificales iluminados en Roma a finales del siglo XIII: nuevas aportaciones desde las bibliotecas castellanas”, *Il libro miniato a Roma nel Duecento. Riflessioni e proposte*, Silvia Maddalo, Eva Ponzi, dirs. Rome: Isime, 2016: I, 289-307.



of his presence in the *Urbs*. In 1118, Gelasius II wrote a letter to Kuno of Preneste, papal legate in Germany, to inform him that nobody of the Roman Clergy —apart from three isolated *Wibertini*— supported the imperial sacrilege represented by the election of “Bourdin” as Gregory VIII.⁹⁰ If there were only three, how could Maurice remain two years in Rome? Maurice could rely on the support of the Frangipane family,⁹¹ but this was not his only ally in Rome. In the chronicle of the Milanese Landolfo of Saint Paul, Maurice was elected Pope Gregory VIII in Saint Peter, and in the life of Gelasius II written by Cardinal Boso of Santa Pudenziana, is stated that Maurice “Bourdin” benefitted from the support of a few groups of schismatic Saint Peter’s canons.⁹² Although the consideration expressed by Boso, the *Annales Romani* confirmed that Saint Peter was Maurice’s base in Rome. Among the very few surviving letters of Maurice one comes from Saint Peter (the letter addressed to the Bishop of Coimbra Gonçalo Pais),⁹³ but another letter (addressed to the abbot of the Cluniac monastery of Saint Peter of Uzerche) comes from the Lateran,⁹⁴ where, following Landolfo of Saint Paul, Maurice could have access after his election.⁹⁵ This is an element which suggests that more than a small number of canons (or at least they were the most powerful) supported Maurice in Saint Peter and in the city of Rome. As noted by Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri, “Saint Peter” was on many occasions the reference in Rome for the imperial candidates to the Holy See. These candidates might eventually benefit from the support of the Roman clergy, meaning the clergymen who were connected to and were operating in the city of Rome and its ecclesiastical institutions. Tommaso di Carpegna Falconieri individuated a progressive separation from the half of the 11th century between this urban clergy and the group of the Cardinals often coming from outside Rome, men with an international perspective and detached from the city, and the administration of the churches in which they were titular.⁹⁶ This urban clergy also tried to propose his candidature in opposition to the Pope that was chosen by the Cardinals. This is the case of Maginulf-Sylvester IV, who was archpriest of S. Angelo *in Pescheria* against Paschalis II.⁹⁷ Of course, this does not automatically convert all the urban clergy in

90. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*...: 523 (reg. 4891 Capua 1118 April 13th); Gelasii II. “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX].

91. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino*...: 50-51 and 60-62; David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 494-496. On the Frangipane family, see Wickham, Chris. *Roma medievale*...: 226-266; 268-298; 468-479 and 484-518 and Thumser, Matthias. “Die Frangipane. Abriß der Geschichte einer Adelsfamilie im hochmittelalterlichen Rom”. *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, 71 (1991): 106-163.

92. Landolphus Iuniore. *Historia Mediolanensis*...: 40; Cardinal Boso, “Les vies des Papes”...: II, 376 [Boso of Santa Pudenziana, *Vita Gelasii II*].

93. Erdmann, Carl. *Papsturkunden*...: 173-174 (doc. 20). “*Annales Romani*”...: 479.

94. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*...: 548 (reg. 5194, Lateran 1118 April 12th); Baluze, Étienne. *Miscellanea*. Lucca: Apud Vincentium Junctimium, 1761: I, 145.

95. Landolphus Iuniore. “*Historia Mediolanensis*...”: 40.

96. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma*...: in particular 148-193. See, from the same author, “Il clero secolare nel basso medioevo: acquisizioni e proposte di ricerca”. *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria*, 132 (2009): 23-25.

97. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma*...: 68-69.



Rome into supporters of Maurice “Bourdin”; for example, an important part of the urban *clerus* supported the election of Calixtus II.⁹⁸

At the same time, one should be always prudent in reading papal sources and biographies. L. Duchesne in his edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* already criticized the list of electors of Pope Gelasius II, because of both its composition and its compatibility with the *Decretum in electione Papae* of 1059.⁹⁹ It is necessary to read in this context the letter of April 13th 1118 sent by Gelasius II and the reference to the three old *wibertini*, Romano of San Marco, *praepositus* of Saint Marcellus, Teuzo, and Cencius of S. Chrysogonus, the cardinals created by Wibert/Clement III.¹⁰⁰ Maurice’s consensus might be wider. Maurice/Gregory VIII, in fact, also accorded a privilege to the church of Saint Marcellus as well as Wibert/Clement III did four times between 1080 and 1089. Maurice “Bourdin” seems to be placed into a ‘system’ which pre-existed him, the same network which probably supported him until mid-1120 when Maurice fled to Sutri.¹⁰¹ When Gelasius II wrote to the legate in Germany from Capua in 1118, he was probably trying to calm down the situation. He was indirectly saying to the bishops that everything was under control in Rome, but this was not realistic until the pontificate of Calixtus II.¹⁰² Even in this case, sources offer very interesting information. The *Annales Romani*, in fact, report that Pope Calixtus II could enter in Rome in 1120 only thanks to the corruption of the supporters of Gregory VIII, who stopped defending the basilica of Saint Peter: an image which strongly limits the triumphal (self)representations of Guy of Vienne.¹⁰³

Maurice’s “status” should be a real scandal and a shame for the papal environment for both his supporters in Rome and his proximity with *Curia*, and two of the most detailed sources on his life and career —Romuald of Salerno and Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada— both insist on the connection between Maurice and the Holy See at the time of Pope Paschalis II. In the years 1109-1116, Maurice’s position in the Iberian Peninsula was increasingly precarious. First, the very complex relation between Archbishop Maurice and Teresa Alfonso, Countess-Queen of Portugal, whose men attacked the See of Braga in 1109. Second, between 1113 and 1115, Maurice

98. Martène, Edmond; Durand, Ursin. “Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum, Dogmaticorum”, *Moralium Amplissima Collectio*. Paris: Montalant, 1724: I, cols. 647-649. Carpegna Falconieri, Tommaso di. *Il clero di Roma...*: in particular 61 (footnote 53).

99. Guillaume, Pierre. “Liber Pontificalis”...: II, 319 (footnotes 11-16).

100. Klewitz, Hans-Walter. *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkolleg: die Entstehung des Kardinalkollegiums: studien über die Wiederherstellung der römischen Kirche in Süditalien durch das Reformpapsttum: das Ende des Reformpapsttums*. Darmstadt: Gentner, 1957: 70-72 (footnotes 225-226), 73 and 217 (footnote 31).

101. For the privilege granted by Maurice/Gregory VIII to the Church of Saint Marcellus about the possession of the church of Saint Mary in *Canela* and the four privileges of Wibert/Clement III, see *Italia Pontificia sive repertorium privilegiorum et litterarum a romanis pontificibus ante annum MCLXXXVIII*, ed. Paul Fridolin Kehr, Berlin: Weidmann: I, 76 [reg. 15-18, 19]. Ziese, Jürgen. *Wibert von Ravenna. Der Gegenpapst Clemens III. 1084-1100*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersmann, 1982: 44-46, 93-107, 147-150, 162-163, 203-214 and 265-266.

102. Jaffé, Philippus. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum...*: 523 [reg. 4891, Capua 1118 Aril 13th]; Gelasius II. “Epistolae et privilegia”...: CLXIII, cols. 492-493 [ep. IX].

103. “Annales Romani”...: 479. On this aspect, see in particular Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 86-92.



“Bourdin” was involved in the clash for the control of the bishopric of León against the Archbishop of Toledo. Third, Maurice had to face the political opposition of Diego Gelmírez, who was strongly interested to weaken the See of Braga. The Bishop of Compostela was trying, in fact, to obtain the archiepiscopal title (which he finally got in 1120) and to control some strategic bishopric under Braga’s authority, like Lugo in Galicia. Moreover, Bishop Diego of Compostela could rely on the support of the Bishop of Oporto Hugh (a former archdeacon of Santiago): the Archbishop of Braga had little space for political manoeuvre.¹⁰⁴

For Maurice, Rome was probably the only place to look for support or to find a solution for his problems. At the same time, Maurice was able to build his own network in Rome, and the episode of his appointment as a papal legate by Paschalis II is very important in this perspective. Why did Paschalis II and John of Gaeta choose him as papal legate to deal with Henry V? And why did Maurice decide to betray their confidence by supporting the Emperor? It is very important to study the period from 1113 to 1117 in the North-Western Iberian Peninsula in order to understand the development of the relations between Maurice and Rome and why the Archbishop of Braga broke his connection with the Pope.¹⁰⁵ All these elements should encourage the study, where it is possible, of the presence of Maurice in Rome, his connections, their geographical distribution, and the continuity, the discontinuity, and the organization of his ‘party’ made by both clergymen and laymen which supported the imperial or their own candidates (the ‘Antipopes’) between 11th and 12th century.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, it will be fundamental to

104. Amaral, Luís Carlos; Barroca, Mário Jorge. *A Condessa-Rainha Teresa...*: 148, 175, 206 and 208-209. Erdmann, Carl. *Maurício Burdino...*: 12-20. David, Pierre. “L’enigme...”: 455-473. Rivera Recio, Juan Francisco. *El arzobispo de Toledo don Bernardo de Cluny (1086-1124)*. Rome: Iglesia Nacional Española, 1962: 76-81. Fletcher, Richard Alexander. “Las iglesias del reino de León y sus relaciones con Roma en la alta edad media hasta el concilio IV de Letrán de 1215”, *El reino de León en la alta edad media*, Manuel Lucas Álvarez, dir. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 1994: VI, 461-495. Cavero Domínguez, Gregoria. “El episcopado de la iglesia de León (1087-1205)”, *Escritos dedicados a José María Fernández Catón*, Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz; Mercedes Díaz de Bustamante, Manuela Domínguez, eds. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación “San Isidoro”, 2004: I, 199-226. Mosquera Agrelo, Miguel. “La diócesis de Lugo en la Edad Media”, *Historia de las diócesis españolas (Iglesias de Lugo, Mondoñedo-Ferrol y Orense)*, José García Oro, dir. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 2002: XV, 37-38. Amaral, Luís Carlos. “A restauração da Diocese do Porto e a chegada do Bispo D. Hugo”, *Um poder entre poderes: nos 900 anos da restauração da diocese do Porto e da construção do Cabido Portucalense*, Luís Carlos Amaral, dir. Porto: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2017: 23-46. Cunha, Maria Cristina. “Coimbra and Porto: Episcopacy and National Identity”, *Das begrenzte Papsttum: Spielräume päpstlichen Handelns. Legaten - delegierte Richter - Grenzen*, Klaus Herbers, Frank Engel, Fernando López Alsina, eds., Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013: 133-145. On the general framework on the years 1115-1117 in Rome, see Petersohn, Jürgen. *Capitolium conscendimus Kaiser Heinrich V. und Rom*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009: 19-30.

105. Colotto, Cristina. “Gregorio VIII...”: 246.

106. Klaus Herbers (Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 88) observes that after the death of Calixtus II the Antipopes are fundamentally connected to the dynamics of the roman families. This observation is very important, because it demonstrates once more how the “Gregorian Reform” did not free the Roman Church from the laymen *tout court*, but the contacts between the Papacy and the lay world were continuous. At the same time, it is important to highlight that the imperial influence on papal elections or candidates did not end with Maurice “Bourdin”. For example, Antipopes Victor IV (1159) and Paschalis III (1164-1168) were strongly supported by Emperor Frederick I Hohenstaufen.



insert—restarting from the studies of Hans Walter Klevitz and Rudolf Hüls on the composition of the Roman *Curia*— the experience of Maurice “Bourdin” in the Iberian-roman networks. It means the study of the typologies of contacts, the role played by both Iberian emissaries (like in the case of Compostela) and papal legates (Boso of Saint Anastasia, for example) in the Iberian Peninsula, and questions about which cardinals were specialized in the relationships with the Iberian Peninsula, following the studies of Klaus Herbers, Carlos de Ayala Martínez on the Iberian bishoprics, and Thomas Deswarte on the relationships between Rome and the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰⁷

4. Conclusions

In these pages, I have introduced the first results of the research project based on the study of Archbishop of Braga and Antipope Gregory VIII Maurice “Bourdin”. Through this particular figure of the 11th and the 12th century and his trajectory, it is possible to deal with a series of historiographical problems that in many cases are still waiting for answers. The examination of Maurice “Bourdin”’s life and his itinerary are a real journey in the history of his time. He is a figure, who has to be studied in a European and multi-disciplinary perspective and understood through the constant comparison of the acquisitions of several historiographical schools, focusing on different problems with different sensibilities. The research has already revealed a different image of Maurice “Bourdin” than the depictions of previous research and commentary. This portrayal demonstrates that he was an important man of his time, able to deal with the highest European powers including the Roman Curia, the Empire and his own international political networks, particularly during the period 1109-1121, *connections* as important as those of his rival Diego Gelmírez of Compostela. At the same time, his *parabola* introduces another important point: the necessity of a double view from Rome to Spain and Portugal and vice versa, because many affairs in these places, considered as internal matters of the Kingdoms of Portugal or León-Castile, also engaged, in reality, numerous international players distributed in a wider geographical framework.¹⁰⁸ A sophisticated historical analysis of Maurice “Bourdin” based on a careful reading of the resource list and the recent developments in several fields of research might be the key to decrypt these complexities.

107. I refer in particular to the classics of Klewitz, Hans-Walter. *Reformpapsttum und Kardinalkolleg...*, and Hüls, Rudolf. *Kardinale, klerus und kirchen Roms, 1049-1130*. Tübingen: Niemeyer Verlag, 1977. See also Herbers, Klaus. “Las relaciones ibéricas con el papado en la Alta Edad Media: balance y perspectiva de la investigación”. *Roma y la Península ibérica en la alta Edad Media. La construcción de espacios, normas y redes de relación*, Santiago Domínguez Sánchez, Klaus Herbers, eds. León: Universidad de León, 2009: 13-28; de Ayala Martínez, Carlos. *Sacerdocio y Reino en la España Altomedieval: iglesia y poder político en el occidente peninsular, siglos VII-XII*. Madrid: Sílex, 2008: in particular 374-410 and Deswarte, Thomas. *Un chrétienté romaine...*: 383-396 and 399-401.

108. Herbers, Klaus. “El papado en el tiempo de Gelmírez...”: 92.



A LAND OF MIGRANTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN. IBERIAN MIGRATORY FLOWS IN SARDINIA BETWEEN THE 12TH AND 15TH CENTURIES

ALESSANDRA CIOPPI
ISTITUTO DI STORIA DELL'EUROPA MEDITERRANEA
(CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE)
ITALY

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ABSTRACT

The island of Sardinia is a meeting point for three continents, receiving a constant migration since prehistoric times. The migration from the Iberian Peninsula was permanent and consistent between the 12th and 15th, as stated in Italian and Spanish sources. In this framework, our approach analyse the internal and external mobility of the population and the intense movement of people, ideas and goods that have profoundly marked the different territorial and urban features of the island. The paper shows the different sizes and types of Iberian migrations in Sardinia and emphasizes the distinction between the first migration (those who migrated to Sardinia taking part in the military conquest of the island by the Infante Alfonso) and the second one (those who participated in the subsequent occupation and domination of the island).¹

KEYWORDS

Sardinia, Mediterranean, Iberian Peninsula, Crown of Aragon, Migration, Trade, Cultural Exchange, 12th-15th Centuries.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Sardinia, Mediterraneum, Peninsula Iberica, Corona Aragonum, Migratio, Commmercium, Culturae Mutatio, Saecula XII-XV.

1. Images and clichés

When speaking of Sardinia one often refers to a poor, isolated region that has been repeatedly conquered and colonized by invading forces —a land from which people have emigrated rather than to which they have migrated. However, this depiction of the island stems mostly from 19th to early 20th century literature and historiography. The numerous travellers who visited the island and reported their opinions and impressions in travel logs played a significant role in creating this vision of Sardinia.

It is rather disconcerting to find that many selected the island just because it was famed to be a primitive region, rugged and wild, inhabited by singular, bizarre peoples with arcane customs; it thus offered something different from the canons of the European *Grand Tour*, the educational travels typically undertaken by the rich, young noblemen and women of 18th century England.²

The most striking case is that of the English novelist David Herbert Lawrence, whose famous book *Sea and Sardinia* is based on his visit to Sardinia in 1921. Although he sings high praises of the island, in explaining why he undertook the trip he writes:

Sardinia, which is like nowhere. Sardinia, which has no history, no date, no race, no offering. Let it be Sardinia. They say neither Romans nor Phoenicians, Greeks nor Arabs ever subdued Sardinia. It lies outside; outside the circuit of civilisation (...).³

1. Report presented at the European Migration Network Seminar held in Cagliari on 10 April 2015 and organized by the National Research Council's Institute for the History of Mediterranean Europe (Cagliari), by the Ministry of the Interior (Rome), by the European Migration Network (EMN) and by the National Research Council's Department of Human and Social Sciences (Rome).

2. The practice of grand tours originated in the medieval period, but it is in the 18th century that it became a true rite of passage for the aristocracy. The driving force was English Enlightenment under Elizabeth I, who considered such tours an indispensable instrument for the cultural and spiritual education of the English elite. The proposed essential references include only certain reference texts that either simply describe or offer insights into the phenomenon. See Trease, Geoffrey. *The Grand Tour. A History of the Golden age of Travel*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Wintson, 1967; Hibbert, Christopher. *The Grand Tour*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1969; Pine-Coffi, Robert S. *Bibliography of British and American travel in Italy to 1860*. Florence: Olschki, 1974; Lord Chesterfield, Philip D. *L'educazione del gentiluomo. Lettere al figlio*. Milan: Serra e Riva, 1984; Black, Jeremy. *The British and the Grand Tour*. London: Croom Helm, 1985; De Seta, Cesare; Mozzillo, Atanasio; Vallet, Georges. *L'Italia dei grandi viaggiatori*. Rome: Abete, 1986; Olschki, Fiammetta. *Viaggi in Europa, secoli XVI-XIX*. Florence: Olschki, 1990; Peyer, Hans C. *Viaggiare nel Medioevo. Dall'ospitalità alla locanda*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1990; Maczak, Antoni. *Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Europa moderna*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1992; De Seta, Cesare. *L'Italia del Grand Tour. Da Montaigne a Goethe*. Naples: Electa, 1992; Brilli, Attilio. *Quando viaggiare era un'arte. Il romanzo del Grand Tour*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995 and by the same author Brilli, Attilio. *Arte del viaggiare. Il viaggio materiale dal XVI al XIX secolo*. Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 1992.

3. Lawrence, David H. *Sea and Sardinia*. New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1921: 15, see also page 6 of the online version: <<http://www.freeclassicebooks.com/Lawrence%20D%20H/Sea%20and%20Sardinia.pdf>> (Consulted 7th June 2016).



One could continue with many other similar examples, all of which have a common denominator: they do not explore the island's multiform and stratified history but paradoxically and inexplicably fail to acknowledge its complexity.⁴

Without adding to or detracting from the value of these testimonies—which were in any case in accord with the opinions of historians of the period—,⁵ one must consider that they mainly reflected the situation on the island at the time: its difficulties and poverty, its actual economic and social backwardness, its isolation from communication networks. Nevertheless, these judgements cannot be extended to the whole of Sardinian history or be transferred from the 19th century to other periods in time, nor can they be considered the only possible historiographical interpretation.

2. History of conflicts and integration

The testimony of 19th and 20th century travellers and interpretations of the historiography of the period reveals two main aspects: firstly, the certainty that is image of Sardinia is a cliché repeated slavishly throughout its history and, secondly, the impression that the history of Sardinians differs and is distinct from that of the numerous invaders.

A history—that of Sardinians—which differs from the official one depicting submission and lack of expectation, with no signs of integration or common development. A history of rebellion and constant struggles against foreign powers, of lost battles and magnificent heroism, which encouraged the theorization of a Sardinian identity that was never conquered, never violated by any foreign invasion, unchanged and unchangeable throughout the centuries, especially in the innermost reaches of the island, that is in the inaccessible and rebellious Barbagia. A perspective which, followed by many, saw its maximum expression in the theory of the “the constant of Sardinian resistance”, formulated by the famous Sardinian archaeologist Giovanni Lilliu; in an article addressing this topic he claimed that

4. Smyth, William Henry. *Sketch of the present state of the island of Sardinia*. London: John Murray, 1828; Pasquin, Antoine-Claude [Valery]. *Viaggio in Sardegna*, ed. Maria Grazia Longhi. Nuoro: Ilisso, 1996 (original edition: Pasquin, Antoine-Claude [dit Valery]. *Voyages en Corse, a l'île d'Elbe, et en Sardaigne*. Paris: Bourgeois-Maze, 1836-1837); Marmora, Alberto della. *Voyage en Sardigne de 1819 à 1825 ou Description statistique, physique et politique de cette Ile, avec des recherches sur ses productions naturelles et ses antiquités*. Paris: Ed. Dela forest de Arthus Bertrand, 1826. Eduardo Chicharro Agüera and Antonio Ortiz Echagüe, two of the leading painters of the Costumbrism movement in Spain between the 19th and 20th centuries, visited Sardinia in 1901 and in the 1906-1909 period, where they had decided to look for subjects to paint that were “outside of any civilization”. Their paintings are true ethnographic records revealing the socio-cultural setting in Sardinia. See Frongia, Maria Luisa. *Due pittori spagnoli in Sardegna. Eduardo Chicharro Agüera (1901) e Antonio Ortiz Echagüe (1906-1909). Catalogo della mostra*. Nuoro: Ilisso, 1995.

5. Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Breve storia di Sardegna*. Cagliari: Ed. Fondazione Il Nuraghe, 1950; Manno, Giuseppe. *Storia di Sardegna*. Milan: Ed. Placido Maria Visai, 1835 and Manno, Giuseppe. *Storia moderna della Sardegna del barone Giuseppe Manno. Dall'anno 1773 al 1799*. Turin: Fratelli Favale, 1842; Bellieni, Camillo. *La Sardegna e i sardi nella civiltà del mondo antico*. Cagliari: Ed. Fondazione Il Nuraghe, 1928-1931.



*la Sardegna in ogni tempo ha avuto uno strano marchio storico: quello di essere sempre dominata (...), ma di avere sempre resistito. Un'isola sulla quale è calata per i secoli la mano oppressiva del colonizzatore, a cui ha opposto, sistematicamente, il graffio della resistenza. Perciò, i Sardi hanno avuto l'aggressione di integrazioni di ogni specie ma, nonostante questo, sono riusciti a conservarsi sempre se stessi. Nella confusione etnica e culturale che li ha inondati per millenni, sono riemersi, costantemente, nella fedeltà alle loro origini autentiche e pure.*⁶

Is this really true? Has the history of Sardinia really always been distinctly separate from that of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, the Romans, Genoese, Pisans and Catalan-Aragonese? And is it a good thing to base historic interpretation on opposed ethnic groups rather than, for example, on the activities and development of social groups? And was Barbagia really so inaccessible and unspoiled?

Depending on the historical period, there are numerous possible, often contradictory, answers. In this sense the topic of migrations can provide essential elements for clarifying and verifying different theories and situations.

Migratory phenomena can no doubt be considered relatively new phenomena. Although they have served to populate the various continents and represent a significant factor in demographic and economic development, they have and always will create forms of mistrust and conflict. Ever since antiquity, nations and rulers have continuously attempted to channel and control both mass and individual migratory flows.⁷

Lying at the centre of the Mediterranean and at the meeting point of three continents, Sardinia has witnessed continuous migratory flows since prehistoric times. As I do not wish to address the problem of mobility in the long term, I will not discuss the Phoenician, Phoenician-Punic or Roman colonizations. Nor will I touch upon Tuscan or Ligurian colonizations, although these would merit lengthy

6. "Every period of Sardinian history has a peculiar hallmark: that of always being dominated (...), but of always having resisted. An island on which the oppressive hand of colonizers ruled for centuries and against which the resistance fought constantly tooth and nail. Although Sardinians experienced all sorts of forced integrations, they were nevertheless able to maintain their identity. In the ethnic and cultural confusion that inundated the island for millennia, they always re-emerged, faithful to their authentic, pristine origins". Lilliu, Giovanni. *La costante resistenziale sarda*, ed. Antonello Mattone. Nuoro: Ilisso, 2002: 225-237, especially 225.

7. Pini, Antonio Ivan. *Le grandi migrazioni umane nell'antichità e nel Medioevo*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1969; Sordi, Marta, ed. *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico*, Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1994; Sordi, Marta, ed. *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico*, Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1995; Cavaciocchi, Simonetta, ed. *Le migrazioni in Europa, secoli XIII-XVIII. XXV Settimana di studi dell'Istituto "F. Datini" di Prato*, Florence: Le Monnier, 1994; Balard, Michel; Ducellier, Alain, eds. *Coloniser au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1995; Pizzorusso, Giovanni; Sanfilippo, Matteo. "Rassegna Storiografica sui fenomeni migratori a lungo raggio dal basso Medioevo al secondo Dopoguerra". *Bollettino di Demografia storica*, 13 (1990), monographic number; Fontaine, Laurence. "Gli studi sulla mobilità in Europa nell'età moderna: problemi e prospettive di ricerca". *Quaderni storici*, 93 (1996): 739-756; Petti Balbi, Giovanna, ed. *Comunità forestiere e "nationes" nell'Europa dei secoli XIII-XVI*, Naples: Gisem-Liguori Editore, 2001; Koser, Khalid. *International migration. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Pizzorusso, Giovanni. "Mobilità e flussi migratori prima dell'età moderna: una lunga introduzione". *Archivio storico dell'emigrazione italiana*, 3 (June, 2007): 205-222 <<http://www.asei.eu/it/2007/06/>> (Consulted 7th June 2016).



discussion; it should be noted that movement from Pisa and Genoa to the island was not only for economic reasons or conquest and that it had highly significant demographic, social, anthropological, economic and political implications.⁸ In Sardinia, Pisans and Genoese built castles, founded villages and, Pisa especially, built cities that would play an important role in the events of the island, for example Villa di Chiesa (present-day Iglesias) and Castel di Castro (present-day Cagliari).⁹

Not only. Many members of the nobility, thanks to diplomatic agreements and matrimonial ties, became a part of the reigning dynasties in the four states, better known as the *giudicati*, into which Sardinia was divided at the time. Such complete integration allowed these outsiders not only to acquire power but to also form new families of second-generation Pisans in Sardinia; their acquired sovereignty and new prerogatives sometimes brought them into conflict with their places of origin and affiliation. This occurred, for example, between certain Pisan houses (e.g. the Visconti family and the marquises of Massa) and the Commune of Pisa, and between the Doria and the Commune of Genoa.¹⁰

8. Artizzu, Francesco. *Documenti inediti relativi ai rapporti economici tra la Sardegna e Pisa nel Medioevo*. Padova: Cedam, 1961; Artizzu, Francesco. *Pisani e Catalani nella Sardegna medioevale*. Padova: Cedam, 1974 and Artizzu, Francesco. *La Sardegna pisana e genovese*. Sassari: Chiarella, 1985. See also Meloni, Giuseppe. "La Sardegna nel quadro della politica mediterranea di Pisa, Genova, Aragona". *Il Medioevo dai giudicati agli Aragonesi. Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, Massimo Guidetti, ed. Milan: Jaca Book, 1987: II, 49-96; Tangheroni, Marco. "Pisa e Sardegna: profondità di un rapporto e lacerazioni di un distacco", *La Sardegna nel mondo mediterraneo. La storia del mare e della terra*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Sassari: Gallizzi, 1984: II, 37-43 and by the same author Tangheroni, Marco. "L'eredità pisana e genovese", *La Sardegna*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 1988: 33-35; Tangheroni, Marco. "L'importanza della Sardegna nella storia di Pisa". *Orme pisane in Sardegna*, Giovanni Padroni, ed. Pisa: Pacini, 1994 and the collected works in Tangheroni, Marco. *Sardegna Mediterranea*, Rome: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1983 (*Corpus Membrarum Italicarum*. Prima Serie, Studi e Ricerche, XXIII) and in Tangheroni, Marco. *Medioevo tirrenico. Sardegna, Toscana e Pisa*. Pisa: Pacini, 1992.

9. Petrucci, Sandro. "Forestieri a Castello di Castro in periodo pisano", *Commercio, finanza, funzione pubblica. Stranieri in Sicilia e in Sardegna nei secoli XIII-XV*, Marco Tangheroni, ed. Naples: Gisem-Liguori Editore, 1989: 219-276, and the work Petrucci, Sandro. "Tra Santa Igia e Castel di Castro di Cagliari: politica, società, insediamenti pisani nella metà del XIII secolo", *S. Igia capitale giudicale. Contributo all'Incontro di Studio «Storia, ambiente fisico e insediamenti umani nel territorio di Santa Gilla (Cagliari)»*, 3-5 novembre 1983. Pisa: ETS, 1986: 235-241. See also the miscellaneous volume Artizzu, Francesco, ed. *Studi su Iglesias medioevale*. Pisa: ETS, 1985; Tangheroni, Marco. "I luoghi nuovi della Sardegna medievale", *I borghi nuovi. Secoli XII-XIV*, Rinaldo Comba, Aldo Angelo Settia, eds. Cuneo: Società per gli studi storici della Provincia di Cuneo, 1993: 137-152, and by the same author, Tangheroni, Marco. *La città dell'argento. Iglesias dalle origini alla fine del Medioevo*. Naples: Liguori, 1985.

10. The concept has been clearly outlined by Sandro Petrucci in Petrucci, Sandro. *Re in Sardegna, a Pisa cittadini. Ricerche sui «domini Sardinie» pisani*. Bologna: Cappelli, 1988 and in Petrucci, Sandro. "Storia politica istituzionale della Sardegna medioevale (secoli XI-XIV)", *Il Medioevo dai giudicati agli Aragonesi. Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, Massimo Guidetti, ed. Milan: Jaca Book, 1987: II, 97-156. See also Meloni, Giuseppe. *Genova e Aragona all'epoca di Pietro il Cerimonioso, I (1336-1354), II (1355-1360), III (1361-1387)*. Padova: Cedam, 1971-1981.



3. The Iberian migratory phenomenon in the 12th and 13th centuries

I feel it is important, instead, to stop and consider Iberian mobility and migratory flows affecting Sardinia in a constant and substantial way starting from the 12th-13th century. This does not mean that we must senselessly and tiringly go back to the medieval period; we should instead attempt to reconstruct the internal and external mobility of populations that have profoundly characterized the island's varied local and urban contexts. Thanks to these phenomena we can break from the traditional division of the medieval, modern and contemporary periods, which are instead linked seamlessly in a broad period extending from the 13th-14th century to the 15th-17th century.¹¹

Note that the Catalan-Aragonese had already reached Sardinia in the 12th century and not for the first time in the 14th century, when through armed conquest, in 1323 the Crown of Aragon legitimized the proclaimed Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica that Pope Bonifacio VIII had offered as a fief to James II of Aragon.¹²

In actual fact, the marriage of Barisone I, *giudice* of Arborea, to Agalbursa de Bas-Cervera was celebrated in 1157; the latter was the niece of Ramon Berenguer IV, Count-prince of Barcelona, and daughter of his sister Almodis.¹³ The reasons for this marriage can be traced to relationships at the time among Catalonia, Sardinia and Genoa, to the importance of the Mediterranean area to the Catalonians and Genoese, and to the interests of Barisone I of Arborea in extending his dominion over the entire island and to, this end, in creating allies.

11. Moatti, Claudia, ed. *La mobilité des personnes en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne. Procédures de contrôle de documents d'identification*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2004; Gabriella, Maria; Bertinelli, Angeli; Donati, Angela, eds. *Le vie della storia. Migrazioni di popoli, viaggi di individui, circolazione di idee nel Mediterraneo antico*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider editore, 2006.

12. Salavert Roca, Vicente. *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón 1297-1314*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956; Del Treppo, Mario. "L'espansione catalano-aragonese nel Mediterraneo". *Nuove questioni di Storia Medioevale*, Raffaello Morghen, ed. Milan: Marzorati, 1964: XI, 250-300; Santamaría, Alvaro. "Precisiones sobre la expansión marítima de la Corona de Aragón". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia medieval*, 8 (1990-1991): 187-255; Tangheroni, Marco. "Il 'Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae' nell'espansione mediterranea della Corona d'Aragona. Aspetti economici", *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: I, 49-88; Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. "Giacomo II e la conquista del regno di Sardegna e Corsica", *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [Special edition: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 251-316 and by the same author Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. "Frontiere dell'espansione catalano-aragonese nel Mediterraneo. L'epoca di Giacomo II d'Aragona (1291-1327)", *Frontiere del Mediterraneo*, Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, Maria Grazia Mele, eds. Pisa: ETS, 2003: 31-39.

13. For the origin of Cervera see Duran Sanpere, Antonio; Sobrequés Vidal, Santiago; Fluvà, Armand de. "Cervera", *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia catalana, 1973: V, 38-40 and the related table. For the viscounty of Bas and the vicissitudes of its descendants see Caula Vegas, Francisco. "Orígenes de la casa vizcondal de Bas". *Pyrene*, 10 (1949): 296-300 and Caula Vegas, Francisco. *El vizcondado de Bas y la Casa de Ampurias*. Olot: Patronato de Estudios Històrics Olotenses, 1951; Sobrequés, Santiago. "Bas, vescomtat de", *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, Barcelona: Enciclopèdia catalana, 1971: III, 283-284. For the origins of the Bas-Cervera and Bas-Serra, *giudici* of Arborea, see the genealogical tables by Costa Paretas, María Mercedes. *Genealogie medioevali di Sardegna*, Cagliari-Sassari: DueD Editrice Mediterranea, 1984: 373-397 and tables XXXI-XXXIII, 134-139.



In this context, it is worth noting that many of Agalbursa's Catalanian relations also established themselves in Arborea (as reported in historical records) and contracted marriages with local "donnikelle", thereby acquiring a prominent position in the *giudicati* hierarchy;¹⁴ they were accompanied by other nobles of varying provenance and by knights faithful to Catalonia. Even the latter settled on the island and were awarded public offices and property, thanks to which they integrated perfectly in the administrative, economic and social structure of the *giudicato*.¹⁵

Ties between Sardinia and the Iberian peninsula, or rather between Sardinia and Catalonia, were no doubt strengthened progressively after the 12th century and commercial contacts increased starting in the 13th century, as confirmed by the presence of Barcelonese merchants in Oristano and Castel di Castro prior to 1300.¹⁶

In Oristano, for example, the commercial centre of a prosperous agricultural hinterland, there is evidence of intense mercantile activity specialized in Mediterranean commerce—as Carmen Batlle noted—and of warehouses that stored items of different type and origin belonging to numerous Catalan operators: from French fabrics to paper, from painted earthenware bowls to jugs of vinegar, from Saracen leather seats to many other varied types of goods. Even the Catalan colony must have been very important and flourishing—given the presence of a Consul already in 1301—, frequented by the owners and masters of ships used by Pisans to transport goods from Sardinia to the Commune of Pisa. Various historical documents suggest that a large number of merchants were linked to the Cagliari trading centre and that a good number had actually settled there permanently, at least for part of the year.¹⁷ These businessmen, especially those from Barcelona and Majorca, had made local production and trade agreements with Pisa and had

14. Especially Agalbursa's brother, Ugo-Poncio de Bas-Cervera, a key player in matrimonial negotiations with Barisone I (having married in 1177 Sinispella, daughter of Barisone's brother-in-law and his first wife Pellegrina de Lacon), acquired a prominent position within the *giudicati* dynastic hierarchy. His son Hugh I inherited the Viscount of Bas in Catalonia and became the *giudice* of Arborea in 1192. He was succeeded by his firstborn, who acceded the throne of Arborea as Peter II; his descendants all retained the title of viscounts of Bas and *giudice* of Arborea. These are the *giudici* who in the second half of the 14th century became the main adversaries of the King of Aragon in Sardinia. See *Genealogie medioevali...*: 378-379 and 381-382.

15. For details of the first relationships between the Catalan Viscounts and the House of the *giudicato* of Arborea see Sobrequés Vidal, Santiago. *Els barons de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1961: 33-34; Salavert Roca, Vicente. *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea...*: II, 1-3 and Artizzu, Francesco. *Pisani e Catalani...*: 9-23.

16. Artizzu, Francesco. "Penetrazione catalana in Sardegna nel secolo XII", *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Cagliari, 1957)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1959: 87-102; Batlle, Carmen. "Noticia sobre los negocios de mercaderes de Barcelona en Cerdeña hacia 1300", *La Sardegna nel mondo mediterraneo. Gli aspetti storici*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Sassari: Gallizzi, 1981: II, 277-289; Manconi, Francesco. "Alcune considerazioni sull'economia e la società arborense (secc. XIII-XV)", *Società e cultura nel giudicato d'Arborea e nella Carta de Logu. Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Oristano, 1992)*, Giampaolo Mele, ed. Nuoro: ISTAR, 1995: II, 208-212.

17. Batlle, Carmen. "Noticia sobre los negocios" ...: 278, 286. The consul of the colony of Cagliari, Ramon de Tolosa, was a citizen of Barcelona.



formed companies with the most important Pisan families such as the Alliatas, who had immigrated and established themselves permanently in Sardinia.¹⁸

In practice, in the 13th century the island became an important stop for Catalan-Aragonese mercantile ships, especially for those heading to Sicily, North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. The Crown of Aragon's plans to conquer Sardinia was obviously welcomed by Iberian merchants and traders, who saw it as an opportunity to boost their activity and strengthen their presence on the island.¹⁹

This does not mean that they promoted the campaign, nor that their expectations were fulfilled by it. After its occupation the island no longer had a single class of merchants. There were enormous differences among them, depending on the period, in terms of origin, interests, type of shops, role and local integration. It is obviously impossible to compare a Catalan merchant residing in Cagliari at the end of the 13th century, who formed companies with Pisans, and one residing in the same city at the end of the 14th century. The latter was involved in the conflict between Catalans and Sardinians, lived in a beleaguered city at war and sometimes carried out a corsair-like commerce. The 15th century merchant instead belonged to a family that had established itself on the island a century earlier, was born in Sardinia, and took part in the integration of the Kingdom of Sardinia in the Crown of Aragon and, at the end of the century, in that of Spain.²⁰

18. Tangheroni, Marco. *Gli Alliatas, una famiglia pisana del Medioevo*. Padua: Cedam, 1969 and Tangheroni, Marco. "Famiglie nobili e ceto dirigente a Pisa nel XIII secolo". *Medioevo Tirrenico...*: 197-220.

19. Batlle, Carmen. "Noticia sobre los negocios"...: 279; Del Treppo, Mario. *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV*. Naples: L'arte tipografica, 1972; Tangheroni, Marco; Di Nero, Lilia. *Commercio e navigazione nel Mediterraneo medioevale*. Rome: Scolastica, 1981; Tangheroni, Marco. *Commercio e navigazione nel Medioevo*. Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1996 and Tangheroni, Marco. "Il Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae"...: 49-88.

20. Di Tucci, Roberto. "Le condizioni dei mercanti stranieri in Sardegna durante la dominazione aragonese". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, VII (1911): 3-38; Manca, Ciro. *Il libro di conti di Miquel Ça-Rovira*. Padua: Cedam, 1969; Cabestany Fort, Joan. "I mercanti catalani e la Sardegna", *I Catalani in Sardegna*, Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi, eds. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984: 25-34; Manconi, Francesco. "Traffici commerciali e integrazione culturale nel Mediterraneo occidentale fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento". *Studi Storici*, 4 (1995): 1051-1073. Already in the '70's Marco Tangheroni, in a paper on feudalism in Sardinia in the Aragonese period (Tangheroni, Marco. "Il feudalesimo in Sardegna in età aragonese". *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3/3 [1973]: 861-892, especially 875), called for the study of the most important merchants who funded the conquest of Sardinia and of tax collectors in the *Regnum Sardiniae*. In recent years, a number of studies have focused on Sardinian-Catalan mercantile trade in the late medieval period; these have described single individuals whose activities provide interesting insights into the period. For example, Soldani, Maria Elisa. "Dalla bottega al feudo: l'ascesa sociale dei de Doni tra Barcellona e la Sardegna nel Basso medioevo", *XVIII Congrès Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó (Valencia, 2004)*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia-Fundació Jaume II el Just, 2005: II, 1159-1173 and by the same author Soldani, Maria Elisa. *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani nella Barcellona del Quattrocento*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2010; Oliva, Anna Maria. "Andrea Sunyer cittadino di Cagliari e corsaro nella guerra luso-castigliana (1475-1476)", *Estudos em homenagem ao professor Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Universidade do Porto. Faculdade de Letras, 2006: I, 245-257 and Oliva, Ana Maria. "March Jover uomo del re e uomo dei consiglieri di Cagliari nella Sardegna tra Tre e Quattrocento", *Sardegna e Mediterraneo tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, eds. Genoa: Brigati, 2009: 283-327.



4. Migratory flows in the 14th century: modes and players

After the armed conquest of the island, and in any case starting in the 14th century, a real, intense migration began from the Iberian Peninsula to Sardinia, and from the latter to the territories under the Crown of Aragon. It is of great historical and anthropological importance to quantify this migratory flow and identify the persons and categories involved; this can help understand the conquest of Sardinia, reconstruct all its phases and, most importantly, assess the contribution of subjects of the Iberian Confederation to the Crown of Aragon's project of expansion into the Mediterranean, their expectations, and the benefits accorded to each.²¹

All the same, before discussing 14th century Iberian migration to Sardinia, it is important to make a subtle distinction between the first migratory flow, consisting of those who migrated to Sardinia in the footsteps of the Infant Alfonso and those who settled there later in order to take active part in the occupation and domination of the island.²²

As for the former migration, there is obviously no single complete list of the very many who took part in the conquest; however, there are numerous historical documents, some of which are highly significant and exhaustive. For example, the privileges James II granted to those who volunteered to fight in the Sardinian army reveal the characteristics of future migrants, be they knights or soldiers. The

21. Salavert Roca, Vicente. "El problema estratégico del Mediterráneo occidental y la política aragonesa (siglos XIV y XV)", *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Palma de Mallorca, 1955). Palma de Mallorca: Diputación Provincial de Baleares, 1959: I, 201-221 and Salavert Roca, Vicente. "Los motivos económicos en la conquista de Cerdeña", *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Cagliari, 1957). Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1959: 433-445; Tangheroni, Marco. "Il Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae"....: 49-88; Fábrega Grau, Ángel. "Ayuda económica de la Iglesia a Jaime II de Aragón por la conquista de Cerdeña". *Anthologica Annua*, 11 (1963): 13-46; Mitjá Sagué, Marina. "Barcelona y el problema sardo en el siglo XIV", *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Cagliari, 1957). Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1959: 447-459; Orcástegui Gros, Carmen. "Contribución económica de los aragoneses a las empresas de Cerdeña (siglo XIV)", *XIV Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona, Sassari-Alghero, 19-24 maggio 1990*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1993: III, 659-666; Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. "Contributi finanziari di città e ville della Catalogna alla conquista del regno di Sardegna e Corsica (1321-1326)", *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [Special edition: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 317-352; by the same author Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. *Pagar al rey en la Corona de Aragón durante el siglo XIV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003; Muñoz Pomer, María Rosa. "Las Cortes valencianas y su participación en las empresas italianas", *XIV Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona, Sassari-Alghero, 19-24 maggio 1990*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1993: III, 615-628.

22. Bagué, Enric. *Alfons el Benigne*. Barcelona: Editorial Vicens Vives, 1980; Martínez Ferrando, Jesús Ernest. *Jaume II*. Barcelona: Editorial Vicens Vives, 1980. For further information on this sovereign and his relations with Sardinia see the miscellaneous volume *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*, edited by Maria Eugenia Cadeddu (special edition of *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*), in particular the work of Muñoz Pomer, María Rosa; Pinilla Pérez de Tudela, Regina. "Studi e Ricerche dedicati a Giacomo II d'Aragona in Spagna (1850-1995)". *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [Special edition: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 339-460, for the vast number of works it examines. See also Miret Sans, Joaquim. "Itinerario del rey Alfonso III de Catalunya, IV en Aragón, el conquistador de Cerdeña". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 5 (1909-1910): 56-57.



documents contain full details of their identity and social condition, their origin, parentage, profession and the reasons that pushed them to take part in the military undertaking.²³

Nobles, knights and soldiers, however, did not arrive on the island with just the first migratory flow during the conquest. They also represent a large part of the second migration to Sardinia when James II, and Prince Alfonso especially, realized the strategic and military potential of the island's rapid colonization.

A concrete example of the latter migration is that from Castello di Cagliari and from its conquest. In June 1324, when peace was signed between the Crown of Aragon and Pisa, Castel di Castro, an important centre of trade in the Mediterranean and the capital of Pisan dominions on the island, remained in the hands of the Maritime Republic of Pisa.²⁴ The Prince, understanding full well the difficulties in conquering the Sardinian-Pisan walled city, both for its position and its imposing fortification, believed he could make it surrender without armed intervention by creating such antagonism as would lead the city to exhaustion and capitulation. He therefore set up an encampment before the fortress and set about transforming the provisory installation into a true city inhabited by settlers from the Iberian homeland, and to which he wished to assign a vast hinterland and a port that could compete with that of Castel di Castro. This new city, which he named Bonaria, was assigned the task of competing economically and demographically with the Sardinian-

23. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978-1998: III, 159-160; 175; 185-186; Muntaner, Ramon. "Crònica", *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1971: 910 (chapter CCXXI); 914-915 (chapter CXXIII); Cerimoniós, Pere el. "Crònica". *Les quatre grans cròniques...* 1009-1023 (chapter 1); Arribas Palau, Antonio. *La conquista de Cerdeña por Jaime II de Aragón*. Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1952: 141-149; 168-187; 377-383; Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. "I privilegi reali, nel regno di Sardegna e Corsica all'epoca di Giacomo II e Alfonso IV d'Aragona. Strategie politiche e militari", *Los cimientos del Estado en la Edad Media. Chancillerías, notariado y privilegios reales en la construcción del Estado en la Edad Media*, Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, ed. Alcoi: Marfil, 2004: 157-168; Carbonell Boria, María José; Cuñat Ciscar, Virginia María. "Pergamene di Giacomo II d'Aragona nell'Archivio Municipal de Valencia", *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [Special edition: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 99-111; Cuñat Ciscar, Virginia María. "Del privilegio al registro: la relación entre el consell de València y Cerdeña en tiempos de Jaime II y Alfonso IV a través del Archivo Municipal de Valencia", *XIV Congresso di storia della Corona d'Aragona, Sassari-Alghero, 19-24 maggio 1990*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1993: III, 329-337; Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia; Muñoz Pomer, María Rosa; Pons Alós, Vicente; Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu. "Valencianos en la conquista de Cerdeña a través de un registro de 'lletres' del Justicia Civil de Valencia", *XVIII Congrés Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó (València 2004)*, Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València Fundació Jaume II el Just, 2005: I, 225-250.

24. For details of Pisa's surrender and the peace treaties signed in June 1324 see Artizzu, Francesco. *La Sardegna pisana...*: 242-251. For a description of Castel di Castro see Finke, Heinrich. *Acta Aragonensia*. Berlin und Leipzig: Walther Rothschild, 1908: I, 572-573 (doc. No. 373); Scano, Dionigi. *Forma Karalis*. Cagliari: Società Editoriale Italiana, 1934 and for the *forma urbis* (plan of the city) and the Pisan model of urban development see the miscellaneous volume Kirova, Tatiana K., ed. *Cagliari. Quartieri storici. Castello*. Cagliari: Comune di Cagliari, 1985; Tolaini, Emilio. *Forma Pisanum*. Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1979; Franchetti Pardo, Vittorio. *Storia dell'urbanistica. Dal Trecento al Quattrocento*. Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1994; Garzella, Gabriella. *Com'era Pisa: topografia e insediamento. Dall'impianto tardoantico alla città murata del secolo XII*. Naples: Liguori, 1990.



Pisan capital in order to determine a crisis and its spontaneous abandonment.²⁵ Although failing in its intent because the Pisans engaged in a last direct battle with the Catalan-Aragons,²⁶ the project was nevertheless highly successful in developing and populating Bonaria. The privileges accorded to settlers and economic prospects were so favourable that within a few months a large number of immigrants from every state under the Crown of Aragon reached the island, and the city of Bonaria soon counted more than six thousand inhabitants.²⁷

When Castel di Castro opened its gates to Prince Alfonso,²⁸ not peaceably as Alfonso had predicted but after another fierce battle, the city was immediately repopulated with Catalans and all citizens of Pisa were systematically expelled. In short, whereas the Prince's plan to conquer Cagliari had been conceived and planned well, his policy for repopulating the castle (a key element of the newly established reign abroad) varied, was difficult to implement and seemed sometimes contradictory. In the end Bonaria was abandoned definitively and Castell de Càller was established with some difficulty; as the capital of the new Catalan-Aragon *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae*, it became a totally Iberian city, maintaining this physiognomy in subsequent decades.²⁹

It is here important to note the use of migration as an instrument of conquest and dominion. Throughout its dominion over the island, the Crown of Aragon widely

25. At the general headquarters on "Buen Ayre" hill Zurita reports that Prince Alfonso *mandó labrar una villa con su castillo que le puso nombre Bonayre* ["gave instructions for a villa and its castle which he named Bonayre"], suggesting that the hill was named so by the Catalan-Aragonese. For the Bonaria placename see Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 3, vi, liv, 207; Scano, Dionigi. *Forma Karalis...*: 26; Costa Paretas, María Mercedes. *El Santuari de Santa Maria de Bonaire a la ciutat de Caller*. Cagliari: Ettore Gasparini, 1973; Porrà, Roberto. "La questione dell'origine del toponimo Buenos Aires". *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 13 (1988): 171-187.

26. For the sorties and attacks around the Pisan and the Catalan-Aragonese strongholds see Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 3, vi, lx, 224-227 and Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La Sardegna aragonese...*: I, 171-177.

27. For the settlement of Bonaria see Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 3, vi, lv, 209; Todde, Giovanni. "Castel de Bonayre: il primo insediamento catalano-aragonese in Sardegna", *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Palermo-Trapani-Erice, 1982)*. Palermo: Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, 1984: IV, 335-346 and Contu, Maria Giovanna. "Bonaria roccaforte catalano-aragonese: quale natura giuridica?". *Quaderni Bolotanesi*, 12 (1986): 139-148.

28. For the capitulation of Castel di Castro and the final surrender of Pisa in June 1326 see especially Arribas Palau, Antonio. *La conquista...*: 429-430; Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La Sardegna aragonese...*: I, 206-211 and by the same author Casula, Francesco Cesare. "I trattati diplomatici sardo-aragonesi del 1323-1326", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo. I. La Sardegna*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1993: 207-220. The triumphant entry of the Catalan-Aragonese into Castello di Cagliari is described well in "Cronica del magnificientissimo signore Ramon Muntaner", *Cronache catalane del secolo XIII e XIV*, eds. Leonardo Sciascia; Filippo Moisé. Palermo: Sellerio, 1984: 381-383 (chapter 290).

29. The Pisan evacuation from Castello di Cagliari and the city's repopulation with Catalans alone is duly described in great detail by Conde Delgado de Molina, Rafael. *Castell de Càller. Cagliari catalano-aragonese*. Cagliari: Istituto sui rapporti italo-iberici-Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1984 and Urban, Maria Bonaria. "Nuovi elementi di storia urbana nel regno di Sardegna. Dalla fondazione di Bonaria al popolamento catalano di Castel di Cagliari". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 27/2 (1998): 819-866 and by the same author Urban, Maria Bonaria. "Da Bonaria a Cagliari: problemi politici e scelte urbanistiche nel primo periodo del regno di Sardegna catalano-aragonese". *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 22 (1998): 93-148.



adopted the expedient of repopulating key centres of the island through migration flows from Iberia. Other examples are Sassari in 1329³⁰ and Alghero in the mid 14th century. The latter especially, after a long siege and its definitive conquest by King Peter IV of Aragon in 1354, was largely repopulated. Catalans from the western coast of Sardinia flowed into the city to guarantee its defence, and therefore control of one of the island's most strategic areas.³¹

The methods used to promote migratory flows were those used from the start at Castell de Càller: economic and juridical advantages, various exemptions, safe conducts, debt moratoria, food aid, funding of the voyage from the Iberian peninsula to Sardinia and, most important of all, the concession of land, homes and feudal estates.³²

30. Solmi, Arrigo. "Una pagina di storia sassarese". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 4/3 (1908): 373-384; Pala, Giuseppe. "Una nota sul ripopolamento di Sassari al tempo di Alfonso il Benigno". *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, 1/38, 1976-1977 (1980): 133-161; Miret Sans, Joaquim. "Saqueig de Sasser en 1329". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 4 (July a September 1908): 429-447; Costa Paretas, María Mercedes. "Oficials de la Corona d'Aragó a Sardenya (segle XIV). Notes biogràfiques". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 39 (1964): 323-377 and Costa Paretas, María Mercedes. "Oficials de Pere el Cerimonios a Sasser (1336-1387)". *La Sardegna nel mondo mediterraneo. 2. Gli aspetti storici*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Sassari: Gallizzi, 1981: 291-314.

31. Bertran Roigé, Prim. "Les respostes de la baixa noblesa catalana al reclam de Pere el Cerimoniós per anar a Sardenya (1354)", *La corona catalanoaragonesa i el seu entorn mediterrani a la baixa edat mitjana*, María Teresa Ferrer Mallol, Josefina Mutgé Vives, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, eds. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005: 1-22; Turull Rubinat, Max. "Respostes de nobles i cavallers de la vegueria de Cervera per a la campanya de Sardenya de 1354-1355". *Miscel·lània Cerverina*, 12 (1998): 131-134; Català Roca, Pere. "Pena d'exili a Sardegna", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo. I. La Sardegna*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1993: 337-340; Català Roca, Pere; Gala Fernández, Joan. "Entorn de 'Lo bon ayre e la noblea d'esta illa de Sardenya'", *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/1, 263-276; Meloni, Giuseppe. "Su alcuni feudatari maggiori e minori in Sardegna all'epoca di Pietro il Cerimonioso". *Studi Sardi*, 20 (1966): 285-298. Even the process of repopulating Alghero was problematic, partly due to the effects of the Plague, which had invested Iberian territories in that period, but also due to the complex situation in Sardinia and the new scenario of widespread anti-Catalan rebellion which ravaged the kingdom and had grave economic, political and military consequences. See Manca, Ciro. "Notes sobre l'administració de la Sardenya catalana en el segle XIV: 'l'arrendament' de les rendes e drets reials". *Estudis d'Història Medieval*, 5 (1973): 73-74.

32. *La Sardegna si integra così nell'ingranaggio del potere catalano e persino del 'cursus honorum' degli ufficiali. Molti cavalieri potranno sostenere di aver già compiuto gli obblighi militari dopo aver realizzato i contributi di cavalli armati richiesti per le campagne in Sardegna. La grande maggioranza dei partecipanti alle imprese militari sarde, infatti, invocheranno, al loro ritorno, questi servizi d'armi per essere debitamente ricompensati attraverso l'ottenimento di terre, benefici e incarichi pubblici. In alcuni casi, la compensazione arriva per la scomparsa di familiari che perdono la vita sull'isola per vari motivi (...). In realtà, la Sardegna non godeva di un fascino tale da far abbandonare gli affari e andarvi a combattere come chiedeva il re (...). La guerra e la malattia facevano sì che dalla Catalogna l'isola potesse essere vista come una tenebrosa isola di pena e castigo* ("Sardinia is thus part of the mechanism of Catalan power and even of the 'cursus honorum', the sequential order of public offices. Most knights could consider their military obligations fulfilled after having provided the requested number of armed horses for campaigns in Sardinia. On their return from Sardinia, most of those who took part in these military campaigns expected their services to be duly rewarded through concessions of land, benefits and appointments to public offices. In certain cases, compensation arrived through the disappearance of family members who die on the island for various reasons (...). In actual fact, Sardinia was not such an attraction as to abandon businesses in order to take part in the campaigns, as the king requested (...). War and illness were such that the Catalonians saw [Sardinia] as a bleak island of pain



Subsequently, and especially after the war, the presence of these centres of Iberian origin in the island's most important cities was a key factor in maintaining and consolidating the Catalan occupation of Sardinia, as well as in integrating the Kingdom of Sardinia and Sardinians in the territory of the Crown of Aragon.

It is more difficult to quantify and define Catalan-Aragonese migration within the island; however, the fact that some royal functionaries and feudal administrators in branches of the Sardinian Parliaments came from Barbagia, the most impervious and remote area of the island said to have a strong spirit of resistance, testify to its having taken place.³³

5. The diffusion of migrations from the 15th century onward

Starting in the 15th century, migratory movements between the Iberian peninsula and Sardinia aimed to solve the centuries-old Sardinian-Catalan conflict. This gradually led to the integration of the island in the Hispanic world, despite the Kingdom of Sardinia's obvious position of disadvantage with respect to other kingdoms under the Crown of Aragon.³⁴

As a result, even Sardinian society began, or continued with renewed vigour, the process of creating a local Iberian culture; political-economic links, as well as social

and punishment"). Sabaté Curull, Flocel. "Prefazione", Cioppi, Alessandra. *Le strategie dell'invincibilità. Corona d'Aragona e 'Regnum Sardiniae' nella seconda metà del Trecento*. Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni-CNR-Isem, 2012: 11-22.

33. In this context, viceroy de Solís Valderrábano's 17th century celebration of the parliament in Sardinia (1698-1699) is worthy of note. Fra' Salvatore Cuy, a provincial vicar and general mayor representing the *encontrada real* of Barbagia di Belvì – one of the most rebellious and resistant areas of the island according to Giovanni Lilliu, who declared that *dicha encontrada no fue conquistada ni fue del marqués de Oristan ni de ningún barón sino voluntariamente presentada a los serenísimos rey(es) de Aragon* ("this district was not conquered, nor did it belong to the Marquis de Oristan or any other baron until it willingly submitted to the kings of Aragon"), thereby attesting to the strong early integration of Iberians in the Sardinian population. See *Il Parlamento del viceré Giuseppe de Solís Valderrábano, conte di Montellano. Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae*, eds. Giuseppina Catani, Carla Ferrante. Cagliari: Consiglio Regionale della Sardegna, 2004: II, 984.

34. Manconi, Francesco. "De no poderse desmembrar de la Corona de Aragón": Sardegna e Paesi catalani, un vincolo lungo quattro secoli". *Archivio Sardo. Rivista di Studi storici e sociali*, 1 (1999): 43-65; Anatra, Bruno; Manconi, Francesco, eds. *Come governare un regno: centro madrilegno e periferia sarda nell'età di Filippo II*, Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni, 1999: 283-302; Belenguer Cebrià, Ernest. "El reino de Cerdeña de Fernando II a Carlos V: el largo camino hacia la modernidad", *De la unión de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V*, Ernest Belenguer Cebrià, ed. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001: II, 15-53; Manconi, Francesco. *Una piccola provincia di un grande impero. La Sardegna nella monarchia composita degli Asburgo (secolo XV-XVIII)*. Cagliari: Cucc Editrice, 2012. See also Anatra, Bruno. "Sardegna e Corona d'Aragona nell'età moderna", *I Catalani in Sardegna*, Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi, eds. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984: 59-65; Anatra, Bruno. *Istituzioni e società in Sardegna e nella Corona d'Aragona (secc. XIV-XVII). El arbitrio de su libertad*. Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni, 1997 and Cioppi, Alessandra. "Cerdeña, entre Europa y el Mediterráneo. Continuidad y memoria a través de cuatrocientos años de historia ibérica", *El que del amistad mostró el camino'. Omaggio a Giuseppe Bellini*, Patrizia Spinato Bruschi, ed. Cagliari: Isem-CNR, 2013: 41-64.



and cultural relations, between the states of the Iberian Confederation increased in frequency and importance.³⁵

Starting in the 1990's many studies were undertaken on aspects of 14th to 17th century Sardinian-Iberian social history. These studies shed light on this great demographic movement: the origin of families and their family ties; their relationship with the Iberian regions not only from an administrative and institutional standpoint but also from a cultural and personal one;³⁶ the mechanisms regulating the transfer of power and the role of certain clans, representing the situation at the time in its complexity and different forms, as well as the framework of productive systems and of social organization.³⁷

35. Manconi, Francesco. "L'eredità culturale", *I Catalani in Sardegna*, Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi, eds. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984: 217-237; Manconi, Francesco. "Traffici commerciali e integrazione culturale nel Mediterraneo occidentale fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento". *Studi Storici*, 4 (1995): 1051-1073; Manconi, Francesco. "Catalogna e Sardegna: relazioni economiche e influssi culturali fra Quattro e Cinquecento", *La Sardegna e la presenza catalana nel Mediterraneo. VI Congresso (III Internazionale) dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Catalani (Cagliari, 1995)*, Paolo Maninchedda, ed. Cagliari: Cooperativa Universitaria Editrice Cagliariritana, 1998: I, 35-54; Violant Simorra, Ramon. "Paralelismos culturales entre Sardenya, Catalunya i Balears". *Studi Sardi*, 9 (1950): 277-298; Anatra, Bruno. "Economía sarda e comercio mediterráneo nel basso medio e nell'età moderna", *Dagli Aragonesi alla fine del dominio spagnolo. III Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, Massimo Guidetti, ed. Milan: Jaca Book, 1989: 109-216; Salvador Esteban, Emilia. *La economía valenciana en el siglo XVI (comercio de importación)*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1972 and Esteban, Emilia. "Aproximación al tráfico marítimo entre la isla de Cerdeña y la ciudad de Valencia en el siglo XVI", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/2, 769-787; Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV: rutas, mercado y ombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterraneo occidental*. Valencia: Bancaixa, 1998.

36. Some noble families of Catalan and Valencian origin were viceroys or royal functionaries. This is the case of the Centelles, Cardona, Erill and Crespi de Valldaura families. See Mateu Ibars, Josefina. *Los virreyes de Cerdeña. Fuentes para su estudio. I (1410-1623), II (1624-1720)*. Padua: Cedam, 1964; Floris, Francesco. *Feudi e Feudatari in Sardegna*. Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 1996; Pons Alós, Vicente. "La documentación real del fondo Cerdeña en el Archivo Condal de Orgaz. La formación de un patrimonio: de los Aragall y Bellit a los Gualbes y Brondo", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/2, 715-745; Chiner Gimeno, Jaime José. "Los 'estados' en Cerdeña de la casa de Oliva durante el siglo XVI. Documentos en el Archivo del reino de Valencia", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/1, 291-304.

37. Olla Repetto, Gabriella. "La società cagliaritana nel '400", *Cultura quattro-cinquecentesca in Sardegna. Retabili restaurati e documenti*. Cagliari: Soprintendenza ai Beni Ambientali Architettonici, Artistici e Storici, 1985: 19-24 and by the same author Olla Repetto, Gabriella. "L'organizzazione del lavoro a Cagliari tra '400 e '500: la confraternita dei falegnami", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo. I. La Sardegna*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1993: 429-449; Tore, Gianfranco. "Ceti sociali, finanze e 'buon governo' nella Sardegna spagnola (1620-1642)", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: IV, 477-496; Mattone, Antonello, ed. *Corporazioni, gremi e artigianato tra Sardegna, Spagna e Italia nel Medioevo e nell'età moderna (XIV-XIX secolo)*, Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni, 2000; Oliva Anna Maria; Schena Olivetta. "Il Regno di Sardegna tra Spagna e Italia nel Quattrocento. Cultura e società: alcune riflessioni", *Descubrir el Levante por el Poniente*, Luciano Gallinari, ed. Cagliari: Istituto sui rapporti italo-iberici-Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2002: 101-134; Manconi, Francesco. "Un letrado sassarese al servizio della monarchia ispanica. Appunti per una biografia di Francisco Ángel Vico y Artea", *Sardegna, Spagna, Mediterraneo dai Re Cattolici al Secolo d'Oro*, Bruno Anatra, Giovanni Murgia, eds. Rome: Carocci, 2004: 291-333.



Although with some difficulty due to the scarcity of notary acts, family records, chronicles and literary works, in recent years the Italian National Research Council's Institute for the History of Mediterranean Europe has undertaken a series of studies on the city of Cagliari and its late medieval society; these comprise prosopographies and studies on individual families that provide an accurate reconstruction of relationships and dynamics among the different family groups, unveiling the complexity of Cagliari's social fabric from the 14th to the 16th century.³⁸

6. Conclusions

The situation becomes increasingly complex and interesting, and because there are numerous aspects that would merit further analysis but cannot be correctly addressed herein, it is best to conclude with two considerations, bearing in mind the complexity of migrations in Sardinia.

First, having mentioned prosopography, one must stress how this methodological approach can yield excellent results in reconstructing social ties between Sardinia and the Mediterranean, thereby providing insight into the types and causes of migrations in Sardinia. Second, by constructing prosopographies of individual categories and classes —nobles, feudal lords, officials, merchants— it is possible to analyse the processes of discrimination and consequently of society's integration and naturalization of immigrants.

In our specific case, therefore, it goes without say that it is possible to assess how Catalans, Aragonese, Valencians and other migrants of varied Iberian provenance became rooted on the island, becoming territorially and politically "Sardinians" and thereby contributing to the transformation of the very concept of "Sardinian" discussed earlier.³⁹ Furthermore, it is possible to assess both the level of integration

38. Meloni, Maria Giuseppina, ed. *Élites urbane e organizzazione sociale in area mediterranea fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna. Seminario di studi (Cagliari, 2011)*, Cagliari: Isem-Centre Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2013; Oliva, Anna Maria; Schena, Olivetta. "I Torrella, una famiglia di medici tra Valenza, Sardegna e Roma", *Alessandro VI. Dal Mediterraneo all'Atlantico*, Miriam Chiabò, ed. Rome: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2004: 115-146; Oliva, Anna Maria. "Bartolomeo Gerp giurista e bibliofilo a Cagliari alla fine del Quattrocento". *Acta Mediaevalia*, 26 (2005): 1073-1094 and Oliva, Anna Maria. "Andrea Sunyer cittadino di Cagliari e corsaro nella guerra luso-castigliana (1475-1476)", *Estudos em homenagem ao professor Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Flup, 2006: I, 245-257; Cioppi, Alessandra. "La cavalleria a Castell de Càller nella seconda metà del Trecento. Costruzione di un'élite urbana attraverso un'indagine microstorica", *Élites urbane e organizzazione sociale in area mediterranea fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna. Seminario di studi (Cagliari, 2011)*, Meloni, Maria Giuseppina, ed. Cagliari: Isem-Centre Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2013: 135-173. To collect and divulge the immense quantity of information derived from these studies, the Institute for the History of Mediterranean Europe has compiled a database that can be accessed from the Institute's webpage Sini, Giovanni, *La società cagliaritana tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 20 June 2016 <<http://www.isem.cnr.it/Cagliari/>>.

39. Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. "Las ciudades de los reinos insulares de la Corona de Aragón. Historia municipalista e historia de la sociedad urbana", *Chiesa, potere politico e cultura in Sardegna dall'età giudicale al Settecento. II Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Oristano, 2000)*, Giampaolo Mele, ed. Oristano: ISTAR, 2005: 627-641.



of Iberian and second generation Sardinian-Iberian families and, vice versa, the level of integration of those who left the island to settle in the various states under the Crown of Aragon, attempting to trace their history and migrations in a Mediterranean without frontiers.



THE SETTLEMENT OF JEWS IN VIC: ORIGIN, PROVENANCE AND MOBILITY OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY (1231-1277)

IRENE LLOP I JORDANA
UNIVERSITAT DE VIC- UNIVERSITAT CENTRAL DE CATALUNYA
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the study of the establishment of Jewish families in Vic in the early 13th century. Documents from the *Libri Judeorum*, along with other notarial records, shine light on the origin and consolidation of the Jewish community of Vic and the development of the Jewish quarter or *call*.¹

KEY WORDS

Catalan Judaism, Vic, Notarial Records, 13th Century, *Libri Iudeorum*.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Cataloniae Iudaismus, Vicus, Notariorum Regesta, Saeculum XIII, Libri Iudaeorum.

1. Used abbreviations: ABEV, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic; ACF, Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada; AMV, Arxiu Municipal de Vic.

1. Introduction

During the 13th and 14th centuries, a Jewish community settled in the city of Vic. Although it was never a large community, they had a major impact in the region and have left us an important documentary and cultural legacy. Thanks to the documents preserved in the Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic (ABEV), we can follow the evolution of this group, a key part of the history of Vic for nearly two hundred years.

Moreover, the 13th century saw the development of Catalan Notaries, and the ABEV preserved notarial records from that early period. The generic name of *Manual* refers to common notarial copies of the originals that were given to the interested parties, which contain a basic outline of the legal document. The notary's office in Vic, along with Manresa, is one which retains older books from as far back as the 13th century. The first of these books kept in the ABEV is from 1230 and was the first of a series that began in the early 13th century and continued, uninterruptedly, until the 20th century. As the institution evolved, manuals became more specialized and grouped by type (wills, marriage contracts, inventories...) and one appeared documenting the contract where Jews were involved. This is called *Liber Judeorum*, a unique and singular typology. This series is important for its size (26 books) and their continuity (covers the period from 1264 to 1354 almost continuously) within Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic.

The studies of the Jewish community of Vic have generally been made from the *Libri Juderum*. These books, however, only began to be written in the second half of the 13th century, when the community was already firmly established in the town. To find the origin of Jews in the town, we should consult the notary manuals.

This study uses the notarial documents—general books and first *Liber Judeorum*—from the first reference, of a Jew, in the first manual (1231) until 1277, which was the year of the construction of the synagogue, by this time the Jewish community was visible and already consolidated within the wider society.²

2. Vic, a city expanding in the 13th century

Vic is located in central Catalonia on the Plain of Vic. It is surrounded by mountains and lies 69 km north of Barcelona and 60 km west of Girona, cities where the Jewish population was important.

The city is situated in an historical crossroad of major routes and is well connected with the neighbouring towns through a network of local roads. In the Middle Ages the roads followed the natural courses of rivers: The River Congost in the south, and the River Ter in the north. The main communications were through the old Roman

2. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic al segle XIII. Orígens i consolidació de l'aljama (1231-1315)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona (PhD Dissertation), 2006.



road in medieval times, known as *strata Francisca* or way to France. The local road network linking Vic with neighbouring towns, separated by five or six kilometres, radiates from the centre in Vic.

When the Jews settled in Vic, the city experienced an economic, demographic and urban expansion. In the thirteenth century it was an important centre for several reasons: It was the head of the diocese, a renowned cultural focus point and was the economic and commercial centre as well as the most important market in the area. In the 10th century, at the time the city was rebuilt, the count gave to a viscount a castle —constructed on the ruins of a Roman Temple— for the newly formed county of Ausona. Otherwise, the centre of the church was established south of the castle, on the outskirts of the Roman City (*vicus*).³ A double town was created, and the dual jurisdiction —the Bishop part and the Lord of Montcada's part— was a reality. Each part received census and taxes, and from the 12th century began the struggles and rivalries, especially about income from the Square of Quintana.⁴ The duality of the jurisdiction has economic, legal and social effects. In relation to the economic effects there were two markets in Vic, called Mercadal and Quintana; the legal effects of this situation were that there were two councils. On the other hand, the social effects were determined by the fact that Vic's population lived in one or another jurisdiction.⁵ This situation changed in the year 1315, when Bishop Berenguer ça Guardia gave the Episcopal rights to King Jaume II and later gave him the privilege of setting up a permanent and stable municipal government formed by three councillors and twenty juries.⁶ It was then that Vic received the title of *city*, although in some documents it was mentioned as a city as early as the end of the thirteenth century. Infighting between officials, however, continued until 1450 when King Alfons the Magnanimous bought the other part of the city and afterwards Vic remained under royal jurisdiction.⁷

The city constantly grew throughout the century. The three centres of Vic were the Castle of Montcada (built on top of the Roman temple), the Cathedral (near the river, in the lower part) and the market (in the west). The town was surrounded by walls with seven Gates (Portals of Queralt, Montcada, Santa Eulalia, Manlleu, Gurb, Malloles and D'en Teixidor). These gates were the origin of the radial roads. In the mid-thirteenth century expansion outside these walls took place, and the growth of

3. "In the 10th century, the designation *vicus* came to be applied to the entire town, a process completed in the 13th century, while the county continued to be known *Ausona*." Freedman, Paul. *Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983: 7-8.

4. After the death of Guillem Ramon de Montcada during the conquest of Mallorca (1228), the rights of leadership of the city of Vic passed to his widow Garsenda, who was the daughter of Prince Alfons of Aragon. These rights include the rights to the Square of Quintana. Both his heir, Gaston VII de Bearn, and the bishops of Vic (Bernat Calbó, 1234-1243 and Bernat de Mur, 1243-1264) claimed their rights, so that these disputes were extended during the thirteenth century.

5. Ollich, Imma. *Camp i ciutat a la Catalunya del segle XIII*. Vic: Eumo Editorial, 1988: 30-32.

6. Duran, Juan. *El régimen municipal de Vich anterior al decreto de Nueva Planta*. Vic: Patronat d'Estudis Ausonencs, 1957: 75-77.

7. Junyent, Eduard. *Jurisdicció i privilegis de la ciutat de Vic*. Vic: Patronat d'Estudis Ausonencs, 1969: 133-138.



the city, during this century, was full of difficulties. They built new neighbourhoods outside the walls: Santa Eulàlia freehold, to the east county town, probably the space occupied by the Roman city, and Les Clotes, between Queralt Bridge and the suburb of Santa Eulalia, close to the river Meder where the limers and tanners worked; also there was a Franciscan convent in the suburb of San Francesc. The urban expansion outside the walls was accompanied by the creation of new streets (St. John and St. Peter). From 1274 the King James I rebuilt the old road to Barcelona and put in a new bridge, so that from then on, Vic was entered by means of St. Peter and St. Francis street.⁸

Vic was also involved in the expansion of trade that Catalonia experienced in the thirteenth century. The market in Vic was very important locally, especially because of its proximity to the city and the countryside, it was also very active in international trade. This commerce was not in the hands of the Jews, but controlled by a group of bourgeois. The Market traders families —as Mercadal, Espanyol or Cloquer— became rich from their commercial activities. This expansion was not only commercial, because also military and urban families gained wealth from this international trade, land speculation and local activities such as loan income.

Relations with Mallorca and Valencia began to develop from the time of the conquest. People from Vic took part in this conquest, and some settled in these areas. Bernat and Tomas Espanyol had an *alqueria* in Mallorca, and Bernat hired a family from Vic to work there in 1233. Also in Valencia Guillem de Vic had four butcher's shops in Gandia's Square.

In medieval Vic artisans played an important role. The leather workers were one of the most important, and also ironsmiths, stone masons and carpenters for construction industry. Wool, wheat, meat, jewellery, painting and pottery workers were also important.⁹

Vic is an early example of urban society being represented by townsmen government. Already in 1138 the first corporate action took place by elite men of Vic. Bishop Ramon answered the entreaties of the bourgeois of Vic for a prohibition on foreign merchants wishing to deal in cut woollen cloth or red dye in the city and market of Vic, exclusively so that no outsider could sell these clothes, fabrics or bundles. At that moment, the Mercadal was relevant enough to attract over merchants to compete, reason why the petition of the *burgenses* also shows that the volume of imported cloth was such as to place the market of Vic above the rank of a merely local trading center.¹⁰ It shows the evolution of the bourgeois mentality, this class spirit and their activity in international trade.¹¹ Between 1175 and 1185 there was an attempt to create an independent local government separate from the Bishop. Vic men refused to pay *firmançia* to the Bishop and some not only paid, but chose their own representatives (*consuls*). This position was a clear challenge to

8. Ollich, Imma. *Camp i ciutat...*: 25.

9. Ollich, Imma. *Camp i ciutat...*: 39-41.

10. Freedman, Paul. *Diocese of Vic...*: 82.

11. Garcia, Arcadio. "Els Espanyol, una família burgesa vigatana del segle XIII". *Ausa*, 6 (1968-1971): 165-185.



the Episcopal power and expressed the desire for a new form of government. The church could not protect citizens who complained about the presence of thieves and violence, and the king did not intervene in these matters. The 1198 compromise took place between the urban leaders and the bishop of Vic.¹² The effort by inhabitants of Vic to organize themselves was in defiance of their lord.¹³

At that time there was also demographic growth, not only because of the high natural population growth, but also due to the arrival of newcomers from the countryside. It is in this context that a group with a distinctive identity and religion, the Jews, fixed their residence in the city.

While there was this commercial vitality, social and economic changes, there was also strong insecurity among the inhabitants. Disputes between the two lords of Vic continued throughout the century, and attacks against people and property increased.¹⁴

3. The origin of the establishment of Jews in Vic

3.1 The designation of the Jews in early notarial documents

The *Libri Iudeorum* documentation quoted 416 Jewish people, of which 318 are men (76,44%) and 98, women (23,55%). The first point that should be clarified is the use of Catalan names. The use of first names in vernacular language was extended, and they are not the translation of Hebrew names.¹⁵

12. Freedman, Paul. "Un règim consular en el Vic del segle XII". *Ausa*, 9 (1980): 1-6.

13. Freedman, Paul. "An unsuccessful attempt at urban organization in twelfth-century Catalonia". *Speculum*, 54/3 (1979): 490-491.

14. Around 1280 there was a raid by people from Barcelona, and a year later, the houses of Canon Ramon Merlès were also raided. In the 1290's, factions of the Cruïlles and Altarriba continued creating problems. In 1293, Prince Pere commanded Ramon de Benages, Bernadí de Centelles, Pere de Santa Eugenia and Guillem de Brull not to enter Vic with weapons, and they were banned from helping people who had injured anyone in the area of Montcada. In March 1295, people representing the Bishop of Vic injured people from Montcada's wheat, and ransacked the house of Pau Ferrer de Montcada; the Prince ordered an inquiry against *malfectors*. Carreras Candi, Francesc. "Notes dotzencentistes d'Ausona (Vich)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 6 (1910): 6-32, 75-83, 123-141; Carreras Candi, Francesc. *Miscelánea Histórica Catalana. Serie II*, Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1918: 361-463.

15. Despite widespread beliefs even among historians, the first names in vernacular language do not correspond to their liturgical translation, although it seems: Bondia and Bonjorn- Yom Tov, Vides-Hayyim, or Deuslosal- Yehoshua, do not allow raising the phenomenon to the category of law. Riera, Jaume. "Moixè ben Nahman, Bonastruc de Porta". *Tamid: Revista Catalana Anual d'Estudis Hebraics*, 10 (2014): 14.



Table 1. Most common first names of Jewish men and women in Vic (1231-1315).

Jewish men	Jewish women
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Astruc • Vidal • Issac • Jucef • Salomó 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Goig • Astruga • Regina • Bonadona • Bonafilla

The first names of Jewish men and women are in vernacular, and many of them use the prefix Bon- or Bona- (Bonmacip, Bonjueu, Bonadona). The use of diminutives is usual in names as Issaac-Çarch, and some Jews were known by their diminutive. For Jewish woman, diminutives are large (Mirona, Astrugona, Drudona, Vidalona). Alongside these names, we know that at least three Jews had an alias: Bonmacip, alias *Naman*, Vidal Jucef *qui in abrayco vocatur Pinal* and his father-in-law Vidal Salandí, *alias vocatur in ebrayco Aletzar Levi*.

In regard to women, the name of the Jewish woman is always associated with a male character specifying their status as daughter, wife or widow; when multiple marriages, the wife is also named according to their changing situation. In the case of Regina Cabrita and Bonafilla Pesada they feminized the surname of the father and husbands, respectively (Cabrit and Pesat).¹⁶

The most common system of designation of Jewish man in Catalonia in the Middle Ages is the patronymic. The name of a man is formed by his name and his father's name. Therefore, the son of Vidal Jucef is called Salomó Vidal. Another system consists in the transmission of a surname.¹⁷ In the thirteenth century, not all families adopted surnames, and within families, not all members used them. This surname is often the name of the first member of the family to become prominent (Vidal), or could be referred to their work (Camporis or Argenter); another type of surnames are geographic¹⁸ and then it could indicate the place of origin of the family:

- Catalonia: Besalú, Cardona, Castellbo, Belcaire, Camprodon, Manresa, Puigcerdà, La Bibal, Palafolls, Caldes de Montbui, Torroella, Barcelona, Girona, Cervera.
- Crown of Aragon: Mallorca, Tolosa, Montpeller, Perpinyà, Narbona.
- Cordoví, Hispania, Messina, Navarra.

Some families transmit this topographic surname for one or two generations, and after they adopt the name of the father: Astruc de Mallorca is the father of Jucef

16. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 52-54.

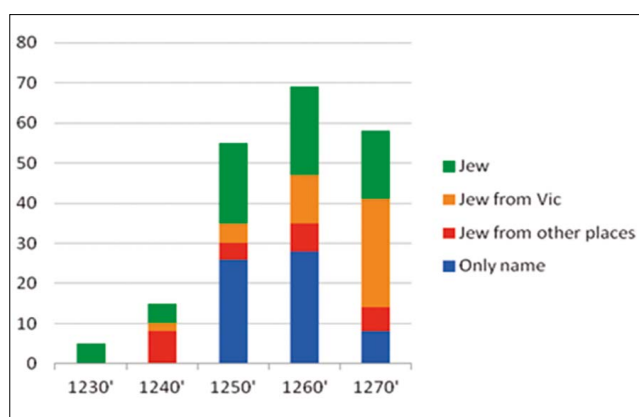
17. Elka Klein point out that Barcelona's Jews took surnames before the 13th century, and before then, many of them used patronymics. Klein, Elka. *Jews, Christian Society and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2006: 1-26.

18. Ollich, Imma. "Aspectes econòmics de l'activitat dels jueus a Vic, segons els 'Libri Iudeorum' (1266-1278)". *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievals*, 3 (1985): 1-118.



and Bonjueu de Mallorca, who stopped transmitting this name. Other surnames are clearly established Jewish families in the most important Jewish quarters, such as Girona (Aninai, Caravida, Cabrit).

Notarized documentation allows us to know the process of establishment of Jews in Vic from limited data, since the first notary records not always indicate that a person is neither Jewish origin. The analysis of how the Jews are called in notarial records from the first reference in 1231 until 1277 shine light to this process.¹⁹ The following graph illustrates this, and it is found that some of them are mentioned only by their names (without any reference to their religion), and others are described as Jews, mentioning its place of origin or not.



GRAPH 1. MENTIONS OF THE JEWS IN NOTARIAL RECORDS (1231-1277).

One of the main problem any historian faces when trying to approach the Jewish demography is the quality of the sources. The available documentary sources, the evolution of the community, the mobility of the population... are factors that difficult the assessment of the number of people who were part of the Jewish community at each stage.

From the first written evidence we have on Jewish activity in Vic until 1260, the establishment of Jews was discreet and constant. Certainly, the couple Regina Cabrita and Bonastruc Satorra are the only documented until 1250. From this date on and in a period of 10 years the following people are considered from Vic: Astruc de Mallorca and David Campsoris, the heads of two major families, whose children are also present in documentation without mentioning their place of residence, and also

19. Llop, Irene. "Aportacions a l'estudi de l'aljama de jueus de Vic al segle XIII". *Ausa*, 152 (2003): 143-150.



the family members of Manresa and the couple Astruc Argenter and Goig. Therefore, three families certainly had settled in Vic (Bonastruc, David Canviador and Astruc de Mallorca). Astruc de Manresa is first mentioned being from Vic in 1268. Considering that it is possible the number of roughly 3.000 inhabitants in Vic at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the percentage of Jewish population is very low.²⁰

In 1277, at the end of the analyzed period the Jews involved in purchasing a place to set up the synagogue were all of them heads of all the documented Jewish families: David Campsoris, his sons Llobell, Mossons, Astrugó and Bonjueu, Astruc son of Isaac de Manresa, Bonmacip, Proençal, Vidal Duran, Jucef de Mallorca, Eretó, Vidal de Cardona, Bonhome Satorra, Vidal de Camprodon, Vidal son of Maimó de Manresa. The children of the families of the previous stage were already married and their families had been mostly in Vic. These 15 families were the Jewish community of Vic, even if we do not know in which jurisdiction they lived. To these families we should add some Jews installed temporarily in the city such as Astruc and Bonjuà Cap.

Table 2. List of Jews Vic in chronological order of appearance in documentation until 1277.

Bonastruc	1240	Bonjueu, David Canviador's son	1259
Astruc de Mallorca	1242	Preciosa, Jucef de Mallorca's wife	1262
Bellaire	1242	Jucef de Mallorca	1262
David Canviador	1244	Proençal de Girona	1262
Bonastruc Satorra	1244	Samuel, Astruc Argenter's son	1264
Regina Cabrita, B. Satorra's wife	1244	Bonafilla, A. of Mallorca's daughter	1264
Issac de Manresa	1248	Jucef Pesat	1264
Bonmacip	1250	Regina, David Canviador's daughter	1266
Bon issac, Bonastruc's son	1250	Regina, Bonmacip's wife	1266
Goig, David Canviador's wife	1250	Bonafilla, Jucef Pesat's wife	1266
Dolça, Llobell Cerç's wife	1250	Astruc Caravida	1266
Astruc de Manresa	1251	Astruga, Astruc de Mallorca's wife	1267
Astruga, Issac de Manresa's wife	1252	Salomó Pesat	1267
Astruc Argenter	1252	Vidal Duran	1267
Sulam	1252	Goig, Mossons's wife	1268
Astruc de Hispania	1252	Jucef Salomó Pesat	1268
Ester, Eretó's wife	1252	Mossé	1268
Astruga, Canviador's daughter	1252	Bonhome	1271
Llobell Cerç	1252	Goig, Bonhome's wife	1271
Goig, Astruc Argenter's wife	1252	Vidal de Camprodon	1276
Maimó de Manresa	1253	Vidal, Vidal de Camprodon's son	1276
Mossons	1254	Astruc de Camprodon	1276
Eretó	1254	(...) son of the deceased I. de Manresa	1277
Dolça, Eretó's wife	1254	Vidal de Cardona	1277
Astruc David	1259		

20. Junyent, Eduard. *Jurisdicció i privilegis...*: 80.



3.2 The Jews of Vic in the urban space: private houses

The information of the thirteenth century at the moment of the arrival and consolidation of the Jewish community of Vic point out that in the first decades of Jewish presence in the town, Christians rented them houses in different points of the town. However, at the end of the century (and especially in the fourteenth century) the Jewish population was located in the *carrer d'en Guiu*, which became the centre of the Jewish quarter or *call*. The quarter was not exclusively inhabited by Jews, but Jewish presence was very strong.²¹ Rental documents are one of the documental typologies than can clarify this point. The houses where Jews lived were not different from Christians', because Jews lived in houses that Christians rented to them.

The Jewish quarter of Vic was not immutable. Jews who settled in the town before 1250 were not numerous, and the consolidation of the community and the arrival of Jews from other towns grew the number of Jews in Vic and also their *call*.

In the case of Vic, Jews settled between the cathedral and the castle of Montcada, both of them stately centres of power. They lived very near the line dividing the two jurisdictions of the city. The fact that part of the Jewish quarter was under the jurisdiction of Montcada and the other under the bishop's has important effects, as it implies that within the same community there were Jews depending of the Bishop, and others of the Lord of Montcada.

Jewish purchases or rentals of houses among Jews have not been recorded in 13th century. The data provided by 18 documents located in the 13th century provides information about the Christian tenant, the Jew that rents, a brief description of the house or the place, where this is located, its price and the deadline establishing the rent.²² The description of the house itself is minimal. As the rest of houses in Vic, they were small houses, just downstairs and upstairs, with porches, courtyards and orchards.

The oldest reference of a rent is as far as 1252. On that year, Guillem Llorenç and his wife Brunissenda rented houses in Mercadal to Regina Cabrita (wife of Bonastruc Satorra) for 17 solidos 6 d. At the end of the same year, Brunissenda and his brother rented to Bonastruc a house with shutter, *cortal* and workroom in Mercadal for 36 solidos. The following year, Berenguer de Posa and his wife Brunissenda rented a house in Vic under Montcada's jurisdiction to David Canviador and Goig (his wife and sister of Regina) for 100 solidos. Prices were fixed in *monete barchinonense de duplo*, the official currency between 1222 and 1257, when it was replaced by *monete de terno*. The solidos *de terno* were the basis of the Catalan monetary system and was almost the only currency used during the second half of the 13th century.

21. The documentation of the 13th century only refers to the Jewish quarter of Girona and Barcelona. Yet until the 14th century the expression *callis vicensis* is not used, this designation continued being used after the disappearance of the *aljama*. 7 June 1572. AMV, Llibre de Privilegis XV. f. 283; Junyent, Eduard. *Jurisdicció i privilegis...*: 292.

22. See Documentary Annex 1. Only 3 of these documents are registered in the period between 1231 and 1277: ABEV, ACF-5, f. 153r; ABEV, ACF-6, f. 52v; ACF-6, f. 134v.



These Jewish couples were the first Jews settled in Vic and they were located in the market of the city and, all of them, in Montcada jurisdiction.

Renters were Christians who lived in Vic. Berenguer de Posa and his wife were not usual debtors of the Jews of Vic, and the 100 solidos rental is the highest price paid for a house to rent in 13th century. Guillem Llorenç and his wife were well known for the Jewish community. In 1253, Astruc de Mallorca lent her wife 12 solidos and 3 and a half *quartera* of oat; all the harvest of Sant Pere's field was the loan guarantee.²³ In 1255, Goig, wife of David Canviador gave her 55 solidos.²⁴ Later on, in 1272, she asked a loan to Jucef de Mallorca and his wife Preciosa.²⁵ At the end of that year, Astruga, wife of Astruc de Mallorca, lent 67 solidos to Brunissenda and Guillem Illa, who gave a white-haired nag as a guarantee.²⁶ Furthermore, in 1265 Brunissenda Llorenç acquitted Llobell Cerç, Jew from Vic, by some words (*ratione verborum*).²⁷ When she died, her executors —Bernat de Mur and Ferrer Illa— rented a house with an orchard except the workroom in Montcada jurisdiction to Llobell Cerç. The workroom was an important condition for the house to return the debt owed by Brunissenda.²⁸ In 1284, the executors rented to Jucef de Mallorca houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby houses of Roquet, for four years.²⁹ This document also provide an unusual information about the conditions of the contract: the tenant may not be removed from the houses because of higher rent, but according to the custom of the city of Vic, and if he check out words, to preserve the houses or by commandment of the *comunis* of Vic, the expenses would be paid.³⁰ The same day, the executors made the calculation of debts: in one month, Jucef and Preciosa would be paid with 170 solidos, and the workroom was offered as a guarantee.³¹

The findings suggests that these rental contracts can be hidden loans. Subsequently rentals seem to confirm this idea.³² The fact that those who make the rent were executors or attorneys, could indicate the payment of debts on the part of the deceased or the represented person. These documents record the name of same streets: Bernat Gayol, Calcinera, Peregrí, Hospital de Jerusalem, Sant Joan de Jerusalem, all of them in Montcada's part.

The loans, which at that time were the 85% of the notarial records, provides indirect information about the houses where Jews live. Sometimes the debtors gave

23. ABEV, ACF-6, f. 90v.

24. ABEV, ACF-5, f. 215r.

25. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 6v.

26. ABEV, ACF-4585, f. 14r.

27. ABEV, ACF-4583, f. 1v. See Documentary Annex 3.

28. ABEV, ACF-4586, 107v (4 July 1280).

29. ABEV, ACF-4588, f. 4r. (31 January 1284).

30. Corbella, Ramon. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 212-213.

31. ABEV, ACF-4588, f. 4v.

32. Jaume de Pou, who rented a house in Hospital de Jerusalem street, recognized a duty of 66 solidos to Goig, wife of Gràcia Cap (ABEV, ACF-4591, f. 14r), Guillem Ramon de Terrers agreed that Sento Ayo could live or rent the house in the same street (ABEV, ACF-4590, f. 45r).

their homes as a guarantee,³³ then the house only goes to Jewish ownership if at the expiration of the time limit, the money had not been refunded; occasionally, there is a mention of a Jew living in a house. But this information is not to be found until the end of the century.³⁴

The location of a *mezuzah* hole in a reused stone implies the identification of the first Jewish element unequivocally of a Jewish house in Vic.³⁵

3.3 The Jews of Vic in the urban space: the public place

The Jewish community needs public spaces to keep a Jewish life. In the case of Vic, the references to the synagogue and cemetery allow us to see that even though existing and being central to community and everyday life, they are not frequent in the documentation. Unfortunately, the first reference to a cemetery dates from the 14th century, so we do not know where these Jews were buried before.

When a community had the minimum number of 10 adult males (*minyan*) to start community prayer and certain rituals, they had an oratory for the prayer, that could be public or private. In the case of private oratories, they used to be temporary and the documents can be referred to as a synagogue while the public were, also, the place of public meeting.³⁶ This difference between public and private spaces for Jewish worship is important.

A document from 1265 states that Llobell Cerç, Jew of Vic, was insulting Bonmacip, son of Bonastruc of Bonisaac—and his cousin—in the synagogue.³⁷ This new is interesting because is the first reference to a synagogue, and because documents have not provide much information about internal relations of the community, and this is an exception.

It is quite possible that this was a discussion in a private oratory. In the mid-13th century, the community was consolidated but still not very numerous. Even so, there was a *minyan* and had a place even if it was private to celebrate worship and Jewish rituals.

The first reference to the location of the synagogue of the Jews in Vic is dated from 19 August 1277.³⁸ Arnau Miró, citizen of Vic, established perpetually to the Jews of Vic a part of a courtyard he had in Vic under Bishop's jurisdiction to build

33. The loans in which guarantees are homes (69) or rents of houses (7) are the 11,7% of the guarantees on goods of the debtor. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 110-111, 353-355.

34. Astruc de Mallorca and Proençal, Jews, lived in Na Calcinera street (ABEV, ACF-4589, f. 7v [1289]; also in a rental of the year 1284: ACF-4588, f. 15v), Jucef de Mallorca lived in Hospital de Jerusalem street (ABEV, ACF-4594, f. 44r [1297]).

35. Llop, Irene; Ollich, Imma. "Espais públics i espais privats del call jueu de Vic: evidències documentals i arqueològiques", *Ausa*, 27-177, (2016): 502-505.

36. Riera, Jaume. *Els poders públics i les sinagogues, segles XIII-XV*. Girona: Patronat Call de Girona, 2006: 169-171.

37. ABEV, ACF-10, f. 370v. See Documentary Annex 2.

38. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 43r. See Documentary Annex 4.



houses and school (synagogue). The group of Jews mentioned in the document were from all the families established in Vic, and for the first time they acted in a collective form. Their members were related to kinship and economic ties, some families have been 30 years in the village and it was necessary to have a synagogue to be able to lead a Jewish life.

Table 3. List of Jews mentioned in the establishment of the place for the synagogue

Synagogue 1277	Families
David Canviador	De David Canviador
Llobell	
Mossoons	
Bonjuà	
Astrugó	
Astruc de Manresa	De Manresa
Salomó, son of Maimó de Manresa	
Vidal Duran	
Proença	De Mallorca
Jucef de Mallorca	
Bonmacip	De Sa Torre
Eretó	
Bonhome de Torra	
Vidal de Camprodon	De Camprodon
Vidal de Cardona	Unknown

This courtyard with orchard was under Episcopal jurisdiction, and the Bishop's rights were saved. The limits of the place are not clear enough to locate the synagogue:

- the eastern side is limited by part with the orchard and a wall that existed between the courtyard and the orchard of Erumir Berenguer and his wife, the daughter of Bernat Batlle.
- the southern side, by the orchard.



- the western side, by a public way where there were the entrance and the exit.
- the northern, by the houses of Guillem Ral, shoemaker.

In exchange for the annual payment of two *auris* for All Saints' day, Jews could build the *domos et Scholam et quocumque aliud volueritis ad coelum* and may leave the establishment only if they have done works valued at 100 solidos. At the end of the document, it is specified that Miro received 30 solidos for the price of the sale.

The document details the windows that can be built and what dimensions they should have. On the wall of the East a window of a handsapan can be made, in 3 *tapiis* high, and a single window of one handsapan at 3 and a half *tapiis* on the South, at least 12 handsapan distant from the street.

The last point of the document is that of rainwater. Miró will collect rainwater from the middle of the roof of the building were Jewish pray, while the Jews have to collect water from the other side and the other rooftops of the establishment. This information is very suggestive, since on the one hand there is an explicit reference to the female space of the synagogue where women could be and pray, the only so far, and on the other hand, the news of rainwater could relate with the ritual baths or *mikveh*.³⁹

With this first corporate manifestation of the Jews of Vic the Jewish community acted together and the construction of the synagogue made them visible in the Christian community: the Jews were no longer just a few neighbours with tolerated (and necessary) economic activities, but a community with its own and differentiated space. For this reason, the construction of the synagogue leads the opposition of the ecclesiastical establishment immediately.⁴⁰

On 10 January 1278 Berenguer de l'Estany, Vic jury writer, read to six Jews of Vic the denunciation of the Archdeacon Ramon de Meserata (or Marata) requesting to stop the construction of a new synagogue. This was considered an *obra nefandissima*. The Archdeacon denounced the work throwing three stones in the work, following the tradition of Roman law on harmful and illegal buildings. At the moment to carry out the formal complaint, there were three Christian master builders who were already building the construction. Despite the importance and strength of the ecclesiastical institutions of Vic in the 13th century, this opposition of the Canon of the Cathedral to the construction of the synagogue near the Episcopal see, in a site under Episcopal jurisdiction, did not prevent the building of an edifice considered "scandalous" in an Episcopal city. The synagogue was built, and later documents called *domus and magister scholae, iudeorum scholarum*.⁴¹

So far, there is not any archaeological evidence that clearly identifies the synagogue of Vic. Recent studies have been focused in the interpretation of written documentation contrasted with archaeological works in Vic.⁴²

39. Riera, Jaume. *Els poders públics i les sinagogues...*: 186.

40. ABEV, ACF-15, loose folio. See Documentary Annex 5.

41. Ollich, Imma. "Un nou document sobre la 'Scola seu sinagoga iudeorum' de Vic (vers 1978)", *Ausa*, 8 (1978): 257-267; Llop, Irene. "Aportacions...": 145.

42. Llop, Irene; Ollich, Imma. "Espais públics i espais privats ...": 484-492.



The analysis of the documentation allows to situate on a map of Vic the location of the synagogue in *carrer d'en Guiu*. The Guiu street marked the limit between the two jurisdictions of the town, and there was an important problem: the borders in the 13th century document would situate the synagogue in the part that corresponded to the jurisdiction of Montcada, not the Bishop's. Following the document of the establishment of the terrain to build the synagogue, the public street limited the west side of the building, where the entrance and exit could also be found.⁴³ Fortunately, a notation of an Episcopal register shines a light on this aspect: a notation in the "Capbreu de censos de la Mensa Episcopal" (1336), quotes the neighbours of the *via den Guiu*, and exposes that *ex alia parte* there is the *schola iudeorum*, (the synagogue).⁴⁴

A recent archaeological intervention in the zone of the Jewish call, provides information on a structure that does not appear in the notarial records. The excavation in the backyard of a house (Can Franquesa, on occasion of the construction of a garage) presented Roman and Medieval archaeological structures. The archaeologists attribute them a possible hydraulic use, of Roman origin. The remain of sediments indicate the filtering of water, and a constant use of the structure. Nearby, some arcades that open South—and that would communicate with the already disappeared Na Calcinera street— have been located.⁴⁵

The documentary reference to collect the pluvial water to the roof of the synagogue, would reinforce the hypothesis of the vicinity of a building with a tank. It would be possible that, when the Jews had the piece of land, apart from the water resource use, they reuse an ancient hydraulic structure already existent as a tank to provide the necessary water for the ritual bath or *mikveh*.⁴⁶

As a result, we have a more accurate knowledge of the space that the Jewish community occupied. The written documents and the archaeology point out a group of houses and orchards that built up the Jewish quarter; as Jewish families were established they were installed in several streets of the city until they were concentrating around Guiu street at the end of the century and especially in the 14th century; there was the synagogue and nearby, probably, a *mickveh*. The *call* was situated between Montcada castle, Guiu street, Na Calcinera street and the street of the Angels, these last two streets converging to the Portalet, on the wall of the city. The attacks and the destruction during the power struggles of the second half of the 14th century affected mainly the Jewish quarter and community.

43. *ab occidente in carreria publica per quam affrontationem habetis introitum et exitum ad dictum stabilimentum*. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 43r.

44. ABEV, AEV-812, f. 26v. Medieval documents called the synagogue *schola seu sinagoga iudeorum*.

45. Codina, Dolors; Díaz-Carvajal, Antònia. "Intervenció arqueològica a la plaça de la Pietat, 2 (Vic, Osona)", *II Jornades d'Arqueologia de la Catalunya Central: Vic 13, 14 i 15 desembre 2012*. Vic: Generalitat de Catalunya-Museu Episcopal de Vic, 2014: 62. Pratdesaba, Albert; Pujol, Maria Àngels. "Intervenció arqueològica a Can Franquesa: plaça de la Pietat, 2 (Vic, Osona)". *III Jornades d'Arqueologia de la Catalunya Central: Roda de Ter, 17 i 18 d'octubre de 2014*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de Cultura-Museu Arqueològic de l'Esquerda, 2015: 215-220.

46. Llop, Irene; Ollich, Imma. "Espais públics i espais privats...": 489-492.



4. Mobility of the Jews of Vic

The mobility of Jews is an important feature, as businesses contacts and family relationships, especially marriage, facilitated these population changes. These residential changes are one of the main difficulties in establishing the demographics of the community. In Vic, Jews settled there from other communities (Girona, Bagà, Barcelona ...) and they did not completely lose touch with their populations of origin, and the same happened in reverse: when Jews left Vic, they kept their relationships. Sometimes, the Jews would leave Vic for a period of time taking months to years, and after they would return.

Table 4. Mobility of Vic Jews (1267-1312)

Astruc de Camprodon, son of Vidal	Vic (1279-80, 1300, 1304), Caldes Montbui (1281, 1286, 1295, 1298, 1304)
Astruc de Manresa	Vic, Barcelona (1284, 1289), Caldes (1306)
Astruc Proençal and Preciosa	Vic (1284, 1289), Bagà (1304)
Bonhome, son of Bonastruc Satorra	Barcelona (1294)
Bonisto, son of Vidal Duran	Vilafranca del Penedès (1305)
Jucef Llobell	Granollers (1311)
Jucef Vidal	Barcelona (1303-1305)
Mossons	Barcelona (1296)
Sento Ayo	Barcelona (1307)
Taroç Vidal	Barcelona (1288), Vic (1288, 1299), Manresa (1301)
Vidal Duran	Vic (1267), Barcelona (1303), Tarragona (1312)
Vidal Jucef	Vic (1295), Barcelona (1303), Vic (1307)
Vidal Eretó	Vic (1282), Cardona (1311-12)

Barcelona was the main destination of these Jews: Astruc of Manresa (then he went to Caldes de Montbui, where Astruc de Manresa also moved), Bonhome, son of Bonastruc Satorra, Jucef Vidal, Mossons (before his conversion), Sento Ayo, Taroç Vidal (he came back to Vic, and then went to Manresa), Vidal Jucef and Vidal Duran, the only Jew of Vic who moved to Tarragona, the area with less contact with the Jewish community of Vic. Jews from Barcelona had activity in



Vic since 1238, and some Barcelona Jews established in Vic because of marriage. It has to be noted that Jews of Vic were not established in Besalú or Puigcerdà, places with ties with Vic community.

Although few data come from the studied period, during the 1280's an important mobility is documented, and some Jews of Vic established in other places. These Jews were the second or third generation of Jews established in Vic and they moved to towns where they had generally familiar ties. These towns were all of them from the Barcelona *collecta*, and under royal jurisdiction (except Bagà).

The *collecta* was a Catalan intercommunal structure, created for the purpose of tax collection from the Jewish communities. Royal *aljamas* were grouped in four *collectas*, and each one was headed by the largest community in their boundaries: Barcelona, Girona, Lleida and Tortosa.⁴⁷ The Jews of Vic were under the jurisdiction of the Bishop or the Lord of Montcada, so they were not a royal community. It remains unclear the taxes paid by the Jewish community of Vic to their seigniorial administration, but the relocating to royal Jewish communities could be related with the taxes and the extent of royal jurisdiction over Jews in the medieval Crown of Aragon.

Between the end of the 13th century and the beginning of 14th some Jewish families who had been living for two generations in the village moved to other populations, while in Vic remained their descendents and other Jews, individually or with their family, established there. This mobility and the arrival of new inhabitants, had an important impact in the community. Three of the main families of the community in the 13th century —Bonastruc Satorra, David Canviador, de Manresa— lost prominence in the following century. The family of Mallorca became the most important, but it is still unknown how the arrival of new families of diverse origin (Cardona, Perpinya, Lleida, Tudela...) affected the cohesion of the group.

During the 13th century, some Jews from other communities lend in Vic. The first Jews, originally from Barcelona and Girona, installed in the city in the 1240-1250', lended money or in kind. Many of these Jews had familiar ties with the Jews living in Vic, like the family Cabrit. In addition, some Jews established in Vic, lived some time in these cities. The number of loans of the foreign Jews acting in Vic, was lower than the loans made by the Jews of Vic, but the average paid was higher; most lenders were men.⁴⁸ Possibly, the Jews established in Vic could not cover the entire economic demand of the area, but at the end of the 13th century they could do it without relying on the Jews of other communities.

47. This system was very advantageous for the king: it was efficient, with no cost for him, he did not negotiate separately with all Catalan royal communities, and he was not interested in the distribution of tax between the communities of each *collecta*, but there was some tension between the communities; later, this fiscal body assumed additional functions in local self-government. Assis, Yom Tov. *Jewish economy in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, 1213-1327: Money and Power*. Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1997: 196-197.

48. Llop, Irene. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 132-133.



A good example that Jews in Vic did not lose links with the population of origin is that they retain their real estate, especially houses. In the early period of the Jewish community, the first families that fixed their residence in Vic conserved some properties in Girona.

- Regina Cabrita gave her husband Bonastruc license and possession of houses that had in Girona.⁴⁹ Fifteen years later, when Regina Cabrita was living in Vic, she and her sons and daughter confirmed Agnes Gironella (the wife of Raimon Gironella)⁵⁰ the sale in perpetuity that her husband Bonastruc made of three pieces of land they had, with the houses next to the church of Santa Maria de Puelles of Girona.⁵¹ The sale price was 210 *solidos* from Barcelona.⁵²
- Issac Cento, Jew from Girona, gave Salamó, son of Bonjueu, 140 *auris* on both fields and on the houses of the deceased Bonastruc Cento and his wife Bonadona in the Pla of Girona. This Jew confirmed and approved the Jewish Hebrew instrument sales made with his wife Bellaire and son Sullam.⁵³
- The two following documents are related to Eretó, son of Regina and Bonastruc, Jews from Vic, and his wife Dolça. Dolça gave 81 *solidos* and 3 *diners* of the sale that her husband made of a quarter of the orchard and house in Girona, in a place called Gironella de Pla, and another one situated in the site of Girona called Mercadal. The boundaries of this house are included in Hebrew letter.⁵⁴ Eretó and his wife preserved undamaged Meir, his brother from Girona, and all the assets, from the sale of the house to Maimó Manresa and his wife Mira in the city of Girona.⁵⁵

49. 8 June 1238. ABEV, ACF-2, f. 110r.

50. When her husband died, Agnès professed in the convent of Sant Daniel in Girona, in 1269, where the prioress was her daughter Cecília. Roca, Maria Carme. *Abadesses i prioros a la Catalunya Medieval*. Barcelona: Editorial Base, 2014: 61-63.

51. Santa Maria de les Puelles and Sant Genís were two small churches arranged symmetrically in the western part of the old Mercadal, in front of the steps of the cathedral. The church disappeared in the 17th century, when the Casa Pastors was built. Santa Maria de les Puelles was situated in the area of La Força Vella, next to the towers and Sobreportes portal. Canal, Josep; Canal, Eduard; Nolla, Josep Maria; Sàgrera, Jordi. "El palau comtal de Girona: De la fundació a la desaparició (circa 500-segona meitat del segle XII)". *Miscel·lània en honor de Pere Marqués*. Barcelona: Diputació de Girona, Patronat Francesc Eiximenis, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2010: 229-233.

52. The house limited on the East with a house and the street, on the South with the houses of Bonanat of Besalú, on the West with Berenguera and her husband's houses, and on the north with the wall of the church of Santa Maria de Puelles. 3 December 1253. ABEV, ACF-5, ff. 104r-105r.

53. 5 March 1259. ABEV, ACF-6, ff. 202r-v.

54. 13 January 1260. ABEV, ACF-8, f. 145r.

55. 20 December 1277. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 56v.



Belatedly, the possession of houses in Barcelona are related to Ester, wife of Astruc d'Hispania,⁵⁶ Jucef Darahi⁵⁷ and Astruc de Manresa.⁵⁸

Another reading on these real estate would lead us to talk about family tensions generated for the possessions (father and son, grandfather and grandson), and the patrimonial transmission within the marriage, pre-eminently the role of the woman in this transmission.

5. Marriages and matrimonial strategies

The family is a central institution an focus of Jewish life: "A man shall leave his mother and father and leave to his wife, and they will become one flesh" (Genesis 2:24).

The model of power relations in the Jewish family is patriarchy, which provides the dominant role of men in the family. Women are subjected to their father, and when they got married, they were under the control of their husband. Despite the intention to keep women far of the public sphere, they were the keystone of the transmissions and maintenance of the Jewish familiar heritage.

Marriage is, for the Jewish religion, the perfect social status and its purpose is procreation, justified in the divine precept "be fruitful and multiply" (Genesis 1:28). The husband must feed and maintain women, gives her accommodation, care and pay their ransom (if it was the woman captive), and also must have sexual relations. However, the woman lose those rights if she leaves the marital home without any legal cause, or if she accepts the repudiation document when the divorce has already been accepted by the court. The husband must also pay the funeral of his wife and children remained after his death. If the husband dies first, the wife can live in the marital home until the time of another marriage. The husband is entitled to receive all the gains of her work, and also the usufruct of women goods (considered a compensation to the duty of the husband to maintain the wife) and has the right to inherit property after the death of the woman. For their part, women must live in the marital home (unless it has been stipulated otherwise, or it is not possible for

56. Houses of his husband in de Jewish of Barcelona to Vidal Cervera, with Hebrew documents. ACF-4586, f. 80r (26 March 1279, ABEV).

57. Jucef gave to his father-in-law Bonmacip his houses in Barcelona. Samuel was Bonastruc Satorra's brother, and Bonmacip —called Naaman— lived in Barcelona. ABEV, ACF-20, f. 69v (9 May 1282). Jucef Darahí, Sicilian established in Barcelona, was Issac Darahi's son. In 1285, his father requested the king to prohibit the administration of his estate to his son Jucef, who was a player and a sink. Regné, Jean. *History of the Jews in Aragon. Regesta and Documents 1213-1327*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1910/1978: 242.

58. Maimó de Forn had a part of his house and a cellar in the Jewish quarter of Barcelona, where he lived, and Astruc Addeo, alias Astruc de Manresa, pretended to have rights on the buildings; the King ordered the Batlle not to allow Maimó be disturbed in the possession of his property. Regné, Jean. *History of the Jews...*: 256. Astruga, daughter of Astruc of Manresa, was married with Abraham de Forn, and their son was Maimó.



reasons of health or similar), take care of home and children, and have sex with him.

In Judaism there is no marriage without the signature of the *ketubbah*, the marriage contract. The couple can not make marital life until the *ketubbah* is extended. Signed by two men, acting as witnesses, the bride or her family saved as evidence of the obligations that the husband has taken towards it, as they are laid down detail.

This is the most important document for Jewish women, since their only real safe and legacy were the dowry she had received by contract. The text of the *ketubbah*, in Hebrew and Aramaic, begins with the date and place of marriage and then the names of the groom, the bride and the proposition "Be my wife according to the law of Moises and Israel." Then follow the usual clauses: the basic part of the ketubba is the amount groom gives the bride (*mohar*); she accepts and provides the dowry (*nedunya*),⁵⁹ given by her father. The private property of the wife (*nikse melug*) is fully given to the bride, and the husband enjoy usufruct during the marriage; groom promises an additional gift (*tosefet*), that it was social and voluntary unlike the quantity that contributes the groom, that was legal and compulsory; the groom gives guarantee of all, and to ensure that the document does not base in speculations, it requires the formalisation of the act of acquisition (*quinyan*); the document finalises with the usual formulas of conclusion and the signature of the witnesses.

The information of marriages of Jews Vic in the thirteenth century, provides three major trends:

1. Endogamy: Marriage with members of the own community. In the case of Vic, we find examples of marriages between cousins or a second marriage with a relative of the deceased spouse's very direct, which would guarantee even closer ties between families.
2. Exogamy: The marriage with Jews from the same social level but from other communities.⁶⁰
3. Second marriage: Second marriage provides guarantees to women.

5.1 Marriage

The marriage is a contract, and a requirement for the validity of the marriage is the consent of the parties. By those who were married, there was no freedom of choice: the attendants to choose the groom or the bride are the parents or an intermediary (*sadkan*). The documents states the little margin of election of the spouse: in 1287, a loan informs about the debt between Llobell Cerç, Jew of Vic,

59. During the marriage, the dowry belonged to the husband and he might derive all benefits from it. He might even sell it for the period of his lifetime.

60. Planas, Sílvia. "La vida cotidiana en el call de Girona en el siglo XIV: Nuevas aportaciones documentales", *Juderías y sinagogas de la Sefarad medieval: En memoria de José Luis Lacave Riaño*. Cuenca: Universidad de Castilla la Mancha, 2002: 252-294.



and Issac Salvadell, Jew of Cardona who found a bride for him.⁶¹ Sometimes, the agreements to marry a son or a daughter could be modified.⁶²

Jews from Vic had strong family ties and, although the members of these families were acting independently, were closely related and there were numerous concessions, donations and transfers between family members. The four main families that settled in Vic were also those that had a higher credit activity.

13 marriages are documented in the 13th century, 4 of them in the period 1231-1277, in a diversity of documentary typology: loans, acknowledgements, cessions, receipts and promises. The gathered documents ascertain that the protagonists of these marriages were representatives of the main families of the Jewish community of Vic, and let us know aspects as the approximate date of the marriage, the name of the grooms and their family, the place of origin and the established amount. However, registers show few information about other topics, like the age of the grooms are unclear.

Table 5. Marriages documented in *Libri Judeorum* (1253-1296)

Year	Marriage	Amount	Typology
1253	Bonhome (son of Abraham de Cardona) and Astruga (daughter of David Canviador)	900 sbd	Loan
1254	Llobell Cerç (son of David Canviador) and Dolça (daughter of Bonastruc Satorra)	300 sbd	Loan
1267	Proençal de Girona and Dolça (daughter of Bonastruc Satorra)	480 sbt	Loan
1271	Bonhome (son of Bonastruc Satorra) and Goig	Assigned debts (dowry)	Cession
1282	Benvenist Vidal (son of Vidal Duran) and Regina (daughter of Maimó de Manresa)	500 sbt	Cession
1284	Menahem (son of Vidal Duran) and Astruga (daughter of Astruc de Manresa)	4.000 sbt	Acknowledgement
1284	Bonjueu (son of Astruc de Manresa)	350 sbt	Acknowledgement

61. Of 100 solidos *ratione laboris et missiorum vestri de illa uxor vocatur Bela de Podio Ceritano quam michi promissistis dare*. ABEV, ACF-4589, f. 9r.

62. Astruc de Manresa promised Menahem, son of Vidal Duran, a dowry of 4.000 *solidos* from Astruga, his daughter (ACF-4588, f. 19r [1 September 1284]). Finally, Menahem married with Goig, daughter of Bonjueu and David Canviador's granddaughter, whereas his ancient promise married with Abraham de Forn.



1285	Bonjueu Pesat and Regina (daughter of Jucef de Mallorca)	1.500 sbt	Receipt / Promise
1288	Bonisto (son of Vidal Duran) and Regina (daughter of Maimó de Manresa)	1.050 sbt, 110 sbt	Cession
1290	Astruc Proençal and Sara (daughter of Jucef de Mallorca)	123 alfonsins	Receipt
1292	Menahem (son of Vidal Duran) and Goig (daughter of Bonjueu, son of David Canviador)	1.530 sbt	Receipt
1292	Abraham des Forn and Astruga (daughter of Astruc de Manresa)	3.000 sbt	Loan
1295- 1296	Astruc (son of Bonjueu Vidal) and Bonadona (daughter of Astruc de Manresa)	3.000 sbt	Cession / Receipt

The marriage between cousins is documented in 1254, when Llobell married with his cousin Goig. This was not the first marriage of Llobell, who married with Vidala, sister of Goig, in 1278.⁶³ This marriage united the first Jewish families settled in Vic. The family of Goig and David Canviador, and Regina and Bonastruc Satorra arrived—with their sons and daughters—at the same time in Vic, and Goig and Regina were sisters. They are the first Jewish to marry their descendants in the place where they want to establish, and the marriages close, even more, the family ties. They were the most preeminent families in the 13th century in the Jewish community. Goig and David married a daughter and a son in two years, and Regina and Bonastruc married two daughters and a son in 17 years; the dowry oscillates between 300 and 900 solidos.

According to the biblical law of levirate (Dt. 25, 5-10), if a woman remained widowed without having children, the man's unmarried brother had to marry the widow, in order to provide an heir for the deceased. A widow would marry a brother-in-law, and the first son of that union was considered the legal descendent of her dead husband. If a man denied to get married, the ceremony of *halitsa* freed the woman. Regina, daughter of Maimó de Manresa, married Bevenist Vidal in 1282, and six years later she married the brother of his deceased husband, Bonistó.

The marriage with members of other Jewish communities was not unusual. During the studied period, marriages with Jewish people of Girona, Barcelona, Puigcerdà, Vilafranca, Cardona, Bagà, Sant Celoni and Besalú are registered.

63. ABEV, ACF-4586, f. 41.



Some of these marriages supposed that the daughter moved to the city of her husband. The following diagram reflects the origin of the foreign husbands and wives who married with members of leading families in Vic, places where often fixed residence:

Table 6. Cities with marital ties with major families settled in Vic (13th and 14th century)

Family of Bonastruc Satorra	
1st generation: Girona 2nd generation: Girona-Vic, Girona 3d generation: Barcelona, Puigcerdà -Lived in Vic, some sons lived in Girona and Barcelona (related to a Sicilian Jew settled in Barcelona)	
Family of David Campsoris	
1st generation: Girona 2nd generation: Girona-Vic, Girona 3d generation: Men: Cardona Women: Besalú, Puigcerdà -Lived in Vic. 4th generation: Barcelona -Lived in Vic and Barcelona	
Family de Manresa	
1st generation: <i>Hispania</i> 2nd generation: Vic 3d generation: Barcelona, Torroella -Lived in Vic 4a generation: Men: Barcelona, Vilafranca, Solsona, Barcelona -Lived in Vic, Solsona	
Family de Mallorca	
1st generation: <i>Mallorca</i> , Sant Celoni -Lived in Vic 2nd generation: Girona -Lived in Vic 3d generation: Men: Girona Woman: Cardona 4th generation: Castelló, La Bisbal -Lived in Vic, Barcelona 5th generation: Barcelona, Girona -Lived in Vic 6th generation: Man: Girona, Torroella, Barcelona Woman: Lleida, Girona -Lived in Vic	



It has been located a reference to the *arayuz* in Vic notarial records in which identifies it with the Hewbrew sponsalici. Arnau d'Aragall and his woman Ramona, of Sant Martí de Riudeperes, owed to Bonafilla, Jewish, wife of Jucef Pesat, 25 solidos, *quos nos a te de tuo arayuuz, qui secundum legem abrahicham dicitur sponsalicium, puro mutuo confitemur recepisse*.⁶⁴

Therefore, at the end of the 13th century, the fact to save an amount of money (and documents) in a locked box, without access for the woman, is documented.⁶⁵ This is, probably, the most ancient reference of a tradition between the Jewish Catalan that seems that it does not correspond to any Christian tradition of the period. This is widely documented in the 14th century also in populations like Valls, L'Aleixar and Santa Coloma de Queralt. This habit is called *aarayuç* (responsibility in Hebrew). In Vic, a document of the last *Liber Judeorum* explains that this was a habit of Girona Jews, that consisted in leaving a quantity of money in a box with two locks, of which the father has one key and the son-in-law, the other one.⁶⁶ The box (*techa*) was at father-in-law's home, or at any intermediary's home; the money was saved as a guarantee for the woman in case she became widow or divorced.⁶⁷

5.2 Children

It is very difficult to establish the number of children in Jewish families of Vic, because of the nature of the sources. In 13th century, two families, David Canviador and Bonastruc Satorra, had at least seven children. There are three families with 5 sons and two with 4, and then we would have seven families with 3 children, six with 2 and ten families with 1 child.

These data indicate that many people only know a child, generally referred to sons and daughters who are married in Vic and the rest of children are not mentioned. Furthermore, the families with more children are the ones that established early in the town, and many of their children remained in Vic, where they were active and, therefore, they appear longer and more often in the documentation.

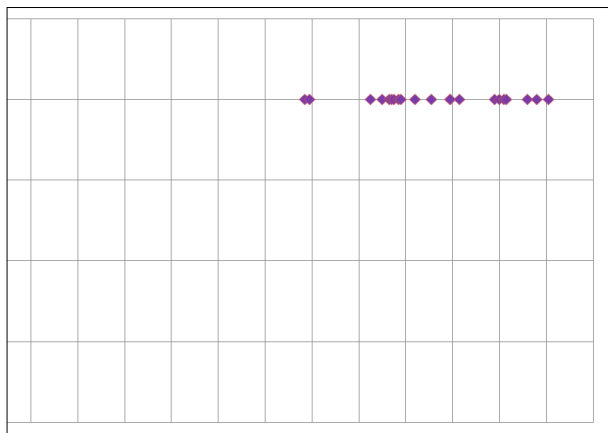
64. 22 January 1266. ABEV, ACF-4583, f. 2r.

65. ABEV, ACF-4591, ff. 21r-v.

66. ABEV, ACF-4606, loose folio (1341).

67. Llop, Irene. "La comunitat jueva de Girona a través de la documentació de Vic (s. XIII i XIV)". *Temps i Espais de la Girona jueva. Actes del Simposi Internacional celebrat a Girona 23, 24 i 25 de març de 2009*. Girona: Patronat del Call de Girona, 2011: 216-217.





GRAPH 2. NUMBER OF (DOCUMENTED) CHILDREN IN JEWISH FAMILIES

Through the century, the documents mentioned just a case of orphanage and tutelage. An important Jew of the community of Vic, Bonjueu, son of David Canviador, died in 1284. His death led to many problems for the tutelage of his children David, Salomó, Fonell and Goig. Her widow, Preciosa, and his brothers David and Salomó wanted to pass the tutelage to Astruc, son of David Canviador, and Jucef de Mallorca, because the grandfather was too old. The *baiulus* of the Lord of Montcada designed Astruc and Jucef as a guardianship and administrator of their goods.⁶⁸ The crash of interests between the widowed, the orphaned and the tutors, which controlled the property of the minors, was common.

5.3 Divorce, widowhood and second marriage

The Jewish marriage may end up to the death of a spouse or divorce, that was accepted. Any divorce has been documented. On the other hand, widows and second marriages are present in records.

The widows, even the converted, demanded the return of the dowry after the death of her husband. This would be the situation of Astruga, widow of Issac de Manresa. Her sons Maimó and Astruc recognized she had the right over 300 *aureos* on the assets of her late husband, by reason of betrothal.

Widows or widowers not always opted for a second marriage. The following table collects the names of the remarried men and women.

68. ABEV, ACF-4588, f. 12v (1284 June 28).

Table 7. Second marriage within Jews of Vic.

Family of Bonastruc Satorra
Llobell Cerç = 1 Dolça, daughter of David Canviador (cousin) = 2 Vidala, daughter of David Canviador (cousin) = 3 Bella, from Puigcerdà
Eretó = 1 Dolça, widow of Astruc Deuslosalv, from Barcelona = 2 Ester, widow of Bonet de Puigcerdà
Family of David Canviador
Astruga (sister of Goig, wife of Astruc, son of David Canviador) = 1 Vidal Messina = 2 Astruc Bonafè
Family of Mallorca
Astruga = 1 Astruc de Mallorca = 2 Jucef Salomó Pesat, from Sant Celoni

Llobell Cerç married 3 times (his first and second wives were cousins), and Eretó married with two widows. Within women, Astruga, from de family of David Canviador, and Astruga, from de family of Mallorca, married again.

6. Conclusion

The Jewish community of Vic was an active and dynamic community that has found its place in a town that grew while the community was consolidated. The first sporadic activities of Jews in the city went to a group of few families who resided in Vic throughout the century. The number of Jews who acted in Vic increased during the first half of the 13th century, and some Jews settled there temporarily. They came from places with strong and old Jewish communities —Barcelona and Girona— where they preserved properties, specially houses. Economic and family ties were maintained within these communities.

Families who currently lived in the city were the ones with most credit activity. When the number of Jews stabilized and increased the economic vitality, they also increased their presence on the documentation time where the *Judeorum* series begins. At the end of the thirteenth century the community had its peak, for both the Jewish demography (became fifteen families) as the major economic activity carried out. The matrimonial strategies (endogamy, exogamy and second marriage) allowed to cohere and configure a community.

1277 was a significant year in the history of the Jewish community of Vic, as they built the synagogue of the community. The synagogue was located in Guiu street, that agglutinated the Jewish population and concentrated them in a determinate



space, passing from a reduced and dispersed population to a larger and more concentrated community.

The end of the 13th century was the best moment for the Jewish population of Vic. The community, that was an *aljama* around 1317, was vital during the first half of the 14th century. The changing community resisted until 1391. In that year, the last remaining Jews in the city were converted, putting an end to a story that had begun nearly two hundred years before.

Knowledge of particular Jewish communities has a great importance to have a broader perspective of the history of the Catalan Jewish communities, because each community has their own history, sources, studies and distinctive features, and is necessary to put them in context. The case of the Jews of Vic, a community with almost 200 years of very well documented history, can serve to deepen in the study of the Catalan Jews, in particular in the research of the study of the origins and development of Jewish settlement in the 13th century in interior Catalonia, based on notarial records. However, broader perspective and parallel studies concerning other Jewish communities, as well by focusing on a regional framework, is possible from knowledge of the local history of these communities.



Appendix 1. Rental Documents

Year	Signature	Folio	Christian owner	Jewish rental	Location
1252	ACF-5	153r	Guillem Llorenç and Brunissenda, his wife	Regina Cabrita, wife of Bonastruc Satorra	Houses in Mercadal
1252	ACF-6	52v	Brunissenda, G. Llorenç' wife, and her brother Guillem Illa	Bonastruc	House with shutter, cortal and workroom, in Mercadal (was owned by Guillem Argemir)
1253	ACF-6	134v	Berenguer of Posa and Brunissenda, his wife	David Canviador and Goig, his wife	House in Vic, under Montcada jurisdiction
1280	ACF-4586	104v	Sibil·la, wife of Berenguer of Vilafreser	Jucef de Mallorca	Houses under where Sibil·la and Berenguer live, and houses of Arnau de Mon, in the street of Bernat Gayol
1280	ACF-4586	107v	Bernat de Mur and Ferrer Illa, Brunissenda Llorenç executors	Llobell Cerç	Houses with orchard, except the workroom, in Vic under Montcada jurisdiction
1284	ACF-4588	10v	Pere Ripoll, widow Beatriu de Sala's attorney	Astruc d'Hispania	Houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby Brunissenda Llorenç houses
1284	ACF-4588	10v	Pere Ripoll, widow Beatriu de Sala's attorney	Bonmacip	Houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby Brunissenda Llorenç houses
1284	ACF-4588	15v	Pere Rossell, priest of Múnter, and his mother, Maria	Jucef de Mallorca	Houses in Calcinera street, where remain Proença (Jew), and Català, under Montcada jurisdiction
1284	ACF-4588	4r	Bernat de Mur and Ferrer d'Illa, Brunissenda Llorenç executors	Jucef de Mallorca	Houses under Montcada jurisdiction, nearby Roquet, except the workroom



Year	Signature	Folio	Christian owner	Jewish rental	Location
1286	ACF-4588	36v	Ramon Nadal and Ramon de Sala, Pere Miró executors	Bonmicip	Houses that belonged to the deceased Pere Miró. Its borders were: hoses of Pere Miquel (the southern side), houses and orchard of Pere de Moia, deceased canon of Vic (western side). Rents the house, except the basement
1288	ACF-4589	27r	Bertran Urdi and his son, Ferrer	Benaia Llobell	House in the Hospital de Sant Joan street, under Montcada jurisdiction (no census). Its borders were: houses of Guillem Foguet (the eastern side), houses of Ramon Jurdí (the southern side) and a street (the western side)
1288	ACF-4589	27v	Egidi Maeller, Berenguer Blanch and his wife Simona's attorney	Bonmicip	Houses in Peregrí street, under Montcada jurisdiction (no census). Its borders were: Street (the eastern side), house of Arnau de Comella (the southern side), another street (the western side) and the house of Pere de Matavaques (the northern side)
1289	ACF-4589	34r	Pere Simó Examenó and Ramona, his wife	Vidal Taroç	Houses and orchards under Montcada jurisdiction , nearby the houses owned by Maria Llorenç
1290	ACF-4590	20r	Egidi Maceller, Simona and Berenguer's attorney	Bonmicip	Houses in Peregrí street, under Montcada jurisdiction, where Arnau de Comelles and Pere de Matavaques also owned houses
1293	ACF-4590	45r	Guillem Ramon de Terrers	Sento Ayo	Houses of Pere de Pontarró, in Sant Joan de Jerusalem street, under Montcada jurisdiction



Year	Signature	Folio	Christian owner	Jewish rental	Location
1294	ACF-4591	13v	Berenguer Terror	Bonmacip	Two houses, the tenant can open a wall or garden wall, an entrance gate to come in or exit from the houses, and close the hatch
1294	ACF-4591	14r	Jaume de Pou	Goig, wife of Gràcia Cap	Houses in Hospital de Jerusalem street, under Montcada jurisdiction. Its borders were: houses of the owners (the Eastern side), houses of Huguer (the western side)
1299	ACF-4591	8v	Beatriu, widow of Berenguer Tayla	Bonmacip	Houses in Vic, in Hospital de Jerusalem street, under Montcada jurisdiction, except the basement



Appendix 2 Selected documents

Document number 1:

1 December 1265.

Bonmacip, son of Bonastruc de Bonissac, transfer rights to Bernat Barrat against Llobell Cerç, because of beatings and insults made in the synagogue.

Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-10, f. 370v.

Bonmassip, iudeus filius Bon Astrug de Bonisach, bono et libero cum hoc publico instrumento dono et cedo tibi Bernardo Barrati et cui velis in perpetuum totum integrum locum meum iura voces et acciones que habere et habeo debeo contra Lobel Cerç, iudeus et contra bona ipsius, ratione ipsius percussione vituperii de sonoris et iniurie que mihi fecit in sinagoga idem Lobel (...) ac contra ipsum et bona sua possis agere et uti que admodum ego possem ante huiusmodi (...) promittimus coram quicquid super et singulis promissorum (...) dixeris faciendum me (...).

Testes: Petrus de Tolosa et Berengarius de Stagno.

Document number 2:

15 December 1265, Vic.

Brunissenda Llorenç acquitted Llobell Cerç, Jew from Vic, by some words.

Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-4583, f. 1v.

Brunissendis Laurentia, per me et per omnes filios consanguineos amicos et parentes meos, in hec publico instrumento solvo, remitto et perpetuo penitus diffinio sine aliquo retentu tibi Lobel Cerç, iudeo, et tuis, omnes questiones, demandas et querimonias quas vobis faciebam ante facere poteram vel de te habebam usque ad hanc presentem diem ratione verborum vel quacumque alia ratione. Super quibus omnibus questionibus, demandis et querimoniis antedictis facio per met et meos et per omnes supradictos tibi et tuis finem perpetuum et pactum de non petenda sicut melius dici vel intelligo ad voluntatem tuam et tuorum. Que quidem et cetera.

Document number 3:

19 August 1277, Vic.

Arnau Miró, citizen of Vic, established perpetually to the Jews of Vic part of a courtyard he has in Vic under Bishop's jurisdiction to build houses and school (synagogue). The annual payment to Miró is established in two florins for All Saints. The seller has received 30 solidos.



Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-4586, f. 43r. Published in: Corbella, Ramon. *L'aljama de jueus de Vic...*: 20-21, 169-170; Ollich, Imma. "Un nou document..." : 265-266.

Arnaldus Mironis, civis vicensis, pono et stabilio, laudo et concedo in perpetuum vobis Davidi Campsoris, et Lobello, et Mussones, et Bono Iudadeo, et Astrugono, filiis eiusdem, et Astrugono, filio Issachi de Minorissa, et Bono Mancipio, et Provinciali, et Vitali Durandi, et Jucephono de Mayoris, et Eretono, et Vitali de Cardono, et Bono Homini de Turri, et Vitali de Camporotundo, et Salamoni filio Maymonis de Minorissa, quondam, et quibus volueritis, quamdam partem terrae illius orti mei quem possideo et teneo in villa Vici, sub dominio Domini vicensis Episcopi, prout dictum patium sive pars est a me vobis fixurata et assignata. Et affrontat ab oriente in alia parte residui orti mei et in pariete qui est inter dictum patium et ortum Berengarii Erumir et uxoris eius que fuit filia Bernardi Baiuli, a meridie in residuo orti mei, ab occidente in carreria publica per quam affrontationem habetis introitum et exitum ad dictum stabilimentum, et a circo in domibus Guillemi de Regali sabaterii, in quo patio possitis facere domos et Scholam et quodcumque aliud volueritis ab abisso usque ad coelum, et etiam eum vendere et stabilire et alienare si volueritis, salvo iure in omnibus et dominio Domini Episcopi vicensis, cui Domino ego per me et meos promitto vobis quod faciam et tradam quatuor paria caponum quod dictus Dominus Episcopus accipit annuatim inter dictum patium quod vobis stabilio et residuum dicti orti et quaedam sabilimenta in quibus sunt domus constructae quas per dictum Dominum Episcopum ibidem teneo sine omni dampno vestro et quocumque volueritis. Et vos et quilibet alii post vos tenentes dictum patium reddatis mihi et meis perpetuo a festo Omnium Sanctorum primo venturo ad unum annum et deinde annuatim in eodem festo dos aureos boni auri et iusti ponderis. Et nihil aliud inde iam reddere teneamini nisi dictos dos aureos quos nullo cassu contingente fallere possunt. Hoc salvo a vobis et retento, quod si volueritis vos vel alii post vos tenentes dictum stabilimentum dimittere possitis hoc facere, dum cum opus deconstrans C solidos monete barchinonense de terno per vos ibi factum mihi remaneat factum, deinde reamanente mihi dicto opere C solidos dictum censum reddere iam non teneamini.

Item in illo cantone ex parte orientis per tantum quantum extendetur paries quam ibi facietis a pariete dicti Berengarii Erumir usque ad aliam parietem quam faceritis inter istud stabilimentum et residuum orti mei possitis facere fenestram spatio unius palmi a tribus tapiis ultra fundamentum in altum et non inferius.

Item a dicto etiam cantone in pariete quam ibi facietis versus meridiem possitis facere unicum fenestram spatio unius palmi a tribus tapiis et dimidia ultra fundamenta et non inferius, in altum tantum quantum placuerit, dum cum ipsam fenestram versus dictam partem meridiei feceritis infra spatium XII palmorum a dicta carreria.

Item ego et mei recolligamus omnes aquas pluviales quae discurrerint de medietate illius loci in quo iudaei seu mulieres iudaeae stabunt et orabunt ibidem, et vos et alii recolligatis omnes alias aquas ex residuis tectis dicti stabilimenti.

Et sic promitto sub forma praedicta facere tenere et servare dictum pactum in perpetuum salvo iure et dominio dicti Domini Episcopi. Pro pretio huius vendicionis accipio a vobis triginta solidos barchinonense de terno pro quibus renuntio et cetera. Beneficio legis quatenus et etcetera. Et hoc iuro.

Testes: Bernardus de Sotsrocha et Phiplippus de Sotsrocha.



Document number 4:

10 January 1278, Vic.

Ramon de Meserata, Archdeacon of Vic, denounced the construction of a Jewish synagogue in the name of the church and the city.

Arxiu Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic, Arxiu de la Curia Fumada-15, loose folio. Published in: Ollich, Imma. "Un nou document" ...: 267; Riera, Jaume. *Els poders públics...*: 243.

Noverint universi quod Raimundus de Meserata, archidiaconus vicensis, fecit legi per me, Berengarium de Stagno, scriptorem subscriptum, Davidi Campsoris, Bono Mancipius, Lobellono Circii et Bono Iudeo, fratribus, et Astrugono de Camprotundo et Bono Homini, iudeos vicenses qui presentes erant, quandam cedulam papiri cuius series talis est:

« Nos Raimundus de Meserata, archidiaconus vicensis, videntes quod in civitate vicense de novo construitur seu edificatur scola que vulgariter dicitur Sinagoga iudeorum, attendentes propter hoc contra Deum et iusticiam et canonicas sanctiones et in magnum scandalum totius fidei catholice; nos quidem archidiaconus predictus, presente in dicta civitate vicense, in loco ubi dicta scola seu sinagoga iudeorum contra Deum et iusticiam construitur, ne videamini eternitatem in tanto malo consentire et alienam culpam facere propriam; volentes etiam contradicere hiis qui contra Deum et iusticiam militantur, et specialiter dictum opus nefandissimum impedire, per iactum seu iactus lapilli vel lapillorum vobis, Guillemo de Viridigerio, Petri de Mora et Poncio, magistris ibidem operantibus vel in posterum operari volentibus, novum opus denunciamus; quam denunciacionem facimus et facere intendimus ut per hoc Sancto Petro sedis vicensis totique clero et populo civitatis eiusdem et Sancte Universali ecclesie ius suum contra tan nefandissimum opus in posterum conservetur ; et si contra predictam denunciacionem novi operis, per iactum lapillorum factum, aliquis ulterius acceptarent aliquid operaris, sencientes ex hoc, nos et ecclesiam vicensem, clerum et populum catholicum civitatis eiusdem universalemque fidem catholicam enormiter agravatos et etiam scandalizatos, nomine nostro et omnium adherencium michi ac omnium volencium in hac donacione consentire, ex tantis et tam notoriis gravaminibus ad Sedem Apostolicam in hiis scriptis appellamus et instamus apostolos postulamus, ponentes nos et omnes nobis adherentes in hoc facto, et omnia bona nostra, et totum ius ecclesie in civitatis vicensis sub proteccionem et deffensione dicte sedis apostolice».

Set antequam ego scriptor legerem predictam cedulam, predictus archidiaconus, denunciando dictum novum opus, proiessit in dicto opere III lapillos. Et de hoc et de dicta lectione precepit sibi et vicensis ecclesie et omnibus quorum interest et erit fieri publicum instrumentum.

Quod fuit factum III idus ianuarii anno predicto, presentibus testibus Guillelmo de Fontanelis, Guillelmo de Sala et Petro qui moratur cum dicto archidiacono, et Bernardo de Nogeria, sacerdote.



RESCUE OF CHRISTIAN CAPTIVES IN TRUCES BETWEEN CASTILE AND THE NASRID EMIRATE OF GRANADA (13TH-15TH CENTURIES). A PROPOSED ANALYSIS

DIEGO MELO CARRASCO AND FRANCISCO VIDAL-CASTRO
UNIVERSIDAD ADOLFO IBÁÑEZ AND UNIVERSIDAD DE JAÉN
CHILE-SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the rescue of captives during truces signed by the Nasrid Emirate of Granada (1232-1492) and the Kingdom of Castile during the 13th-15th centuries. We know that one of the major impacts of border activity and battles beyond it was the taking of captives, who suffered the consequences while maintaining a distant hope for rescue. The lucky ones found their freedom, whether because they were indeed rescued or because they escaped.

For both capture and rescue, the texts of the truces include a series of mechanisms that respond to a border context undergoing phases of violence and influenced by the internal problems of each state.¹

KEY WORDS

Nasrid Emirate of Granada, Kingdom of Castile, Captives, Capture, Rescue.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Granatae Emiratum Nazarinus, Castellae Regnum, Captivi, Captio, Redemptio.

1. The present paper has been carried out with the support of Project FONDECYT No. 11130061. Used Abbreviations: ADM, Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli; AMJ, Archivo Municipal de Jaén; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional (Spain); BN, Biblioteca Nacional (Spain).

1. Introduction. Background. The scourge of border violence: captivity

The most serious and devastating result of predatory border activity was the taking of captives,² which occurred both during open war as well as during periods of truce. The business of capture became one of the main incentives for Christian military leaders residing near the border, especially since rescuing captives generally implied large sums. On their part, Christian kings took as much care as possible to emancipate captives, sometimes facilitating the creation of funds to this end. Such was the case when Alfonso X (the Wise) (1252-1284) granted the council of Murcia a third of all gambling profits, which his successors would confirm.³ The same situation can be observed on the other side of the border. Liberating captives was one of the sultan's priorities since the Prophet himself recommended it. In addition, there are wills that explicitly stipulate a specific amount of money to be used for rescuing captives since this was considered a good work.⁴

2. The news of the captivity of Christians appear profusely in the testaments, in lawsuits, in royal instructions, in concessions of grants and, above all, in conceited capitular acts. In the case of Muslim captives, the news is much scarcer, being more abundant from the fifteenth century. In this regard see, for example and among others: Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada". *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 215-217; Torres Fontes, Juan. "La cautividad en la frontera granadina (1275-1285). Estampas jienenses". *Boletín de Estudios Giennenses*, 162/2 (1996): 895-910; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Sobre el 'entrar', 'vivir' y 'salir' del cautiverio: un aspecto de la vida en la frontera castellano-granadina en los siglos XIII-XV", *Iacobus, Revista de Estudios Jacobeos y Medievales*, 31-32 (2012): 181-214.

3. Torres Fontes, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad en la frontera murciano-granadina*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 77.

4. *El rescate de cautivos es una cuestión tan importante que es considerado una obligación de la comunidad en su conjunto [...] El concepto de rescate de un prisionero ya se apunta en el Corán aunque aplicado no a cautivos musulmanes sino a infieles, sobre quienes, una vez vencidos, se dice: 'Luego, devolvedles la libertad, de gracia o mediante rescate para que cese la guerra' (XLVII, 5/4; trad. Cortés, 583). También aparecen en otras aleyas la idea de liberación, manumisión, redención y la necesidad de colaborar económicamente a ello [...] Así, la actividad jurídica de los grandes maestros, fundadores de escuelas, prestó atención al tema e incluso, se escribieron obras específicamente dedicadas al derecho de guerra y relaciones internacionales con los enemigos y los pueblos conquistados. [...] Los gastos del rescate del cautivo pueden ser pagados por diferentes personas y ser afrontados de diversas formas. Por ello, el pago puede ser, según quién lo efectúe, de carácter estatal, colectivo o individual y, según la forma de realizarlo, además del pago unívoco y directo, puede hacerse mediante prorrateo (en caso de pago de un colectivo) o intercambio de cautivos* ("The rescue of captives is such an important issue that it is considered an obligation of the community as a whole [...] The concept of rescuing a prisoner is already pointed out in the Qur'an although applied not to Muslim captives but to infidels, over whom, a Once defeated, it is said: "Then, return them freedom, of grace or by means of a ransom so that the war ceases" (XLVII, 5/4, trans. Cortés, 583). The idea of liberation, manumission, redemption and the need to collaborate economically with it also appear in other verses [...] Thus, the legal activity of the great teachers, founders of schools, paid attention to the subject and even, specifically dedicated works were written to the law of war and international relations with the enemies and the conquered peoples. [...] The expenses of the rescue of the captive can be paid by different people and be dealt with in different ways. Therefore, the payment can be, depending on who makes it, of a state, collective or individual nature and, depending on the way it is done, in addition to the univocal and direct payment, it can be done by prorating (in case of payment of a collective) or exchange of captives"). Vidal Castro, Francisco. "El cautivo en el Mundo Islámico: Visión y vivencia desde



There were various ways to enter into captivity, the usual being: 1) open war, that is, attacks from Granada, the Marinids, Castile or Aragon, followed by counterattacks from both sides; 2) Muslim or Christian cavalry raids on the opposing side of the border; 3) and finally, border defense and surveillance, which involved messengers and postmen, advancing castle defenders, or those who spied on enemy movements.⁵ Despite this, it must be known that on many occasions, captivity was the consequence of acts of war that were poorly planned or executed, resulting in partial or total defeat.⁶

Of all these, one of the most common was capture at the hands of small cavalry groups of *almogávares*,⁷ or thieves. These generally fell upon wayfarers, farmers, shepherds, hunters, or loggers. Others were taken for travelling without a safe-conduct, although this did not always guarantee immunity.⁸ Many hunters and

el otro lado de la frontera andalusí", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 787-788.

5. González Jiménez, Manuel. "Esclavos andaluces en el Reino de Granada", *La sociedad medieval andaluza, grupos no privilegiados. Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. Jaen: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1984: 331-332. See also Carmen Argente del Castillo: [...] *La cautividad se producía primordialmente en acciones de guerra y en esos casos podemos hablar de cifras bastante importantes, se trata indiscriminadamente de hombres, mujeres y niños, estas noticias nos las suelen transmitir las fuentes narrativas. Pero hay otra forma de llegar al cautiverio, más difusa, originada por la actividad de rapiña, que se realizaba a uno y otro lado de la frontera* ("[...] The captivity was produced primarily in actions of war and in those cases we can speak of quite important figures, it is indiscriminately about men, women and children, this news is usually transmitted to us by narrative sources. But there is another way to get to the captivity, more diffuse, originated by the activity of robbery, which was carried out on both sides of the border"). Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 212.

6. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 238; Calderón, José; Díaz, Francisco. *Vae Victis: Cautivos y prisioneros en la Edad Media Hispánica*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2012: 19-50.

7. They are called like that to those men who in the border were in charge of carrying out the activity of predation, either by stealing or captivating. The word *almogávar* derives from the Arabic *mugāwir* "he who makes an algará", "an incursion". When the term penetrated into Spanish it did, like many other Arabisms, with the Arabic article incorporated, resulting in the *almogávar* solution. The Arabic words of *gwr* root carry in their semantic core the primordial idea of penetration, of insight. For this reason, *almogávar* refers to the person who makes an *algará* penetrating or entering enemy territory. Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. "Puntualizaciones acerca de la naturaleza de los *Almogávares*". *Cahiers de Linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 9 (1984): 164; Gámez, María. "Privilegios de Frontera: Quesada y Alcalá La Real", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 156; Porras Arboledas, Pedro. "Las relaciones entre la ciudad de Jaén y el Reino de Granada. La paz y la guerra según los libros de actas de 1480 y 1488". *Al-qantara*, 9 (1988): 333; Corriente, Federico. *A dictionary of Andalusí Arabic*. Leiden: Brill, 1997: 385; Corriente, Federico. *Diccionario de arabismos y voces afines en Ibero-romance*. Madrid: Gredos, 1999: 198-199; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Instituciones...": 59; Rodríguez Molina, José. *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*. Alcalá la Real: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 51.

8. As the case of the Valencian Martín Pérez in 1451, see Salicrú, Roser, ed. *Documents per a la història de Granada del regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 454-455; Peláez, Antonio. *Dinamismo Social en el Reino Nazarí (1454-1501): de la Granada Islámica a la Granada Mudéjar*, Granada: Universidad de Granada (PhD Dissertation), 2006: 454, where it is commented on this capture: *Se tienen noticias de otras formas de cautiverio, aunque en menor grado. Este es el caso de cautiverios a mercaderes realizados a expensas del salvoconducto que aseguraba su tránsito por el territorio granadino* ("There are news of other forms of captivity, although to a lesser degree. This is the case of



shepherds were captured as ‘collateral’ for entering Muslim or Christian territory during forbidden periods.⁹

All these captures, both of men and women, had a clear lucrative end since substantial earnings could be obtained by demanding payment in exchange for freedom. Thus, the capture of Christian Castilians and Muslim Nasrids at the border made Spain stand out from the rest of the Mediterranean, where the practice of *marque* and the search for cheap labor were more common; Castilians, on the other hand, were seized basically for the profit of emancipation.¹⁰ It is also true, however, that while payment was being arranged, the owners, who could be the captors or not, tried to get some work out of their captives.¹¹

2. Captives’ destiny

The prisoner is a substantial part of war booty. Respecting the defeated enemy’s life turns out to be very advantageous since the business of his sale creates copious benefits.¹² This is true even for the Castilian crown, which benefitted from the

captives to merchants carried out at the expense of the safe-conduct that ensured their transit through the territory of Granada”).

9. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 84.

10. [...] los propietarios de cautivos vieron que resultaba más beneficioso revender el cautivo a su lugar de origen que venderlo a precio de mercado (“the owners of captives saw that it was more beneficial to resell the captive to its place of origin than to sell it at a market price”). Ramos Loscertales, José. *El cautiverio en la Corona de Aragón durante los siglos XIII, XV y XV*. Saragossa: Publicaciones del estudio de filología de Aragón, 1915: 135-136.

11. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Cautiverio y martirio de doncellas en la frontera”, *IV Estudios de Frontera, Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera, Congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real en noviembre de 2001. Homenaje a Don Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2002: 37.

12. In general, in relation to the sale of the captives, their value will be in accordance with the number available, although the continued influx into the markets will prevent them from reaching high prices. Some points of sale, in the case of the kingdom of Granada, will be:

a.- Plazas y fortalezas fronterizas donde se hacían unas primera ventas. Las más importantes de estas plazas, para el caso granadino, eran de este a oeste Vélez –Blanco y Purchena, en la frontera Murciana; Alicún, Guadix y Baza en el caso de la frontera de Jaén; en el sector fronterizo central Rute, desde donde se distribuían a Granada y Málaga y en la parte occidental la gran plaza de Ronda.

b.- Granada, como capital del reino y centro geográfico equidistante de la frontera territorial y marítima, centro de consumo y centro de redistribución.

c.- Los puertos granadinos y las ciudades muy próximas a la costa, a través de las que estos esclavos eran vendidos o revendidos a mercados norteafricanos o italianos generalmente: Vera, ya muy valorada por Torres Fontes respecto a la frontera murciana, Almería, Málaga y Algeciras eran plataformas de exportación

d.- Mercados africanos como Arcila o Salé a los que se llegaba unas veces discretamente y, en otras ocasiones, a través de Ceuta como eslabón intermedio (“a.- Border squares and fortresses where first sales were made. The most important of these squares, for the case of Granada, were from east to west Vélez -Blanco and Purchena, on the Murcian border; Alicún, Guadix and Baza in the case of the border of Jaén; in the Rute central border sector, from where they were distributed to Granada and Malaga and in the western part the great square of Ronda. b.- Granada, as the capital of the kingdom and geographic center equidistant from the territorial and maritime border, center of consumption and center of redistribution. c.- The ports of Granada and the cities very close to the coast, through which these slaves were sold or resold to North



sale as well as the donation, exchange, and rescue of captives, to say nothing of the interest it generated among private individuals. Many looted, stole livestock, and captured men, women, and children.¹³

Therefore, prisoners of war taken during cavalry raids, ground warfare, or maritime incursions were subject along with the rest of the booty to the control of the capturing state, which could decide their future, respond to any complaints related to their capture, and receive any ransom demanded for them. Nonetheless, before royal officials intervened in the booty, deciding whether or not the prisoners had been taken through good military practices, the prisoners remained in the hands of their captors, with no safeguard but the interests of the latter.¹⁴ Border captives seized during truces and peace were treated very differently since during such periods captivity was considered illegal; thus, those captured on peaceful soil had to be returned to their land because such was “the ancient law and custom of the borderlands”; hence the existence of meeting points at which such captives could be handed over.¹⁵

3. On the emancipation of captives

Establishing pathways to freedom from captivity was the first order of business since it was something that all captives yearned for. And they were able to achieve it in various ways. The most common were escape, conversion, ransom, or exchange.

3.1 *Escape*¹⁶

This was an exit route without mediation that occurred when captives lost the hope of liberation or simply took advantage of an occasion to escape. This way

American or Italian markets generally: Vera, already highly valued by Torres Fontes regarding the Murcia border, Almería, Málaga and Algeciras were export platforms. d.- African markets such as Arcila or Salé, which were reached at times discreetly and, at other times, through Ceuta as an intermediate link”). Martínez Carrillo, María. “Historicidad de los ‘Miraculos Romañados’ de Pedro Marín (1232-1293). El territorio y la esclavitud granadinos”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 21 (1991): 90.

13. Martínez Carrillo, María. “Historicidad...”: 90.

14. Ramos Loscertales, José. “El cautiverio...”: 123.

15. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 85.

16. *En 1412, dos muchachos presos en Málaga estuvieron ocho días excavando un túnel subterráneo donde se hallaban hasta llegar a la ribera del mar, evasión a la que se sumaron otros doce hombres. En 1442, Martín de Morriño, Pedro de Antequera, Juan de Valencia y Ferand González de Alburquerque, que estaban en el corral del rey en Granada, aprovecharon que su vigilante estaba borracho y tuvieron el suficiente sigilo para que los mastines que los custodiaban no levantarán el aviso* (“In 1412, two boys imprisoned in Malaga spent eight days digging a tunnel where they were until they reached the shore of the sea, evasion to which twelve other men joined. In 1442, Martín de Morriño, Pedro de Antequera, Juan de Valencia and Ferand González de Alburquerque, who were in the king’s yard in Granada, took advantage of the fact that their guard was drunk and had enough secrecy so that the mastiffs who were guarding them did not raise the advertisement”). Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481): un ensayo sobre la violencia y sus manifestaciones*. Cadiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995: 218.



out meant great danger because if it was unsuccessful, the punishment was very harsh, ending sometimes even in death. Yet there must have been a frequently used system because the truce treaties have clauses on what actions both states must take if escaped prisoners return to their native land. These treaties establish that captives be welcome into their home country.¹⁷

Some detailed descriptions of the vicissitudes of escape have come to us from accounts of miraculous liberations.¹⁸

3.2 Conversion

Another way to escape was by renouncing one's faith; there are many cases involving this reality of border life, the temptation to reject free religious determination¹⁹ due to the hopeless conditions in which rescue is awaited.²⁰

17. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Cautiverio y martirio...": 47. In relation to these dispositions we will take an example of the truce signed between Castile and Granada in 1443: [...] *E otrosí; si quando fuyere catibo cristiano o moro, pleitado o non pleitado, e llegare a su tierra, que non seamos tenudos [...] pero que sea tornado lo que fuyere con ellos, de aver e de otra cosa qualquier si fuere fallado en su poder, e que jure el cativo sobredicho que non llevó ninguna cosa [...]* ("[...]And others; if, in the event, Christian or Moorish, pleaded or non-pleaded, come to your land, they are not taken but [...] whatever is going on with them, of seeing anything else if it were failed in your power, and swear the above mentioned cat that did not take anything [...]") 3rd of August, 1444, Real "near Peñafiel". Juan II orders D. Pedro de Aguilar to deliver the red certificate to Ruy Gómez de Herrera and Luís González de Leiva. Follow the testimony of the delivery of the document cited. ADM. Archivo Histórico. Caja 1, doc. 147. López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 27.

18. García de la Borbolla, Ángeles. "La espiritualidad de los cautivos de Santo Domingo en la obra de Pero Marín", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 257- 267; de Cossio, José. "Cautivos de Moros en el siglo XIII", *Al Andalus*, 7 (1942): 77; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "Los milagros de Guadalupe como fuente histórica para la reconstrucción de la vida en la frontera (España, Siglos XV y XVI)", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 8 (2005): 181-212; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "Los milagros en la religiosidad hispánica (siglos XIII al XVI)", *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre. (Hors-série: Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs)*, 2 (2008) <<http://cem.revues.org/9002>> (Consulted 26th April 2016); Rodríguez, Gerardo. "El norte de África en los milagros de Guadalupe", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12/2 (2010): 447-465; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "La Corona de Castilla: Fronteras, Milagros y confesionalidad", *Revista Signum*, 14/2 (2013): 234-249.

19. Rodríguez Molina, José. "Libre determinación religiosa en la frontera de granada", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 693-707; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Algunas consideraciones en torno a la frontera, la tregua y libre determinación en la frontera castellano-granadina. S. XIII-XV", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 14 (2012): 109-120.

20. *En la preocupación de que un cautivo concreto pudiera hacerse moro, que revelan multitud de testimonios, se refleja una situación muy real y extendida en la época [...] Esto es, por ejemplo, lo que sugiere un acta de 1485 conservada en los protocolos cordobeses en la cual queda constancia del bautismo, en la parroquia de San Nicolás de la Ajarquía de Córdoba, de un joven de unos 32 años llamado Juan, que había sido musulmán anteriormente con el nombre de Abraham, el cual confesó ser hijo de un moro granadino y de una cristiana cautiva llamada Catalina Fernández, oriunda de Cieza. Tal vez lo mismo sucedió en otros casos conocidos, como, por ejemplo, en el de una de las nueras de Alatar, Elvira de Valles, que se hizo de nuevo cristiana, juntamente con sus dos hijos, Pedro y Fernando, al ser tomada en la ciudad de Loja* ("In the preoccupation



On the other hand, for Christians, converting to Islam was a relief. In some cases, this conversion was induced, but in others the prisoners simply chose to apostatize, especially if they were young. The Muslim principle of no coercion in matters of faith was implemented both in theory and in practice. In this sense, the Nasrid emirs had no trouble with clauses in the peace treaties that did not allow Christians to be forcibly converted to Islam in the Nasrid Emirates.²¹ However, we must not ignore a certain opportunism or convenience behind these changes of religion.²²

As for the convert, he is considered dangerous and is feared for his religious opportunism, for being rootless and marginal in both Christian and Muslim society.²³

that a specific captive could make a moor, which reveal a multitude of testimonies, it reflects a very real and widespread situation at the time [...] This is, for example, what a record of 1485 suggests preserved in the Cordovan protocols in which there is proof of baptism, in the parish of San Nicolás de la Ajarquía of Córdoba, of a young man of about 32 named Juan, who had previously been a Muslim with the name of Abraham, who confessed to being the son of a Moor from Granada and of a captive Christian named Catalina Fernández, a native of Cieza. Perhaps the same happened in other known cases, such as, for example, one of Alatar's daughters-in-law, Elvira de Valles, who became a Christian again, together with her two sons, Pedro and Fernando, when she was taken the city of Loja"). Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre cautivos cristianos en el reino de Granada", *Meridies: Revista de Historia Medieval*, 3 (1996): 145.

21. [...] *por nos e por lo que después de nos vinieren e heredaden el dicho reyno de non consentir que ningún christiano natural o subdito de los reynos de nuestro señor el rey sea tornado moro en el dicho reyno de Granada* [...] ("[...] for us and for what after we come and inherit the said kingdom of not allowing any natural christian or subject of the kingdoms of our lord the king to be turned into the Moor in the said kingdom of Granada"). Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Juan II y la frontera de Granada*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954: 40.

22. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 145. In the case of Catalan-Aragonese Crown: *També els sarraïns captius a la Corona catalano-aragonesa renegaven i adoptaven la religió cristiana bé per conveniència, si no podien obtenir aviat la lliberació a canvi d'un rescat o mitjançant intercanvi, o bé per convicció, especialment entre els més joves. La conversió no significava l'alliberament, però facilitava l'entesa amb l'amo, que tenia a les seves mans de concedir al captiu la manumissió a talla, és a dir, pagant a terminis* ("Also the captive Saracens in the Catalan-Aragonese Crown reneged and adopted the Christian religion for convenience, if they could not soon get liberated in exchange for a rescue or exchange, or by conviction, especially among the youngest. The conversion did not mean liberation, but it facilitated the understanding with the master, who was in his hands to grant the captive the manumission by size, that is to say, paying in installments"). Ferrer y Mallol, María. "La redempció de captius a la Corona Catalano-Aragonese", *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985): 241.

23. García Fernández, Manuel. *La Campiña Sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV)*. Estudios Sobre Poblaciones de la Banda Morisca. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2005: 72.



That is why we frequently find these men serving as spies for the *adalides* (“guides”)²⁴ or sometimes as heads of *almogávar* groups.²⁵

3.3 Emancipation through payment or exchange

In this case, the captive is rescued through sums procured by Christian religious orders (redeemers)²⁶ or in exchange for captives of the other religion.²⁷ In general,

24. *El arabismo adalid viene de dalil: ‘guía, conductor, jefe de la caballería ligera que corre el país enemigo’, proveniente de la raíz verbal sorda dalla: ‘guiar, acompañar a alguien para mostrarle el camino, indicar, presagiar...’ [...] en suma, podemos decir que el adalid entre los musulmanes tenía funciones de guía de ejércitos; sirviendo de explorador y rastreador; se ocupaba de conseguir noticias seguras acerca de las características del territorio, de las defensas de las ciudades y de los movimientos de las tropas enemigas, generalmente, mediante la captura de naturales del país* (“The Arabic leader comes from dalil: ‘guide, conductor, head of the light cavalry that runs the enemy country’, coming from the deaf verbal root dalla: ‘guide, accompany someone to show him the way, indicate, presage ...’ [...] In sum, we can say that the leader among the Muslims had the functions of guiding armies; serving as an explorer and tracker; he was in charge of obtaining sure news about the characteristics of the territory, the defenses of the cities and the movements of the enemy troops, generally, through the capture of natives of the country”). Mañillo Salgado, Felipe. “Función y cometido de los Adalides a la luz de textos árabes y romances”, *Actas del III Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las tres culturas*, Carlos Carrete, ed. Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1988: 110. [...] *E teniendo lo ellos así alçado deuen lo tornar luego de cara contra oriente, e ha de fazer con espada dos manera de tajar alçando el braço, contra arriba, tirándola contra ayuso, e la otra de traviesso, en manera de cruz, diciendo assi: Yo fulan desafio en el nome de dios, a todos los enemigos de la fe: e de mi Señor el Rey, e de su tierra. E esso mesmo deue fazer, e decir, tornándose a las otras partes del mundo. E después desto, ha de meter el mismo el espada, en la vayna, e poner le el Rey, vna seña en la mano, si lo alçare adalid, e decir le así. Otorgo te que seas un adalid, de aquí adelante. E si otro lo fizieren, en boz del Rey, deue le ese poner la seña en la mano. Diciendo le assy: yo te otorgo en nome del Rey, que sean adalid. Y dende adelante, puede traer armas, e caballo, e seña, e assentar se a comer con los caualleros, quando acaesciere, e el que lo desonrasse, ha de auer pena segund por caballero, por honrra del rey* (“And when they have lifted it up, they must turn it face-first against the east, and must make with the sword two ways of cutting, raising the arm, against the top, pulling it down, and the other with cross-hair, in the manner of a cross, saying thus: I defy myself in the name of God, to all the enemies of the faith: and of my Lord the King, and of his earth. And that same must do, and say, turning to the other parts of the world. And after this, he has to put the sword himself, in the vayna, and put the King, a sign in his hand, if I raise him a leader, and say so. I grant you that you are a champion, from here on. And if someone else does, in the voice of the King, he must put the sign in his hand. Saying thus: I grant you in the name of the King, that they be champions. And from the front, he can bring arms, and a horse, and a sign, and sit down to eat with the knights, when it happens, and the one who decries it, there must be a penalty according to the knight, for the honor of the king”). Alfonso X el Sabio, *Las Siete Partidas (el Libro del Fuero de las Leyes)*, ed. José Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, Madrid: Editorial REUS, 2004: Partida II, Tit. XXII, ley 3; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El Adalid de la frontera de Granada”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985): 355; Mañillo Salgado, Felipe. “El Estatuto Jurídico de los adalides en el derecho de Cuenca-Teruel”, *Actas del II Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1985: 206.

25. Torres Fontes, Juan. “La frontera...”: 59.

26. Cipollone, Giulio. “Eslavitud y liberación en la frontera”, *Estudios de Frontera. Alcalá la Real y el Arcipreste de Hita*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaen: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1996: 85.

27. *El intercambio hombre por hombre debía de estar a la orden del día en los territorio de frontera, donde la inseguridad hacía del cautiverio una cuestión ordinaria. En estas circunstancias, contar con moros cautivos podía llegar a ser un requisito necesario para la liberación de prisioneros cristianos, de ahí que las autoridades públicas incentivaran económicamente su dedicación al canje, eximiendo a los capturadores o a los dueños de los impuestos que gravaban las ganancias de la guerra —el quinto del botín— y las transacciones comerciales —el portazgo* (“The



rescue was considered a great economic problem because, as documents show, the prices demanded for captives were exorbitant. That is why it was preferable to organize a prisoner exchange with someone from the opposite side.²⁸ The volume of captives and the difficulties that their rescue entailed can be seen in the actions of Constable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo²⁹ after launching an incursion into the city of Illora in 1462.³⁰

Freedom could be bought by transferring family assets or, when those were insufficient, by leaving a family member as a hostage until the rest was collected. If the person possessed no property, they would be under the shelter of eventual public charity, which could be channeled in the following ways: bequests made in wills,³¹ which

man-for-man exchange had to be the order of the day in the frontier territory, where insecurity made captivity an ordinary matter. In these circumstances, having captive Moors could become a necessary requirement for the liberation of Christian prisoners, hence the public authorities would economically incentivize their dedication to the exchange, exempting the captors or the owners of the taxes that were levied on the profits of the captives. the war - the fifth of the booty — and commercial transactions — the toll”). García Fitz, Francisco. “¿De Exterminandis Sarracenis? El trato dado al enemigo musulmán en el reino de Castilla León durante la plena Edad Media”, *El cuerpo derrotado: Cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, Maribel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 116.

28. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 216.

29. Although he has traditionally been called Miguel Lucas with the surname “de Iranzo”, the truth is that his real name is Miguel Lucas de Nieva and was never called “de Iranzo”, surname of his stepfather and not his father. *Relación de los hechos del muy magnífico e más virtuoso señor, el señor don Miguel Lucas, muy digno condestable de Castilla*, eds. Juan Cuevas Mata, Juan del Arco Moya, José del Arco Moya. Jaen: Universidad de Jaén, 2001: xiv, note 13.

30. [...] Y así traídos, como el dicho Condestable oviese información quién e quales eran las personas que tenían sus maridos, o padres, o fijos, o hermanos o otros parientes cativos, de aquella çibdad de Jahén, y que más miserables eran, a cada vno de aquellos mandó dar su moro, con que pudiese sacar pariente. Y desta cabsa, muchos salieron a tierra de cristianos, no tenían esperança de salir ni nunca salieran. Y, mal pecado, pudiera ser que algunos dellos, con desesperación de la mala vida, renegara de la fé, como otros han fecho en tal caso como este (“And so brought, as the said Constable had information who and what were the people who had their husbands, or fathers, or fixed, or brothers or other captive relatives, of that city of Jaén, and that more miserable were, to each of those he commanded to give his moro, with which he could get a relative. And this house, many went to the land of Christians, had no hope of leaving or never leave. And, bad sin, it could be that some of them, with desperation of the bad life, renegade of the faith, as others have done in such a case as this”). Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “De nuevo sobre...”: 229.

31. De ahí que en algunos testamentos se designasen ciertas cantidades para la redención de cautivos en manos musulmanas: “[...] En 1394, don Alvar Pérez de Guzmán, señor de Olvera, legaba en su testamento ‘a las órdenes de la Trenidad e de Santa María de la Merçet de Sevilla, por ayuda de sacar catyvos, a cada una, una dobla de oro [...]’. En 1408, el cabildo sevillano entregaba al alfajeme Pedro Alonso 30 doblas de oro que se le habían otorgado como ayuda para su redención. En 1411, el concejo de Sevilla mandaba al jurado Alfonso Martínez de Esquivel que diese a Diego Fernández, padre de un niño de siete años cautivo de los moros y cuya liberación estaba tasada en 120 doblas, los 2248 maravedís y 6 dineros que dicho jurado tenía en su poder en concepto de las penas impuestas a los hombres que habían vuelto sin licencia de la guarnición de la villa de Zahara (“And so brought, as the said Constable had information who and what were the people who had their husbands, or fathers, or fixed, or brothers or other captive relatives, of that city of Jaén, and that more miserable were, to each of those he commanded to give his moro, with which he could get a relative. And this house, many went to the land of Christians, had no hope of leaving or never leave. And, bad sin, it could be that some of them, with desperation of the bad life, renegade of the faith, as others have done in such a case as this”). Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. “La frontera entre...”: 227.



were generally not too important in comparison with other attested possessions; help from religious brotherhoods, although they only helped their members; letters from the council that allowed begging as a means to pay the rescue of a family member;³² and getting the council to cover at least part of the ransom with its own income.³³ Another possibility was selling family assets and thus being ruined.³⁴ In any case, the ransom price was just one part of the costs necessary to free a captive.³⁵

In the case of Muslim captives from the Emirate of Granada, rescue was carried out in the same fashion since many Granadian families also suffered from their relatives' capture during Christian incursions. Hence, in order to obtain their freedom, they used similar methods or the same ones as the families of Christian captives. Among these was the possibility of acquiring a Christian captive to try to exchange him for their own captive relative.

In some cases, the holder of the captive Christian refused to accept monetary payment, demanding his own captive relative as the only means of transaction.³⁶ Other cases confirm that two Christians could be exchanged for a Moor, perhaps someone worth a higher ransom.³⁷

Many times, when the number of captives was very large and their rescue could compromise a local economy, the crown intervened. Sometimes it took indirect measures, encouraging other institutions or people to help captives' families collect the amount necessary for rescue. But on other occasions, the crown contributed these funds directly.³⁸

Likewise, the monarchs promoted the creation of institutions that fought for emancipation, such as the orders of the Mercedarians and Trinitarians. Documents from the 13th century onwards confirm the presence of these monks on the southern

32. This was a very slow way, because to be profitable it was necessary to exercise it for a long time and in one of the big cities or moving from one place to another. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 151. An example of award letter to beg is this that is granted September 19, 1488 to a neighbor of Jaen: [...] *Mandaron dar carta para pedir limosna a Blanca Rodrigues, mujer de Francisco Lopes de Duque, su fijo, que está cativo puede aver veinte días poco o más o menos, yendo a Granada, e lo levaron a Granada donde está cativo. Se rescató por 7.200 con los derechos* ("They sent a letter to beg alms to Blanca Rodrigues, a wife of Francisco Lopes de Duque, her landlord, who is willing to spend twenty days or so, going to Granada, and they took him to Granada where he is alive. He was rescued for 7,200 with the rights"). Garrido Aguilera, Juan. "Relaciones fronterizas con el Reino de Granada en las Capitulares del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén", *IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 172.

33. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 217.

34. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 150.

35. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 150.

36. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 150-151.

37. [...] *Este día, Martín Fernádes, partidior, metió en el dicho cabillo a Alfón de Baça e Antón Palomino, los cuales troxo de Canbil por el moro que levó que Fernando de Torres avía fecho sacar. E pidió por merced le diesen por quito de la fiança en que se avía obligado a dar traídos de los dichos dos cristianos, o de traer el moro; e traía los dichos cristianos [...]* ("This day, Martín Fernádes, partidior, put Alfón de Baza and Antón Palomino in the said council, which he brought from Canbil for the Moor that Fernando de Torres had sent out. And he asked for mercy to give him for a fifth of the bond in which he had been obliged to bring brought from the said two Christians, or to bring the Moor; and he brought the Christian sayings"). Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Cartas de la frontera", *Al-Andalus*, 11 (1946): 126.

38. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 51.



Iberian Peninsula.³⁹ There is no news of their liberation activities because they were more focused on captives in North Africa, who were mainly captured by marke. That system was much more frequent in Aragon than in Castilian territory.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, monks were active redeemers in early Medieval Granada, which in some cases led to their imprisonment or death.⁴¹ The rescues achieved by Mercedarian friars in the emirate between 1218 and 1492 were compiled in the 18th century by Friar Fernando del Olmo.⁴²

When a truce treaty between Castile and Granada would enter into effect, hopes for the rescue of Christian captives would rise since the sultan would promise to hand over hundreds of prisoners along with the well-known pariahs. It appears that Castile always tried to negotiate the liberation of the greatest possible number of individuals. For instance, the truce of 1410 resolved to free 300 captives;⁴³ another 100 were freed in that of 1417 and 733 in that of 1443,⁴⁴ although the fourth and final deadline of Oct. 1445 was not met.⁴⁵

39. The Order of the Holy Trinity was founded in Aragon in 1201 and the Merced, of French origin, seventeen years later received a letter of privilege of John I. Although the activity of both soon headed biased towards North Africa, later they settled in Castile and held in the Emirate of Granada an almost continuous activity mission to which the monks of Guadalupe joined. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. "La frontera entre...": 223.

40. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 51.

41. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera de Granada, 1265-1481", *Revista de Historia Militar*, 1 (2002): 82.

42. Eighteenth-century manuscript *Genealogía deste convento del Real Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced. Redención de cautivos de Granada* (BN, núm. 8293), written in Granada by Fernando del Olmo; Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. "La frontera entre...": 224. See Arié, Rachel. *La España Musulmana*, Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1983: 197.

43. [...] *E porque el rey de Castilla (151vA) fiziese esta tregua (124vP), obligóse el rey de Granada de le dar trezientos catiuos de los cristianos quel tenía catiuos en su reyno, en que los diese por él que fuese confirmada e fecha la tregua fasta seys meses, en esta manera: los çient catiuos dende a vn mes, e los otros çiento dende a tres meses, e los otros çiento dentro en el plazo de los seis meses. E que los diese al Infante, o en Alcalá a quien su poder ouiese, o a don Alonso Fernández, señor de Aguilar, alcaide de Alcalá, o a su alcaide, e el dicho plazo* ("[...] And because the King of Castile (151vA) made this truce (124vP), the King of Granada was obliged to give him thirteen captives of Christians who had catiuos in his kingdom, in which he gave them for him to be confirmed and dated the truce until six months, in this way: the one hundred captives for one month, the other one hundred for three months, and the other one hundred within six months. And give them to the Infant, or in Alcalá to whom his could have, or Don Alonso Fernandez, Mr. de Aguilar, mayor of Alcalá, or his alcaide, and the said term"). García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982: 402-407.

44. [...] *E nos obligamos eso mesmo a pagar con todo lo susodicho, de los catibos cristiano, viejos e moros, omes e mugeres, que sean catibos verdaderamente (f. 234 vº), setecientos e treinta e tres; e escoja el rey de Castilla fasta treinta a su voluntad, si los oviere estrangeros o qualesquier otros; e los que fallesciere de todo el número dicho, que demos por cada uno dellos treinta doblas del oro susodicho* ("And we obligate ourselves that same to pay with all the aforesaid, of the Christian captives, old men and Moors, men and women, who are truly captives (f. 234 vº), seven hundred and thirty three; and the King of Castile chooses up to thirty at his will, if he will owe them foreigners or any other; and those who fail of all the said number, that we give for each one of the thirty doubles of the aforementioned gold"). López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 11-32.

45. López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones...": 221-222.



4. Truces and captives

From a general perspective, the truces have been well studied and addressed by professors Carriazo,⁴⁶ Seco de Lucena,⁴⁷ Torres Fontes⁴⁸ and more recently by professor López de Coca,⁴⁹ among other early (even 19th century)⁵⁰ and later authors.⁵¹ They all coincide in laying out certain fundamental characteristics that help to understand this type of treaty. Firstly, it has been shown that the truces never became lasting or definitive peace treaties, unlike those sometimes established between Christian kingdoms. By their very nature, they recognized nothing more than a temporary peace. If they were not renovated upon expiration, both sides could legitimately resume hostilities.⁵²

Secondly, until the Trastámara dynasty rose to power, the truces implied the recognition on Granada's part of Castile's superiority, which entailed payment

46. Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "La últimas treguas con Granada". *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 3 (1953): 11- 43; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478". *Al-Andalus*, 19/2 (1954): 317-364; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002.

47. Seco de Lucena, Luis. *Muhammad IX, sultán de Granada*, ed. Concepción Castillo. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1978: 181-191.

48. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Dualidad Fronteriza: Guerra y paz", *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (S. XIII-XVI)*, Lorca-Vera, 22 a 24 de noviembre, 1994, Pedro Segura Artero, ed. Lorca: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997: 63-78.; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478". *Hispania*, 86 (1962): 186-229; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1416 a 1432. Las treguas de 1417 a 1426". *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 6-7 (1978-1979): 297-311; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463", *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 163-199; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Instituciones y sociedad..."; Torres Fontes, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: HUM-165: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010; Torres Fontes, Juan. "La frontera...".

49. López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV", *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 11-32; López de Coca Castañer, José. "Castilla, Granada y las tregua de 1443", *Estudios de Historia Medieval. Homenaje a Luis Suárez*, Miguel Ladero Quesada, Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela, Julio Valdeón Baroque, eds. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1991: 301-313; López de Coca Castañer, José. "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadian Frontiers 1369-1482", *Medieval Frontiers Societies*, Robert Bartlett, Angus Mackay, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989: 127-150.

50. Amador de los Ríos, José. *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre las treguas celebradas en 1439 entre los reyes de Castilla y de Granada leída en varias sesiones de la Real Academia de la Historia*. without publisher, town and year [Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1879].

51. García Luján, José. "Las treguas con Granada de 1439". *Qurtuba*, 3 (1998) 39-45; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez y Granada en las treguas de 1467", *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 9-10 (2007-2008): 7-19; Pérez Castañeda, Dolores. *Enemigos Seculares. Guerra y treguas entre Castilla y Granada (c.1246-c.1481)*. Madrid: Sílex Ediciones S.L., 2013; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Las Treguas entre Granada y Castilla durante los siglos XIII a XV", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, 37 (2012): 237-275.

52. González Jiménez, Manuel. "La frontera entre Andalucía y Granada: realidades bélicas", *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla. Actas del Symposium Conmemorativo de Quinto Centenario*, Miguel Ladero Quesada, ed. Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993: 97.



of annual tributes or pariahs.⁵³ From the end of the 14th century, we can see how this course of action gives way to the practice of handing over a certain number of captive Christians, as has been expressed beforehand. However, we must not ignore the semantic aspect of paying or handing over captives: while for Christians it could be considered a sign of submission and vassalage, for Granadians it was simply a show of good will and a gracious donation.⁵⁴ Documentary evidence reflects this since the majority of the most important treaties demanded tribute from Granadians, which, on more than one occasion, meant a great economic effort for them.⁵⁵

On the other hand, for areas closest to the border, truces implied economic relief and returning to a certain normalcy, which brought with it the renewal of commercial exchange, the negotiation and liberation of captives, and the possibility of carrying out economic activities without being surprised by the enemy.⁵⁶ That is why once the truces were signed, the Castilian king made sure to convey their content to the borderlands, at the same time prohibiting any act of violence against Granadians and allowing business to resume. Those who performed these activities carried letters of assurance⁵⁷ from border councils. In these letters, the councils formally promised to comply with the truce.

53. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "En torno al vasallaje y las parias en las treguas entre Granada y Castilla (XIII-XV): Una posibilidad de análisis". *Medievalismo*, 22 (2012): 139-152.

54. [...] [estas treguas] fueron entendidas por los cristianos como un signo del sometimiento islámico materializado además en el pago de parias al reino de Castilla, 12.000 doblas de oro. Sin embargo, para el reino nazarí de Granada este símbolo tan sólo fue una muestra de buena voluntad y entendimiento pacífico, una manifestación de convivencia entre monarcas que se declaraban y ¿se? sabían amigos y vasallos [...] ("[these truces] were understood by the christians as a sign of the islamic submission materialized also in the payment of pariahs to the Kingdom of Castile, 12,000 gold doubles. However, for the Nasrid kingdom of Granada this symbol was only a sign of goodwill and peaceful understanding, a manifestation of coexistence between monarchs who declared themselves and ¿se? they knew friends and vassals [...]"). González Jiménez, Manuel. "Sobre la alteridad en la frontera de Granada (una aproximación al análisis de la guerra y la paz, siglos XIII-XV", *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 6 (2005): 229.

55. The amount of the parias was very variable, and if at first payment of outcasts had noticed half the revenues of the emir, then the number dropped sharply: in the fifteenth century was common a number between eleven thousand and thirteen thousand gold doubloons. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera...": 54.

56. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera...": 102-103.

57. Only as an example we reproduce one of them: [...] *Muy honrrado, esforçado, Fidalgo e presçiado, virtuoso e noble caballero el alcayde Abulcaçin Venegas, alguasil mayor del Señor Rey de Granada e del su Consejo: el conçejo etc. Nos vos encomendamos con voluntad muy presta de facer las cosas que ordenâres e mandares: Lorengo de Sella, genoués, morador de esta çibdad, va con nuestro seguro a esa çibdad del Reyno de Granada negociar e librar çiertas cosas de sus mercaderías. Por ende, mucho...vos pedimos, asy porquel va con nuestro seguro como por nuestra contemplación, sea bien tratado e honrrado en esa çibdad e Reyno, en todas las cosas que ouiere menester, e no le sea fecho enojo ni daño alguno. E en esto, allende de... nuestro rruego nos rremaneçerremos en obligación para en las cosas que mandâredes las facer como propias nuestras. Nuestro Señor conserve vuestra virtuosa persona como... desedâs. De Jahén, XXXVI de nouiembre de LXXXIX años [...]* ("[...] Very honored, striven, Fidalgo and appreciated, virtuous and noble knight the alcayde Abulcaçin Venegas, mayor sheriff of the King of Granada and his Council: the council etc. We entrust you with a strong will to make the things you order and order: Lorengo de Sella, Genoese, inhabitant of this city, goes with our insurance to that city of the Kingdom of Granada to negotiate and free



When one of the monarchs died, the peaces and truces lost all force. Therefore, when new monarchs were interested in upholding the peace, they would quickly send messengers before news of the former monarch's death could spread so as to confirm their intention to keep the peace under the conditions stipulated by both kingdoms.⁵⁸

As for the content of these truces, Manuel García Fernández tells us, "the truce was always a tremendously monotonous border institution that from the 13th century always repeated certain clauses from the Pact of Jaén of 1246, the model of Granadian vassalage; these were generic protocols and obligations, always on the level of the state or kingdom. However, each truce had individual clauses that were specific to the given historical period and which not only distinguish, but also help to explain the truces".⁵⁹ In general, each treaty had its own specific determinants that depended on historical circumstances. That is why the people of Sevilla, Córdoba, and Jaén did not have the same aspirations, but rather each understood "their peace" and "their truce" in their own way.⁶⁰

Despite the truces' efforts to guarantee the safety of people and goods, there was always an awareness of risk, which made itself known by a sort of insecurity, because danger and threat were constant. That is why it was extremely difficult to prevent incursions from all kinds of adventurers since depopulation and orography made it easy to enter the other state's territory.⁶¹ All the same, peace was respected and longed for because it provided not only safety, but also understanding, allowing differences to be put aside. Proximity made it easier for individuals on both sides to get to know each other, which was inconceivable in times of war. Real peace fomented an atmosphere of sincerity, reinforced by a mutual understanding among people who shared a living space—that of the border.⁶²

Taking this into account, we can affirm that despite the complex border dynamic, truces allowed for certain means of coexistence among Muslims and Christians in the border zone, independently of any possible attacks or violations of local or

certain things of his merchandise. Therefore, much ... we ask, so because it goes with our insurance as for our contemplation, be well treated and honored in that city and Kingdom, in all the things you need, and it will not be done with anger or harm. And in this, beyond ... our request we will remain in obligation for the things that you command the fader as our own. Our Lord preserve your virtuous person as ... you wish. Of Jaén, XXXVI of November of LXXXIX years"). Viernes 26-XI-1479, AMJ. Libro de Actas Capitulares. doc. 171. Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "En la frontera de Granada...": 303.

58. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Características y proyección de las treguas entre Castilla y Granada durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV", *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, 30 (2008): 277-287.

59. García Fernández, Manuel. "Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI, 1312-1350", *Ifigea: Revista de la Sección de Geografía e Historia*, 5-6 (1988-1989): 135; García Fernández, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2006: 89.

60. García Fernández, Manuel. "Andalucía...": 136.

61. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Dualidad...": 70.

62. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Dualidad...": 70.



isolated truces. In this sense, truces ‘rationalized’ border life,⁶³ making it “more human”, if you will, less exposed to ideological confrontations. This can be seen in some of the trivial aspects of daily proximity, reflected especially in important socioeconomic activities such as commerce, shepherding, trading garments, etc.⁶⁴

In almost all the texts, there are regulations on the commitment to respect the freedom and integrity of subjects from both sides, as well as how fugitives should be treated.⁶⁵ Thus, we can understand why when a peace treaty demanded the return of many captives Muslims would often refuse, alleging that they would be left without any captives for individual exchanges.⁶⁶ This was due to the fact that when a relative was captured and had to be rescued through direct exchange, it was necessary to have an enemy captive. This captive could be bought at slave markets or from someone who had been in combat, who also had the duty to facilitate this purchase for the family.⁶⁷

Taking prisoners during times of truce was considered illegal⁶⁸ and those who were captured during this period had to be returned to their home according to “the ancient law and custom of the borderlands”.⁶⁹ However, there were some cases in which the captive wished to remain in the other state for personal reasons; in such cases, to settle the conflict between the new adopted family and the original one, who hoped to free the supposed captive, believing him to be held against his will on enemy territory, cross-border meeting points were set up so that these captives, who often converted, could exercise their right to free religious determination and decide which side they wanted to live on.⁷⁰

63. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Dualidad...”: 72.

64. García Fernández, Manuel. “La alteridad...”: 230.

65. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia”: 84.

66. AHN. Sección Infantado, Caj. 13, Leg. 1º, f.10, Amador de los Ríos, José. “Memoria...”: 84-85.

67. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia...”: 86.

68. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Cautiverio y martirio...”: 45.

69. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 165. [...] *Se librarán los salvoconductos y las franquicias consabidos a los tratantes, arrieros y comerciantes, musulmanes, cristianos / y judíos de ambas partes, pudiendo ir o venir sus bestias y todas sus mercancías de vuestra nación a la nuestra y de la nuestra a la vuestra, de acuerdo con las costumbres conocidas por los tratados precedentes. Pagarán sus impuestos habituales, según las costumbres reconocidas, con seguridad completa; no sufrirá ninguno de vuestra parte ni de nuestra parte perjuicio ni daño en su persona, bienes / ni condición.* [...] (“The safe-conducts and the franchises known to traffickers, muleteers and merchants, Muslims, Christians / and Jews of both parts will be freed, being able to come or come their beasts and all their goods of your nation to ours and of ours to yours, according to the customs known by the preceding treaties. They will pay their usual taxes, according to recognized customs, with complete security; You will not suffer any of your part or our part harm or injury to your person, property / condition”). 1472 three years truce between Mawlāy Hasan, King of Granada, and Enrique IV of Castile, represented by his ambassadors Diego Soto, ‘comendador’ of Moratalla and doctor Juan Díaz de Alcocer. García Luján, José. *Treguas, Guerras y capitulaciones de Granada (1457-1491). Documentos del Archivo de los Duques de Frías*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 1998: 97-105.

70. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 85. Rodríguez Molina, José. “Libre determinación...”: 693-708; Melo, Carrasco, Diego. “Algunas consideraciones en torno a la frontera, la tregua y libre determinación en la frontera castellano-granadina. S. XIII-XV”. *Estudios de Historia de España*, 14 (2012): 109-120.



The treaties state that fugitives must be welcomed, there being no obligation to return them to where they had been imprisoned. The only rule was that they could not take anything from where they had come. Consequently, they had to return any valuable objects and if they had nothing with them, they had to swear along with the residents of the last place where they had stayed that they had not left anything hidden on their way.⁷¹

5. Captivity: exchange, search, rescue, and emancipation. A proposed analysis

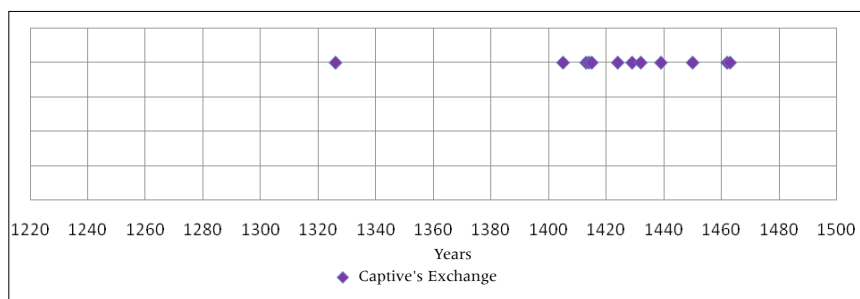
5.1 Exchange

Below, we will suggest a way to analyze truce content in relation to the aforementioned institutions who sought to maintain border peace. To this end, we have broken down the content of the different treaties according to parameters that allow us to analyze the actions of these institutions and thereby compare proposed aims with historic reality.

As for captive exchanges, the chronological aspect of the analysis turns out to be rather telling. We have tracked such exchanges and in order to present them graphically, we have created the following scatter plot, which shows which truces we are talking about.

71. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Las relaciones de convivencia...": 88. [...] *Otrosi si fuxere catiuo christiano o moro rendido o non rendido e \ legare a su tierra que non seamos tenudos de lo tornar pero que \ sea tornado el auer con que fuyo E otra cosa qual quier si fuere fallada \ en su poder E si non fuere fallada en su poder que jure el catiuo sobre \ dicho que non leuo ninguna cosa otrosi que juren los del lugar donde sallere \ e los de la posada donde poso quel que no fuyo con ninguna cosa e que sea \ quito el catiuo sobre dicho e comprehenda este juyzio a los catiuos de amas \ las partes de los christianos e de los moros equal mente en esto E de lo que confirmamos con vos [...]* ("Otheri if I were a Christian captive or a surrendered or not surrendered moro and \ I will arrive at your land that is not had of the to return but that \ it is tornado the have with which I flee and another thing whatever if it were found \ in his power. And if it were not found in his power that the captive should swear on \ said that he did not take anything other than swear those of the place where it comes out \ and those of the inn where he posed that I do not run away with anything and that is \ removed to the above-mentioned captive and understand this judgment to the captives of both \ the parts of the Christians and the Moors also in this and of what we confirm with you"). 1413, Truce for one year between Granada and Castilla. Arribas Palau, Mariano. *Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón*. Tetuan: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes, Editora Marroquí, 1956: 47-56.





GRAPH 1. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT INCLUDE CAPTIVE EXCHANGE.

This diagram clearly shows that truces with clauses on prisoner exchange are concentrated mainly in the 15th century. Those of 1413,⁷² 1414,⁷³ and 1415⁷⁴ are particularly important and all were signed between Granada and Castile during the reign of Fernando I of Antequera (1380-1416), a time marked by military advance. Those of 1424⁷⁵ and 1429 were signed by Granada and Castile during the reign of Juan II (1426-1454). These treaties were immersed in the violent border process that resulted in the taking of prisoners. One example of this is that the truce of 1429 is an extension of the previous one. All of this occurs during the period of

72. [...] nos fagades saber que nos enuiaredesl ocho, o, diez catiuos christianos tansolament somos de aquesto tan marauellados que mas no podemos assi como seyer deuemos razonablement E otra e mellor respuesta speraua\ mos de vos en aquesto ne uso puede scusar que dizides que vuestros vassallos se congoxan\ e la ciudat de Granada sen ha aualotado car uso sodes Rey de vuestro Regno e per consil guent podeades ordonar, e disponer a vuestro arbitrio, e plazer de todas las cosas que son dentro de aquell\ quanto mas rey alto grande honrado exalçado e alabado entro (sic) los moros de nuestro muy caro e muyll amadohermano e amigo continuando en aquesto nuestra instancia uso rogamos que nos\ querades hauer por scusado ca en nenguna manera consideradas las cosas susol dichas nos non fariamos tregas nenguna sin los dichos catiuos christianos que stan en\ vuestrop regno [sin que los dichos cativos christianos] no nos diziedes E sobre aquestas cosas scriuimos clarament de nuestra intención [...] ("let us know you will send us | eight, or, ten Christian captives, we are only of this so marvelous that we are not | we can as well as be reasonably should be. And another and better answer we expected from you in this in use can excuse you saying that your vassals are anxious | and the city of Granada have been crowded to use your King of your Kingdom and therefore you can order, and dispose at your will, and pleasure of all things that are within that the more king high honored great praised and praised among (sic) the moros of our very expensive and very beloved brother and friend continuing in this our use instance we pray that | You want to have excused and in no way considered the aforementioned things we would not make any truces without the said Christian captives who are in your kingdom [without the said Christian captives] did not tell us and about these things we clearly wrote of our intention"). Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 37-39.

73. 1414, Ferdinand I of Aragon to Yusuf III of Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 74-85.

74. 1415, Truce between Castile and Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 85-94.

75. 1424, Truce between John II of Castile and Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad VIII, El Izquierdo, de Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 94-106.



1411-1428,⁷⁶ which has traditionally been identified as a peaceful stage. Yet the truces from these years show that it was not free of border incidents. A similar situation can be observed in the truces of 1431,⁷⁷ 1439,⁷⁸ and 1450,⁷⁹ all of which were between Castile and Granada. Their creation can be linked to the events of the Battle of La Higuera (1431),⁸⁰ in which Granada's weakened state and Castile's capture of prisoners will cause the corresponding clauses to be further elaborated.

As for the truce of 1450, it occurs during a period of Granadan supremacy on the border that coincides with intrigues encouraged by Castile in the sultanate, all of which is added to the developments of border violence.⁸¹ Finally, the agreements

76. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A Possible Periodisation of the Treaties of Peace and Truce between al-Andalus and the Christian Kingdoms (Nasrid Sultanate of Granada with Castile and Aragon) 13th-15th centuries", *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 8 (2014): 211-238.

77. 1431, Pact of vassalage between John II and Yucef Aben Al-Maul. Benavides, Antonio. *Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada*. Tomo VIII, Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: 41-45.

78. [...] E ha de dar el dicho rey de Granada a Alfonso de Astunniga, que está cautivo en el dicho regno de Granada, sin preçio ninguno, desde el día que la dicha tregua se otorgare fasta diez días primeros siguientes.= E ha se de entregar al dicho señor rey de Granada al alcaide Abrahén Alamin, fijo del alcaide Alamin, desde el día que la dicha tregua se otorgare fasta treinta días primeros siguientes.=

A se de entregar al dicho sennor rey de Granada Aben Azeite, que esta cativo en poder de la muger del dicho Alfonso de Astonniga, pagando el dicho sennor rey de Granada, ootro por él, mille doblas de oro castellanas de la vanda que costó a la muger del dicho Alfonso de Astunniga, o por ellas mille doblas do oro valadies // v° de buen oro e de justo peso, el día que las dichas mille doblas se dieren e pagaren. =

Ha se de dar mas al dicho sennor rey Llc Granada un moresno e una moresna que llaman al moresno Mahomad e a la moresna Haxa, que están por rehenes del dicho Alfonso de Astuinniga. Han de dar por ellos de parte del dicho sennor [rey] de Granada un christiano e una christiana moços e sanos, de la hedad de los dichos moresno e moresna, poco mas o menos, de los que están cativos en el dicho regno de Granada [...] ("And the said King of Granada has to give Alfonso de Astunniga, who is captive in the said kingdom of Granada, without any price, from the day that the said truce is granted up to ten following first days.

And he must deliver the said King of Granada to the warden Abrahén Alamin, son of the warden Alamin, from the day that said truce is granted up to thirty following first days.

A to deliver to the said King of Granada Aben Azeite, who is held captive by the wife of the said Alfonso de Astonniga, paying the said King of Granada, another for the thousand gold dubs Castilian of the band that cost the woman of the said Alfonso de Astunniga, or by them a thousand golden doubles valadies // v ° of good gold and of just weight, the day that said thousand doubles are given and paid. =

He has to give more to the said King of Granada a Moor and a Moor who call the Moor Mahomad and the Moor Haxa, who are held hostage by the said Alfonso de Astuinniga. They must give for them on behalf of the said Lord [King] of Granada a Christian and a Christian healthy and healthy, of the age of the said Moors and dwell, more or less, of those who are captives in the said Kingdom of Granada").

1439, Three-year truce agreed by Inigo Lopez de Mendoza with Abd Allah al-Amin. García Luján, José. "Las treguas...": 42-45.

79. 1450, John II communicates grant truces. Abellán, Juan. "Jerez, las treguas de 1450 y la guerra civil granadina", *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, López de Coca Castañer, José, ed. Málaga, 1987: 16.

80. Nieto Soria, José. "El ciclo ceremonial de la batalla de La Higuera (1431)", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12 (2010): 389-404; Motos, Encarnación; Morfakidis, Mosjos. "Un pasaje de Laonicos Calcocondylas relativo a la Batalla de la Higuera y a sus consecuencias inmediatas", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 71- 82.

81. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A possible...": 223-224.



of 1462⁸² and 1463⁸³ correspond to the rule of Enrique IV (1454-1474) and are thus linked to constant truce breaches, which were caused by offensive individual actions on both sides of the border; it was a time of skirmishes, livestock theft, felling, and fires, a time of border violence par excellence.

Therefore, the unsafe conditions imposed by the border, especially in the 15th century, created by individuals or groups of *almogávares*, will result in a series of violent actions: stealing cattle, contraband, and prisoner capture.

In order to control border violence, states created, along with the *jueces de querella* (dispute judges)⁸⁴ to be mentioned in the next section, other municipal offices that

82. [...] Nos, don Pedro Giron, por la gracia de Dios, maestre de la Cavalleria de la Orden de Calatrava. Por quanto el rey nuestro señor, por algunas causas e razones conplideras a su servicio e al bien de sus regnos, nos enbio mandar que asentamos las pazes e tregua e sobreseimiento de guerra con el rey don Ysmael e regno de Granada de barra a barra por cierto tienpo e en cierta forma, segunt todo mas largament se contiene en las cartas e poderes quel dicho señor rey para ello nos mando dar, por virtud de las quales nos asentamos las dichas pazes e tregua e sobreseymiento con el dicho rey e regno de Granada de aquí en fin del mes de mayo primero que verna, del Señor de mil e quatrocientos e sesenta e tres años, con ciertas paryas e cabtyvos, segund todo mas largament se contiene en contrabto que cerca de lo susodicho por nos, en nombre del dicho señor rey, e por los procuradores del dicho rey de Granadam se otorgo. [...] ("[...] We, Don Pedro Giron, by the grace of God, Master of the Cavalry of the Order of Calatrava. Because the king our lord, for some reasons and reasons conplideras to his service and the good of his regnos, sent us to send us settle peace and truce and dismissal of war with King Don Ysmael and kingdom of Granada from bar to bar by a certain time and in a certain way, according to everything, it is contained in the letters and powers that the said king, for this, commanded us to give, by virtue of which we settle the said peace and truces and dismissal with the said king and kingdom of Granada from here to the end of the month of May, the first to come, from the Lord of one thousand four hundred and sixty-three years, with certain parias and captives, according to everything, but it is contained in a contract that close to the above mentioned by us, on behalf of the said Mr. King, and by the solicitors of the said King of Granada was granted"). 1462, Don Peter Girón, Master of Calatrava announced six-month truce with King Ismael of Granada. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463", *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 196.

83. [...] Por ende, por la presente damos poder e facultad conplida a vos, el nuestro bien amado don Pedro Giron, maestre de calatrava, nuestro camarero mayor e del nuestro consejo, para que por nos e en nuestro nombre e de nuestros regnos, podades asentar e firmar e intar la dicha tregua e paz e sobreseimiento de guerra con el dicho rey e moros del dicho regno de Granada por tienpo de ocho meses e con las parias e condiciones acostunbradas en los años pasados e con otras qualesquier que vos entendades que cumple a nuestro servicio, e para cerca dello fazer e otorgar los contrabtos e recabdos que se requieran, o segund que en las dichas treguas que nos al dicho rey e regno en los años pasados dimos e otorgamos se acostunbra a fazer, o como a vos en los años pasados dimos e otorgamos se acostunbra a fazer, o como a vos bien visto fuere.[...] ("[...] Therefore, we hereby give power and power to you, our beloved Mr. Pedro Giron, master of calatrava, our senior waiter and our council, so that for us and in our name and our kingdoms, we can settle sign and intar the said truce and peace and dismissal of war with the said king and Moors of the said region of Granada for eight months and with the pariahs and customary conditions in the past years and with any other that you understand that meets our service, and for close to doing and granting the contracts and errands that are required, or secondly that in the said truces that we have said to the king and kingdom in the past years we gave and granted to get used to doing, or like you in the Last years we gave and granted to get used to doing, or as you well seen it [...]"). 1463, Don Peter Girón, Master of Calatrava, to sign a truce with the kingdom of Granada for eight months. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada...": 197-198.

84. Its documented existence is established from the text of the truces of 1310 in Murcia. However, its clearest configuration is not verified until 1393, with Enrique II who gave full form to the institution, although, in the opinion of Juan de Mata Carriazo not act until 1405 or 1406. In the case of Murcia, Torres believes Fontes find their antecedents in the first half of the fourteenth century, under the name of "Ballesteros de monte", and in the case of Moron, Gonzalez Jimenez recorded it between 1420 and 1427.



would play a transcendental role in recovering stolen objects and locating captives. We're referring to the *fieles del rastro* (trackers).⁸⁵ These were a sort of border patrol

The powers of judges / mayors were: 1.- *Oír las quejas, querellas y agravios de moros y cristianos, juzgándolas conforme a derecho*; 2.- *Todos los habitantes estaban obligados a acudir a sus emplazamientos y a entregarle cualquier persona que hubiese quebrantado la tregua*; 3.- *Tenía la facultad para conceder autorización para hacer prendas en territorio granadino como represalia*; 4.- *Todos los habitantes del reino estaban obligados a prestarle su ayuda y cumplir sus órdenes en el transcurso del ejercicio de sus funciones*; 5.- *Tenía autoridad para ordenar y hacer cuantas cosas considerara convenientes para la seguridad de la frontera. Había a lo largo de la frontera cuatro alcaldes mayores entre moros y cristianos, en el obispado de Cádiz, Sevilla, Córdoba-Jaén y Murcia, y probablemente actuaban en pareja, musulmán y cristiano, en cada sector fronterizo* ("1.- Hear the complaints, complaints and grievances of Moors and Christians, judging them according to law; 2.- All the inhabitants were obliged to go to their places and to deliver to him anyone who had broken the truce; 3.- He had the faculty to grant authorization to make garments in Granada territory in retaliation; 4. All the inhabitants of the kingdom were obliged to lend their help and carry out their orders in the course of the exercise of their functions; 5.- He had the authority to order and do as many things as he deemed convenient for the security of the border. There were four major mayors among Moors and Christians along the border, in the bishopric of Cádiz, Seville, Córdoba-Jaén and Murcia, and they probably acted as a couple, Muslim and Christian, in each border area"). We know that this institution was replicated across the border and was called Judge between Kings (al-Qadi al-Muluk bayna). Figure this title referred to Grenadian Mayor Ali Sa'id al-Amin private secretary Sultan Abu l-Hasan 'Ali and head of the office interpretation of his chancellorship, which also served magistracy said Safar 5 875 = 3 August 1470. the powers that had this judge were: *la competencia para fallar las querellas que los cristianos pudieran formular contgora los granadinos por las infracciones cometidas por éstos a los tratados de treguas convenidos por ambas partes, durante la vigencia de los mismos* ("the competence to rule the complaints that christians could make against the citizens of Granada for the infractions committed by them to the truce treaties agreed upon by both parties, during the validity thereof"). See Quesada, Tomás. *La Serranía de Mágina en la Baja Edad Media*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989: 181; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Instituciones...": 71; Giménez Soler, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada*. Barcelona: Imprenta de la casa provincial de la caridad, 1908: 167-169; Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera...": 55; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Un alcalde entre los...": 104; Torres Fontes, Juan. "El alcalde entre Moros y cristianos del reino de Murcia". *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 78 (1960): 55-80.; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Notas sobre los fieles del rastro y alfaqueques murcianos". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 10 (1961): 92; González Giménez, Manuel. "Morón, una villa de frontera (1402-1427)". *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 57; Seco de Lucena, Luis. "El Juez de frontera y los fieles del rastro", *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 7 (1957): 140; Porras Arboleda, Pedro. "La frontera del Reino de Granada a través del libro de actas del Cabildo de Jaén de 1476". *Al-qantara*, 14 (1993): 154.

85. When an algar was carried out in the border limits that came to the jurisdiction of a council, a whole apparatus was set in motion that had the purpose of keeping track of the thing lost or stolen, or the trace of the captive. This last mission was entrusted to the rastros. The faithful of the trail constituted an institution at the service of the border judge, a sort of "border police", who was in charge of following the footsteps of the alleged criminal until they found it. In general, they constitute a closed corporation of individuals appointed, educated and sworn, being primarily a council office. There are very few details that we have about your organization and the ones that exist are the ones referring to the corporation of faithful of the trail of the Council of Jaén that was constituted by 30 people.

Their services were not only demanded by the mayors between Moors and Christians, but also by the alcaldes mayores of the border. In this sense, not only were they limited to the persecution of those who broke peace with the Kingdom of Granada, but they were also employed in the resolution of similar problems among Christians; at least in the kingdom of Murcia, this was the case.

The most remote antecedents of this tracing office go back to the 14th century and appear for the first time with its functions delimited in the truces signed in 1331; since then, the office was constituted. His action was coordinated by the mayors of the trail and his performances were recorded by the scribe of the trail.

Its *modus operandi* was the following: when a violence was committed on a person or thing on the part of the people on the other side of the border, the injured themselves, by themselves, or represented



that followed the footprints of the suspected criminal or captive until they found him and recovered all that had been stolen.

5.2 On the rescue and liberation of captives

We have already touched on the issue of captivity and the situation of captives, indicating why this was the real scourge of the border. Indeed, as Juan Manuel Calderón Ortega has recently stated in an interesting article, “Once they were captured, [the captives] were taken to a secluded place, which could be very far from where they had been apprehended [...]. The secluded places varied since the influx of prisoners was so great that authorities were forced to prepare special areas [...]. The prisoners had to systematically bear irons, fetters, handcuffs, wooden clamps, iron halters, chains, iron cages, and other instruments to immobilize them [...]. These terrible conditions were no different for Moors or Christians [...] prisoners were piled up in foul-smelling, deep, underground dungeons, in awfully unhealthy conditions, exposed to all types of diseases, covered in rags [...]”.⁸⁶

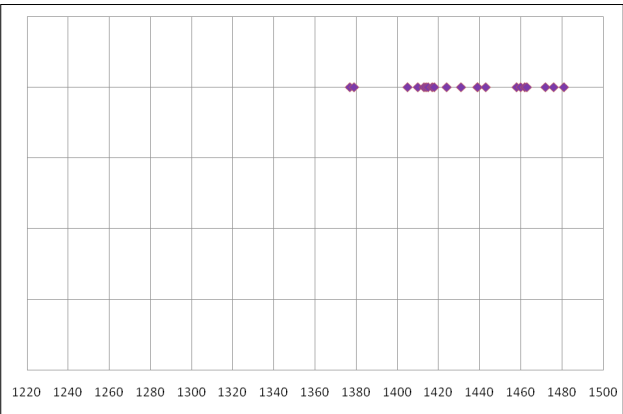
Therefore, rescuing captives goes hand in hand with exchanging them, and in this sense the truces are very specific, especially as we approach the 15th century. In fact, this clearly shows the connection between border violence and prisoner capture as a result of *almogávar* activity. Although it is true that these military leaders stole cattle and everything else considered booty, it is also true that the biggest benefit was to be found in taking captives, which were possible objects of sale or exchange and were important from a political standpoint.

by their council, claimed the services of these faithful of the Trace, who went to the place of abuse, recognized the traces of the attackers and followed their trail to the limit with another council. Then there they summoned the corresponding authorities and rastreros and gave them the trail; thus, those who receive it must respond to the violence, unless the trace passes to another term, whose neighbors and rastreros can receive it, in turn. And so, it continues, until you reach the place where the captive is, the stolen thing or the thieves, who are compelled to return them or pay compensation. Established the responsibility of the alleged criminals, the judge dictated sentence, which was to be executed within fifty days. Quesada, Tomás. “La Serranía...”: 179; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El alcalde entre moros...”: 58; Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 90; Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 19-29; Porras Arboleda, Pedro. “El derecho de frontera...”: 278. An example of this is what is displayed in a letter dated March 16, 1465 in Martos, where Juan Docampo, commander or mayor of the town of Martos by the master of Calatrava, to Alcalá la Real. About some Moors that it claims [...] *A lo que, sennores me escriuis de moro que yo mande entre-/ gar a la çibdad, me escribieron requiriéndome que, pues el rrastro me era dado por vos otros, / carta de su requerimiento/ me enviaron una carta firmada de los nonbres de vos otros, sennores, en la qual se contiene commo vos otros, sennores, les fistes saber que avyades entregado el rrastro de aquel moro esta villa, e commo avyades sabido que aquel moro estaua en la villa de Porcuna e que codemandasen a la dicha villa [...]* (“To which, gentlemen you wrote to me of moro that I ordered to deliver to the city, they wrote to me requesting that, since the trail was given to me by you others, letter of your request they sent me a signed letter of the nuns of you, gentlemen, in which is contained as you, gentlemen, you made them know that you had given the trail of that Moor this town, and as you had known that the Moor was in the village of Porcuna and co-defendant to the said town”). Juan Lovera, Carmen. *Colección Diplomática medieval de Alcalá la Real*. Jaén: Ayuntamiento, 1988: 166.

86. Calderón Ortega, José. “La liberación alternativa: Reflexiones en torno a las fugas de cautivos durante la Edad Media”. *Medievalismo*, 18 (2008): 16.

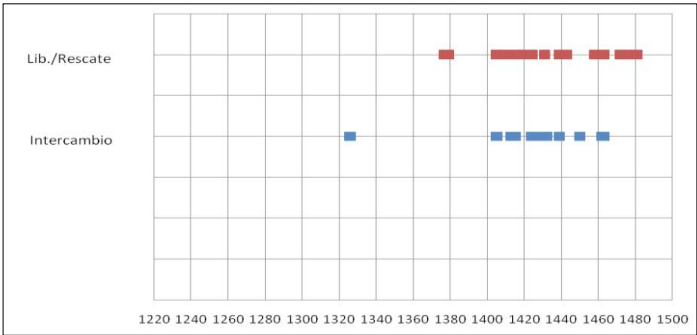


Truces will thus include various mentions of this issue, often prolonging their negotiation. In the following graph, we compile mentions of captive emancipation and rescue that appear in the truces studied. On very few occasions do the texts specify the full name of those seeking freedom.⁸⁷



GRAPH 2. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT INDICATE RESCUE AND RELEASE OF CAPTIVES.

As we can see, these references to rescue and emancipation are concentrated in the 15th century, in the period of 1400-1440. The case of captive exchange is similar, as is expressed in the following graph:



GRAPH 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EXCHANGE (IN BLUE) AND RELEASE OR RESCUE OF CAPTIVES (IN RED).

87. See Appendix.

Based on these observations, it appears that the 15th century was characterized as an epoch in which border violence made itself very manifest and resulted in captivity. Nonetheless, we must not forget that during this time, periods of civil war in the Nasrid Emirate and to a lesser degree in Castile result in commotion at the border, since without clear laws or truces in force, due to the starts and stops that so often follow each other, many get immersed in the commotion, seeking captives and booty.⁸⁸

5.3. Border institutions and their activities: *fieles del rastro* and *jueces de querella*

The following scatter plot will help us to locate the appearance of *fieles del rastro* in the truces that we have studied.



GRAPH 4. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES INDICATING THE ACTION OF THE TRAIL FAITHFUL.

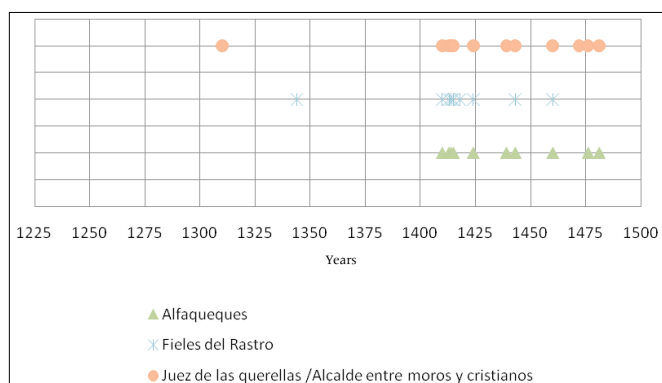
As can be observed, the references occur during the 15th century. This can be explained by the fact that, as has already been mentioned several times, 15th century truces tend to be shorter than agreed upon. This is due firstly to breaches; secondly, to the complex Granadian political situation and sultan turnover during the middle of the century;⁸⁹ and thirdly, to constant *almogávar* activity at the border during the last third of the century. All of this, in our opinion, causes the truces to focus on two important aspects: restablishing business activity at the border level through regulations on trade and taxes; mitigating border violence through border entities in charge of keeping the peace. That is the context in which *fieles del rastro* become relevant.

88. Torres Fontes, Juan. "La frontera...": 165.

89. Vidal Castro, Francisco. "Una década turbulenta de la dinastía nazarí de Granada en el siglo XV: 1445-1455", *En el epílogo del Islam andalusí: La Granada del siglo XV*. Granada: Grupo de Investigación Ciudades Andaluzas bajo el Islam, Celia del Moral, ed. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002: 75-116.



This situation can be plainly seen when analyzing mentions of *jueces de querella* and *fieles del rastro* in the truces we have studied, as is shown in the following combined scatter plot.



GRAPH 5. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT INDICATE THE ACTION OF ALPHAKEKS, JUDGES OF THE COMPLAINTS AND FAITHFUL OF THE TRAIL.

This graph gives us an idea of the relationship between references to *jueces de querella* and references to *fieles del rastro*. A correlation can be observed from 1410⁹⁰

90. [...] *Que sean puestos jueces para ello en las villas e señoríos de anbas las partes, en los lugares de los cristianos o de los moros, a do acaeciére, para que sean jueces e fieles (156vC) para que provean en las querellas e continúen los juyzios dellas, e fagan pagar los daños.*

E quando acaeciéren las tales querellas de la vna parte a la otra, en los averes o en las personas e otras cosas que pueden acaecer semejantes, que vayan por el rastro, e den el rastro a do fuere fallado que fué mal fecho; e a la parte donde fuere, que sean tenudos a lo rezeuir [...] ("[...] That they be appointed judges for it in the villas and lordships of anbas the parties, in the places of the Christians or of the Moors, to where it happens, so that they are judges and faithful (156vC) so that they provide in the quarrels and continue the trials of them, and make the damages pay.

And when such quarrels from one side to the other occur, in the assets or in the persons and other things that may happen to be similar, that they may go by the trail, and give the trace to wherever it was found that it was wrongly done; and to the part where it is, that are had to receive it [...]"). 1410, Treaty truces with Granada. García de Santa María, Alvar. "Crónica...": 402-407.

to 1424,⁹¹ as well as from 1439⁹² to 1460.⁹³ The first stage coincides with the border

91. [...] *con nos que adelantemos vos, e nos jue | ses fieles en las partidas de nuestras villas, e nuestros señorios que oygan las querellas, | e ayan poder de las judgar, e de las librar, e pagar los querellosos de amas las | partes de lo que se aforma sobre ello, esta pas de nos, e de vos el Rey onrrado | Rey de granada sobre dicho que quando acaesçer que sea segui | do el Rastro, e se pa | raren sean demandados los de la partida so se parare el Rastro, e ellos que sean | tenudos de lo Resçebir, e sy lo non quiesieren Resçebir, e ouiere testigos dello que | sean tenudos a pagar lo que se perdiere, e que sea asignado el plaso a lo Resçebir del | día que acaesçiere en diez días, e se llega en la demanda contra los fechores E | esperen sobre la partida donde se parare el Rastro entre ellos plaso de cinquenta | días, e sy fuere fallado lo que fuere tomado que sea tornado a cuyo fuere E sy | non fuere fecho cumplimiento de derecho al dicho plaso que sean tenudos los | dichos jueses de las querellas en aquella partida que fagan a lo de aquella partida | pechar lo que se perdiere, e sy se detouiëre el jue de las querellas de non librar en | el dicho plaso que fagan dello suplicaçion a nos, e a vos, e a lo que ouiere de oyr | por nos, e por vos que lo mandemos librar, e faserle emienda dello, e dar pena | al jue sobre dicho, e lo que es a pagar por lo que dicho es por las personas que sean || tornadas ellas mesmas antes del plaso, e despues en toda manera, e que maten a los mal | fechores, e sy fueren falladas las personas despues de la muerte de los malfechores | que sean tornados, e sy non pudieren ser ávidos que paguen por cada persona dellas quaren | ta doblas de oro, e los ganados, e las otras cosas que non pudieren ser tornadas pa | gado por cada cosa su valor segunt lo que tasaren los jueses, e sea juyzio comun | a cada parte de amas las partes cristianos, e moros equal en esto [...]* (“[...] with us, let us go ahead, and we will | faithful people in the games of our villas, and our lords who hear the complaints, | and the power to judge, and to deliver, and to pay those who love you, love them | parts of what is shaped about it, this peace of us, and of you the King honored | King of grenade on said that when it happens that the Rastro is followed, and they stop being sued the ones of the game so the Rastro will stop, and they that are | have received it, and if they do not want to receive it, and there would be witnesses of that | be had to pay what is lost, and to be assigned the term to receive it from | day that they happen ten days, and it arrives in the lawsuit against the deeds E | wait on the departure where the Rastro will stop between them fifty term | days, and if it is found whatever it is taken that is tornado to which it is E yes | the fulfillment of the right to the said term is not fulfilled; said judges of the complaints in that game that they make at that game | pay what is lost, and if the judge stops the complaints of not freeing in | the said term that makes of it supplication to us, and to you, and to what you would have to hear | for us, and for you that we send it to be rid of, to make you believe in it, and to pity | to the judge about said, and what it is to pay for what said is for the persons that are || tornadas themselves before the deadline, and then in any way, and kill the evil | deeds, and if the people were found after the death of the malefactors | that they are tornadoes, and can not be had to pay for each person of them forty golden doubles, and the cattle, and the other things that can not be returned paid for each thing its value according to what the judges, common judgment | to each part of both the Christian parts, e moros equal in this [...]). 1424, Truce between John II of Castile and Abu ‘Abd Allah Muhammad VIII, “El Izquierdo”, of Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. “Las treguas...”: 94-106.

92. [...] *Han de ser puestos é nonbrados por los dichos Señores reyes, é con sus poderes, jueçes para determinar los dichos danos, robos, saltos, muertes, é desfacer las prendas é oir los querellosos, segund los tiempos pasados fueron puestos, é los preçios convertibles de las cosas que se tomaren, ó robaren, ó mataren, é se non pudieren aver. [...]* (“[...] They must be appointed and appointed by the said lords, kings, and with their powers, judges to determine the said damages, robberies, jumps, deaths, and undo the garments and hear the complainants, according to the past times were put, and the convertible prices of things that are taken, or stolen, or killed, and if there could not be [...]). 1439, Chapters of the conclusion of the truce. Amador de los Ríos, José. “Memoria...”: 128-131.

93. [...] *E de lo que afirmamos en estas pazes con vos el dicho rey hon[r]rado de Granada sobredicho e lo afrimades vos con nos que adelantemos e oygan las querellas e ayan poder para las judgar e de los librar e pagar los querellosos de amas las partes, e de lo que se afirma sobre ella esta paz de nos a vos el rey honrrado de Granada sobredicho e quando acaesçiere querella de qualquier de amas las partes en cuerpos e en averes e en otra qualquier cosa de lo que puede acaesçer que sea seguido el rastro de los fechores e de lo que fuere tomado e do llegare el rastro e se parare sean demandados los de la partida do se pararae el rastro, e ellos que sean tenudos de las reçeber e sy lo non qisyeren reçeber e ouiere testigos dello que sean tenudos a pagar lo que se pediere, e que sea asynado el plazo a lo reçeber del día que acaesçiere en diez días e sea allegada la demanda contra los fechores e esperesn la partida donde se parare el rastro entre ellos plazo de cinquenta días e si fuere fallado lo que le fuere tomado que sea tenuto a cuyo fuere e sy no fuere*



situation of 1405-1410. The reference that occurs towards 1424 may be linked to the complex border situation caused by constant truce breaches and short-lasting reestablishments.

The period coinciding with the 15th century has the first mention of *fieles del rastro*, in the truce of 1439,⁹⁴ signed during the reign of Juan II (1406-1454). It establishes a series of specifications on vassalage and captive delivery, all of which was linked largely to episodes of border violence. Finally, the reference of 1460 is related to a truce signed by Granada and Castile under Enrique IV. This truce stipulates, among other things, "Mutual defense, inflicting no harm at the border, returning merchandise taken by the tax collector or escaped prisoner to its owner, assurance letters for merchants, not welcoming escaped nobles or tax collectors,

fecho complimiento de derecho al dicho plazo que sean tenudos los dichos juezes de las querellas en aquella partida que fagan a los de aquella partida pechar lo que se perdiere e si se detoviene juez de las querellas de no librar en el dicho plazo que faga dello suplicaçion a nos e a vos e al que lo oviere de aver por nos e por vos, e nos e vos lo mandemos librar e fazer enmienda dello e dar pena al juez sobredicho, e lo que es pagar lo que dicho es por las presonas que sean tornadas a ellas mesmas antes del plazo e despues en tienpo toda manera que maten a los malfechores, e si fueren falladas las presonas despues de la muerte de los malfechores que sean tornadas, e sino pudieren ser ávidos que paguen por cada persona dellas quarenta doblas de oro e los ganados e las otras cosas que no pudieron ser tornadas sea pagado por cada cosa un valor segund lo que tasaren los juezes e que sea este juyzio común a cada parte de amas las partes christianos e moros e ygual en esto [...] ("[...] And of what we affirm in these peace with you the aforementioned honored King of Granada and you affirm with us that we go ahead and hear the quarrels and have power to judge and to deliver and pay the complainants of both parties, and of what is affirmed about her this peace from us to you the honored king of Granada above and when there is a quarrel of either of the parties in bodies and in salaries and in any other thing of what may happen that the trace of the deeds and what was taken and where the trail will come and stop will be demanded those of the game where the trail will be stopped, and they will be had of the receiving and if they do not want to receive it and there will be witnesses of it that will be had pay what is requested, and that is assigned the term to receive the day that occurs in ten days and be joined the lawsuit against the deputies and wait for the game where the trace between them within fifty days and if it were found or whatever may be taken that is held to which it is and if it is not done in compliance with the right to said term that the said judges of the complaints have in that game that makes those of that party pay what is lost and if stop judge of the quarrels not to deliver in the aforementioned period to make it supplication to us and to you and to whoever is there for us and for you, and we and you send it to deliver and make an amendment of it and to pity the judge above, and what it is to pay what is said is for the victims who are turned to themselves before the deadline and then in time any way they kill the wrongdoers, and if the people were found after the death of the evildoers they are turned, and if they cannot be paid for each person forty gold doubles and the cattle and other things that could not be returned are paid for each thing a value according to what the judges assess and that to this judgment common to each part of both the Christian and Moorish parties and the same in this [...]"). 1460 Chapters of truces signed between Henry IV and Çad of Granada. García Guzmán, María. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xericiense. El tratado de paz de 1460", *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 11-12 (2010): 108-110.

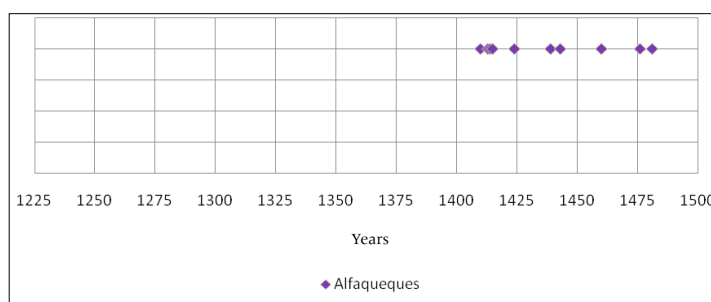
94. [...] *E han de ser puestos e nonbrados por los dichos sennores reyes, e con sus poderes, juezes para determinar los dannos, robos, saltos, muertes e desfazer las prendas e oír los querellosos, segund los tienpos pasados fueron puestos, en los preçios convenibles de las cosas que se tomares o robaren mataren e non se pudieren aver [...]* ("[...] And they must be appointed and appointed by the said kings, and with their powers, judges to determine the damages, thefts, jumps, deaths and undo the garments and hear the complainants, according to the past times were put, at the convenient prices of things that are taken or stolen will kill and can not be [...]"). 1439, *Tregua de tres años acordada por Iñigo López de Mendoza con Abd Allah al-Amín* García Luján, José. "Las treguas...": 42-45.



[and] not returning escaped prisoners".⁹⁵ To sum up, this truce sought to reestablish cordial relations between two states, which had been broken by ever more frequent border incidents.

Hence, the actions of *jueces de querella* and *fieles del rastro* reflect not only a shade of violence at the border, but also the area's ability to organize and the emergence of rather interesting offices and personalities that can only be understood in this particular situation. In this sense, we have a "hot border"⁹⁶ not so much because of military confrontations between two states as much as due to border incidents, which will become more common over time. That is why truce pacts set deadlines to make amends and avoid breaches and new hostilities, although reprisals will always be considered a right, and as such, will be invoked whenever necessary, thus raising the possibility of breaching a truce and resuming violence.⁹⁷

The actions of *alfaqueques* (ransomers of captives) are also registered in the various truce treaties. The following graph shows when these are mentioned in the treaties we have studied.



GRAPH 6. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRUCES THAT CONTEMPLATE ACTION OF ALFAQUEQUES.

95. García Luján, José. "Las treguas...": 108-110.

96. *La quietud no fue norma que imperara en la frontera, ya que la actividad, pacífica o belicosa de sus más cercanos vecinos sería permanente y los hechos de corto alcance, la continuidad de las penetraciones en busca de botín y cautivos, no cesaría y a las acciones depredatorias seguían las represalias. Y en estas fases de paz oficial pero de incontenible actividad fronteriza, que no logran impedir las autoridades mayores y menores de ambos reinos, persiste la inseguridad que todas las poblaciones cercanas pueden desconocer y tienen siempre presente pese al deseo generalizado de buena vecindad por una y otra parte* ("Stillness was not the rule that prevailed at the border, since the activity, peaceful or bellicose of its closest neighbors would be permanent and the short-term events, the continuity of penetrations in search of plunder and captives, would not cease the actions predators followed the reprisals. And in these phases of official peace but uncontainable border activity, which fail to prevent the major and minor authorities of both kingdoms, insecurity persists that all nearby populations may be unaware of and always keep in mind despite the general desire for good neighborliness for one and other part"). Torres Fontes, Juan. "La frontera...": 97.

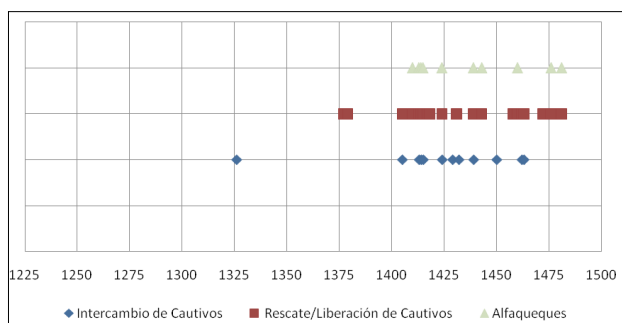
97. Rodríguez Molina, José. "La vida de moros...": 333.



Although, as James Brodman points out,⁹⁸ the practice of emancipation was not institutionalized until the 12th century, it won't be until the 13th century that the monarchs try to create order, stipulating *alfaques*' competencies and obligations in the *Partidas*, and later in the law codes of Alcalá de Henares (1348), the Toro Codes (1368), and the Toro Courts (1371).

If we study the graph, we can see that references to *alfaques* in the truces are concentrated in the 15th century, basically in the period of 1410-1481, but mainly in the period of 1410-1424. This time was characterized by border violence and military activity that would lead to the taking of captives.⁹⁹ On the other hand, during truce breaches, border violence would manifest itself in the taking of not only captives, but also goods such as livestock.¹⁰⁰

In order to verify *alfaques* activity in the best way possible, we must analyze it in terms of prisoner exchange and liberation according to the data provided in the truces. This makes their contribution in the 15th century much clearer. The following graph shows this cross analysis:



GRAPH 7. SCATTER DIAGRAM OF TRIPS THAT INDICATE EXCHANGE AND RESCUE OF CAPTIVES IN RELATION WITH THE ACTION OF THE ALFAQUES.

It is interesting to verify that the truces involving *alfaques* are precisely the ones that mention captive rescue and exchange. This makes sense if the three aforementioned tasks correspond to *alfaques*, although not only to them. On the other hand, it is also interesting to see that a good deal of *alfaques* activity is concentrated in the 15th century, which was marked by a much more dangerous

98. Brodman, James. "Municipal Ransoming Law on the Medieval Spanish Frontier", *Speculum*, 60/2 (1985): 324-330.

99. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A possible...": 222-225.

100. Díaz Borras, Andrés. *El miedo al Mediterráneo: la caridad popular valenciana y la redención de cautivos bajo el poder musulmán (1323-1539)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001: 61.

military situation, at least during the rule of Juan II, and a greater number of border incidents.

6. Conclusion

Based on this analysis, we can observe that truces tended to occur in the final period, in the 15th century overall. This reflects nothing less than a heightening of military-political tension due to Castilian expansionism and the ambitions or interests of nobles and other Castilian classes, for whom the war on Islam was a pretext and a source of exaltation, social mobility, and wealth, as research has shown. In this sense, the scourge of the border par excellence and of military action in general will be captivity. In response to this and to organize border life, the truces will establish and regulate peace-seeking institutions, which, as can be observed in the quantitative analysis, were most active in the period prior to the final war of 1482-1492.

Maintaining border security, resolving controversies, and rescuing captives reveal the efforts of both sides to safeguard peace and at the same time maintain relations between the two states, which benefit from business. In addition, this gives the two states a break from the internal conflicts they must sometimes face.

Finally, it is interesting to see how the Nasrid Emirate of Granada managed to make diplomacy an efficient peacekeeping tool so as to resolve its own internal divisions. The Nasrid government was able to visualize, with enormous diplomatic realism, what was most convenient for its society. This allowed the sultanate, and thus al-Andalus, to survive almost all of the 15th century, and in general during its entire history beginning in 1232.

From the detailed analysis of the truce treaty can be deduced that they were especially concerned about establishing flows and relations of good vicinity. One of the most frequent and crucial issues of these treaties refers to the measures and procedures to deal the capture as well as the rescue of prisoners. This shows an interest to organize the entire process not only recover captives but also to anticipate the irregular capture of prisoners in the future. Over the 80% of the treaties signed in the fifteenth century relate to these concerns.

Also, it is significant that at least in the 60% of the cases the truces make reference in their articles to the captives, but only de 25% of them refer to the alfaqueque or other institutions related to the rescue of prisoners. This shows that captives and alfaqueque do not always appeared together in the treaties, since de latter act only when the pact does not consider the return of captives (usually required by Castilla from the Nasrid State). By remaining the captives under Nasrid domain, it was necessary to hire the alfaqueque services and ease his access to border zones to accomplish his role.



Appendix. Truces indicating captive exchange, rescue, or emancipation, the ctivity of *almogávares*, *adalides*, *alfaqueques*, *fieles del rastro*, and *jueces de querella*.

Year	Captive exchange	Captive rescue or emancipation	Almogávares	Adalides	Alfaqueques	Fieles del rastro	Juez de querella / mayor of Moors and Christians
1310							x
1326	x						
1344						x	
1377		x					
1379		x					
1405	x	x	x				
1410		x			X	x	x
1414	x	x			X	x	x
1415	x	x			X	x	x
1417		x					
1418		x	x			x	
1424	x	x			X	x	x
1429	x						
1431		x					



PROFILE OF THE MERCANTILE OLIGARCHY IN THE MID-RANGE JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE KINGDOM OF ARAGON: THE AVINCACEZ FAMILY FROM BARBASTRO (HUESCA) IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES

MIGUEL ÁNGEL MOTIS DOLADER
UNIVERSIDAD SAN JORGE
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

Prior to its extinction due to the Disputation of Tortosa, the city of Barbastro had a Jewish community about three hundred inhabitants. Within that community, there was a large body of *negotiators* who dealt with the movement of capital, the clothing trade for domestic consumption, and the trade of equine cattle (donkeys, mules and nags) which was essential for the transport of goods. Their credit *hinterland* coincided with the area of influence of the annual fair. In that context, the Avincacez lineage constituted a paradigm of the ruling classes' business mentality of the Jewish quarter. This lineage was represented by three members: Durán, Nicim and Haym who were specialists in the textile business (drapers).¹

KEY WORDS

Barbastro (Huesca, Spain), Avincacez, Merchants, Jewish Community.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Barbastrum (Osca, Hispania), Avincacez, Mercatores, Iudaeorum Communitas.

1. This article is part of a research project with the sponsorship of The Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture of New York. Used abbreviations: ACA, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón; ADB, Archivo Diocesano de Barbastro; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional; AHPH, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Huesca; AHProv.Z, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza; AHPT, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Tarazona; AMB, Archivo Municipal de Barbastro.

1. Introduction

This study is based on more than four hundred documents, most of them are economic and are dated from 1390-1415 (when the community disappears). These documents are from the Municipal Archive of Barbastro, the Ecclesiastical Archive of Barbastro, the Provincial Historical Archive of Huesca, and the Crown of Aragon Archive. Some of these documents are inquisitorial trials from the Archivo Provincial de Zaragoza (Provincial Historical Archive of Saragossa).²

Situated in the north-eastern Aragon, Barbastro was considered a “second-range” city.³ It had a steady population around 2,000 inhabitants,⁴ which means around 400 homes.⁵ Barbastro was also the home of a restless Jewish community since the beginning of the Islamic period. The city had eleven public notaries⁶ which is an indication of the economic dynamism of a town with a large rural hinterland. Barbastro was located in a strategic spot that connected Eastern lands and Catalonia with the Southern part of the Kingdom of Aragon and the Castilian border on the west.

As for the population of minorities, the notary’s protocols collected 36 Mudejar men between 1401 and 1415 while the Jewish population consisted of 190 adults between 1390 and 1415; that is five times bigger. The Mudejar quarter comprised 12 homes⁷ according to the tax counting, that means that the Jewry comprised 65 homes (in other words, 260-295 people) if we apply the same ratio. Moreover, if we compare the *monedaje* (old tax in the Crown of Aragon) of the year 1414 —Jews were exempt to pay that tax— which identified 363 tax units to the counting of 1451, when the tax units raised to 494 units —including new converts—, we can establish that in just four decades the population had increased in 131 adults (400-525 people). That means that 70-75% of the Jews⁸ were baptized. If we look at the extraordinary subsidies accrued in the first third of the 14th century (1332-1335),

2. Saucó Álvarez, María Teresa. “Fondos notariales bajomedievales de Barbastro”. *IV Jornadas de Estudios sobre Aragón en el umbral del siglo XXI*. Saragossa: Instituto de Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2005: 117-122.

3. Navarro Espinach, Germán. “Ciudades y villas del reino de Aragón en el siglo XV. Proyección institucional e ideología burguesa”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 16 (2009-2010): 196-198.

4. Saucó Álvarez, María Teresa. “La sobrecolida de Barbastro en la Baja Edad Media: Demografía y poblamiento”. *La población de Aragón en la Edad Media (siglos XIII-XV)*. Saragossa: Departamento de Historia Medieval, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2004: 595-623.

5. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro y sus estrategias políticas y económicas a mediados del siglo XV”. *Revista d’Historia Medieval*, 10 (1999):125.

6. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro...”: 149.

7. When the Mudejar community belonged to Royalty, it consisted of five homes. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Abellá Samitier, Juan. “La población del Reino de Aragón según el fogaje de 1405”. *La población de Aragón en la Edad Media (siglos XIII-XV)*, Saragossa: Departamento de Historia Medieval, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2004: 150-162.

8. Juste Arruga, María Nieves; Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. “La judería de Barbastro y el hallazgo de unos fragmentos de *Hanukkiyah*”. *Somontano*, 9 (2014): 7-41.



mainly for military campaigns, Barbastro ranked sixth on a total of seventeen Jewish communities belonging to the Crown.⁹

2. Historical Context

The progenitor of the lineage was contemporary of the attack of Bertrand du Guesclin's army. The king tried to mitigate damage with fiscal measures (1366-1370). During five years, the king allocated half of the taxes coming from the horse business.¹⁰ The spreading fire affected the *domus oracionis*, interior homes and the vicinity of the Zuda —*extra Çudam intus et existencium*— where the Jewish quarter was located. In this regard, the king Pedro IV (1368) prohibited jurors to use the stones from the arches of the synagogue —*lapides archorum ipsius sinagoge*— to repair the walls and moats.¹¹ That did not prevent a continuous flow of migrants, as it was endorsed in royal order to protect the rights of foreign Jews to settle down there.¹²

The Avincacez family also lived the changes unleashed in the summer of 1391 by *malfeitores e criminales* [troublemakers and criminals], being confined in the Zuda¹³ under the protection of the Governor.¹⁴ Once again, their neighbours had to retreat to higher trims neighbourhoods protected by the Muslim fortress¹⁵ due to the bombing by Count de Foix's troops in 1395. In 1398, the justice and the judges ensured the integrity of the Jewry and its inhabitants. For that purpose, a new tax was generated and it would attend the costs of the army. That can be seen in the records of Royal Heritage for the period 1399-1405. The amount was 200 *sueldos* [monetary unit] per year.¹⁶ No forced conversions can be appreciated

9. Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. "La fiscalidad catalanoaragonesa y las aljamas de judíos en la época de Alfonso IV (1327-1336): los subsidios extraordinarios". *Acta Historica et Archaeologica Medievalia*, 3 (1983): 133-139 (tables V-VIII).

10. Escribá, Gemma, ed. *The Jews in the Crown of Aragon. Regesta of the Cartas Reales in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Part. II: 1328-1493*, Jerusalem: Ginzei Am Olam, the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, 1995: 230 (doc. No. 1165).

11. Riera i Sans, Jaume. *Els poders públics i les sinagogues. Segles XIII-XV*, Girona: Patronat Municipal Call de Girona-Centre Bonastruc Ça Porta, 2006: 363-364 (doc. No. 168).

12. Escribá, Gemma. *The Jews in the Crown of Aragon*: 116-117 (doc. No. 868).

13. Cabañero Subiza, Bernabé. "Notas para la reconstrucción de la ciudad islámica de Barbastro (Huesca)". *Somontano*, 5 (1995): 29; Betrán, Abadía. *La forma de la ciudad. Las ciudades de Aragón en la Edad Media*. Saragossa: Colegio de Arquitectos de Aragón, 1992: 256.

14. Baer, Fritz. *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien. Aragon und Navarra*. Berlin: Veröffentlichungen der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Historische Sektion, 1929: I, 677 (doc. No. 424) and Roth, Norman. "1391 in Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia and Majorca". *Iberia Judaica*, 3 (2011): 49-75.

15. López Novoa, Saturnino. *Historia de Barbastro*. Barbastro: Sociedad Mercantil y Artesana, 1981: 145-146.

16. Escribá, Gemma. *The Jews in the Crown of Aragón...*: 262-263 (doc. No. 1254).



as it happened in other similar communities, though the capital market was momentarily paralyzed.¹⁷

The extinction of the Jewry occurred because of the Disputation of Tortosa, producing the turning point in February to June 1414. The *adelantados* Lop Comparat and Haym Gacenyó held their jobs until mid November¹⁸ when a hundred twenty of the most influential families converted in Calatayud, Daroca, Fraga and Barbastro.¹⁹ Nevertheless, in April 19th 1415, we have evidence that a thousand Jews from Lleida, Tamarite, Fraga, and Daroca were baptized whilst *magna pars ville Barbastri*.²⁰

So just a week later,²¹ after establishing that *iudei olim in eadem villam commorantes, divina gratia mediante, sunt ad fidem Christi orthodoxam conversi*, Benedict XIII consecrated the synagogue into a church under the invocation of San Salvador. Nowadays, the shrine of Esperanza still remains. Close to it, some ceramic fragments of a *hanukkiyah*²² have been found. Benedict XIII also enabled an adjacent plot as a cemetery.²³ In fact, Gracia de Santáγγελ's will, dated in 1418, wanted her grave to be *en la yglesia de Sant Salvador de la poblacion de los cristianos nuevos*²⁴ to be managed by a brotherhood of converts to celebrate Mass on Saturday, keeping the original building elements such as rabbi's chair and the Torah Ark, until the Inquisition²⁵ banned her will.

17. Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. *Los judíos de Tarazona en el siglo XIV*. Saragossa, Institución Fernando el Católico, 2004: I, 80-89.

18. Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. "Disputation feyta por los judios devant nuestro senyor papa Benedito. La Conferencia de Tortosa y las aljamas judías del reino de Aragón (1412-1415)". *Iberia Judaica*, 4 (2013): 15-60.

19. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980: 5, 416.

20. Pacios, Antonio. *La Disputa de Tortosa*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957: I, 560.

21. The commission sent by the city was led by three eminent rabbis: Abraham Rimoch, Astruch Cofe and Içach Comparat. Talmage, Frank. "Trauma at Tortosa: the testimony of Abraham Rimoch". *Mediaeval Studies*, 47 (1985): 379-415.

22. Motis, Miguel Ángel. "La judería de Barbastro y el hallazgo de unos fragmentos de *Hanukkiyah*...": 28-41.

23. Cuella, Ovidio. *Bulario Aragonés de Benedicto XIII. La curia de Peñíscola (1412-1423)*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2005: 276-277 (doc. No. 569).

24. "In the church of San Salvador in the location of the New Christians": Sauco Álvarez, María Teresa. "Alma y patrimonio en el acto de testar. Análisis de los testamentos notariales bajomedievales de Barbastro (Huesca)". *Segundo Simposio Internacional de Jóvenes Medievalistas*. Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006: 219.

25. Marín Padilla, Encarnación. "La Inquisición en Barbastro y la ermita de San Salvador". *Homenaje a José María Lacarra*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1977: 4, 213-233.



3. Social-Professional Profiles

Jewish societies were often articulated in three levels of wealth or *manos*. They were subjected to the tax splits. Intangible criteria such as prestige, age, descendants, erudition or belonging to a client network was not taking into account. Instead, their tax liability was only considered. In this regard, it is very illustrative the inventory of those goods confiscated by the Inquisitorial tax collector to those converts convicted of heresy. It is indicative of the perception of existing wealth at that time by means of defining five categories: a group whose wealth is *arto riqua*, an upper middle section that *tiene bien en que bevir y buenas posesiones*, a majority that *tiene razonable hazienda*, a vulnerable group (due to illness, old age, orphanage...) that *apenas tiene en que pasar su vida*; y those who lived from charity because they were *muy desamparados y pobres*.²⁶

It is complex to identify people from the highest social stratum. However, the assembly held in the synagogue in 1397 gives us some clues. We have a census tract composed of 7,200 *sueldos* (300 florins) at 8.3 % rate of interest.²⁷ In this deed, we count almost thirty main *paterfamilias* [husbands] with their wives as guarantors, which means that the wives had greater financial resources: the broker Haym Ambrón and his wife Luna, the *adelantado* Haym Avincohen, the *adelantado* Haym Gatenyo and his wife Bella, the official receiver (liquidator) Salamón Abnuba and his wife Bella, the draper Salamón Comparat and his wife Oro, the draper Jucef Comparat and his wife Bella, the merchant Salamón de Fraym and his wife Sol, the merchant Lop Comparat and his wife Mira, Salamón [...] and his family, Simuel Ataz and his wife Benguda, Jehudá Rimov, Astruch Yriza and his wife Astruga, the rabbi Abraham Rimov, the young Açach Comparat and his wife Estrella, Salamón Sanoga, the merchant Jehudá Sanoga and his wife Bonadona, the elderly Haym Gallipapa and his wife Cidiella, Salamón Gatenyo and his wife Rebeca, the young draper and liquidator Baruch Comparat and his wife Tolosana, the physician Açach Comparat and his wife Oro, the draper and liquidator Nicim Avincacez and his wife Mira, the physician and liquidator Lop Comparat, Abraham [...] and [...], León Cofe, Sessa Avizmel and his wife Sol, the physician Jacob Comparat, the draper Haym Avincacez and his wife Duenya, the merchant Menahem Abnuba and his wife Jamila.²⁸

26. "That has a good place to live and fine possessions"; "that has a considerable fortune"; "that they hardly survive"; "very poor and helpless". Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. "El linaje de los Santángel de Aragón: mentalidad y estructura socio-económica". *Aragón. Sefarad*. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Diputación de Zaragoza, 2005: 283-287. According to the tax planning in Huesca 1389 *ho flaco, ho decaydo por la hedat grande* ("weak or disable by his old age") also miserable and chronic sick people were exempt from paying taxes as well as those who depended on their jobs earning less than four dineros per day. Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. "Régimen fiscal de las comunidades judías de Aragón en la Baja Edad Media: la aljama de Huesca en el siglo XIV". *Homenaje a Alfonso García Gallo*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1995: 2/1, 346.

27. It was about to get a better rate of interest. In that sense, the repayment of 100 of 1,000 *sueldos* per year done by some noblemen from the Jewry such as Salamón Abnuba, Nizim Avincacez, Jucef Comparat, Jacob Comparat and Baruch Comparat son, to Salvador Bernat (one of their creditors) neighbour of Barbastro, was reduced 1.7%. AHPH, Monasterio de Sigüenza, S-27/11.

28. AMB, Sección de Pergaminos, n. 5/1. Publication in Fantova, Laura, ed. *Memoria Histórica del Somontano de Barbastro*, Barbastro: Comarca del Somontano de Barbastro, 2007: 178-181 (doc. No. 347).



Though some of them were physicians, the vast majority were merchants. According to the council meeting held in July 1412, this economic profile was similar to the Christian elite families (Bernat, Bielsa, Boyl, Castillon, Ferriz, Pueyo, Palacio), most of them noblemen, at a moment when the converts were not yet in the scene (Santángel, Lunel, Díez and Ram) which claimed to be merchants.²⁹ We know the occupations of 40% of the neighbors by the mid-fifteenth century, so it is not anecdotal that the biggest group was composed by merchants. There were thirty-one traders. Santángel, Bielsa, Bernat and Bardaxí can also be considered as merchants. This group had the main fortunes. 54% of the taxpayers of the first four *manos* were related to commercial activities.³⁰ The tax counts established a scale of ten *manos*.

Barbastro was a city that combined a strong commercial vocation with clothes manufacturing and a strong agricultural component. Consequently, the work activities were not especially sophisticated. Thus, we find up to 24 different occupations among 141 adult Christians: merchants, lawyers, notaries, butchers, barbers, carders, bag-makers, weavers, millers, carpenters, tailors, blacksmiths, farmers (17%) —no matter if they had small or medium size farming land—, cartwrights, bakers, archers, shoemakers, innkeepers, dyers, veterinarians, spice-dealers, dress-makers, dressers and brokers.³¹

The weavers and carders were the poorest groups. According to the number registered in the census of taxpayers, without mentioning the people who worked part-time or female labour in domestic workshops, there were six workshops on textile manufacturing at full capacity during the mid-fifteenth century. Unfortunately, the poor implementation of dyers and launderettes by the city council made the final products to be finished in Huesca and Lleida,³² aimed at local or regional demand. Only plain clothes were produced and dyed in the marketplace.³³

We have only identified the occupations of half of the Jews registered in the census. The Jewish artisans worked mainly on the textile industry handling wool clothes: weavers (5%), carders (1.5%) —or in dressmaking (23%)— and manufacturing leather and footwear —leather sellers (6.5%), shoemakers (20%). In opposition, the Mudejar population chose the metallurgical and building sectors, followed by tile-makers, pots-and-pans makers, jug makers and shoe-makers.³⁴ Except for the shoe-makers, the Mudejars did not have rivalry³⁵ in these jobs. Although the Mudejar economy was at the service of the dominant groups and the Christian oligarchies, we can notice a productive complementation among these two minorities as shown in the table below. This characteristic of complementation was shared in cities such

29. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro...”: 144.

30. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro...”: 148.

31. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro...”: 147.

32. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1391, f. 24r.

33. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro...”: 149.

34. Conte Cazcarro, Ánchel. *La aljama de moros de Barbastro*. Barbastro: Fundación Ramón J. Sender, 2013: 52.

35. Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. “Relaciones transversales entre judíos y Mudejares en Aragón en la Baja Edad Media: asimetría, interacción productiva y flujos crediticios”. *e-Journal of Sefardic Studies*, 2 (2014): 101-127 <<http://www.sefarad-studies.org/Contents%2D2.html>> (Consulted 12th January 2016).



as Daroca or Calatayud which was an element of social and political stability in the Jewish communities that would break with the emergence of the converts.³⁶

Table 1. Employment structure of Jewish and Mudejar Minority of Barbastro

Sector	Occupation	Jews	Mudejars
Clay	Tile-maker, Pots-and-pans maker, Jug maker	--	8.0%
Trade	Broker	3.2%	--
	Merchant and/or draper	24.2%	12.0%
Building sector	Quicklime maker	--	1.0%
	Carpenter	--	8.0%
	General contractor	--	12.0%
Metal	Silver worker	1.6%	--
	Boilermaker	--	8.0%
	Locksmith	--	5.0%
	Blacksmith	--	26.0%
Others	Oiler/Soap maker	--	2.0%
	Butcher	3.2%	--
	Farmer	1.6%	--
	Miller	--	7.0%
Leather/Shoes	Furrier/Carder	8.1%	--
	Shoemaker	19.3%	10.0%
Health	Physician (Doctor/Surgeon)	11.3%	--
Textile	Tailor	22.6%	--
	Weaver	4.9%	1.0%

36. Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. "La comunidad judía y conversa de Daroca (Zaragoza) en el siglo XV: refundación, vida cotidiana y círculos de sociabilidad". *Hispania. Revista de Historia*, 76 (2016): 636-639.



Among the most widespread Jewish activities, it highlights the drapers (24%). Drapers were merchants dedicated to the commercialization of clothing;³⁷ many belonged to the ruling class. It is true that most of the transactions were a small scale within the local area, without being involved in the interregional circuits. Referred to what we described above about dressmaking workshops, the quality of drapery was medium or low. It targeted domestic consumption rather than exportation. The rivalry of foreign clothing³⁸ was really influential. Indeed, the reputation of this significant sector is highlighted in the documentation of the notary Domingo-Ferrer who reserved a *Protocollo de las cartas de los judios mercaderes de la ciudat de Barbastro*³⁹ each financial year.

Within this group, there is a specific profile: the “merchants of beasts” that controlled the trade and rent of equines, like in neighboring town of Jaca.⁴⁰ This group was strategic for the transportation of goods and people and also for agricultural tasks. In doing so, they contributed to the enrichment of four of the most important families of the Jewish community, such as the omnipresent Comparats, the Yrizas, the Sanogas and the Abnubas, as reflected in the table:

Table 2. Main Jewish Traders from Barbastro

Lineage	Member	Occupation
Abnuba	Abraham	Cattle dealer
	Menahem	Cattle dealer
	Simuel	Cattle dealer
Avincacez	Durán	Draper
	Haim	Draper
	Nicim	Draper
Avinsimuel	Bueno	Draper
Cofe	Astruch	Draper

37. ‘Merchant’ is generic word, used both in terms of the economic activities and the social status, which did not happen with “artisans”.

38. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1397, f. 5r.

39. “A notary protocol for Jewish merchants”. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1391, ff. 57v-83v and 1410, ff. 64r-73r.

40. Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. “Régimen jurídico de los contratos pecuarios suscritos en Jaca durante el siglo XV”, *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: Departamento de Educación y Cultura-Gobierno de Aragón, 1994: 327-340.



Comparat	Baruch, major	Draper
	Baruch, minor	Draper
	Jucef	Draper
	Lop	Merchant
	Salamón	Draper
Sanoga	Jehudá	Cattle dealer
Yriza	Lop	Merchant

Among the liberal professions crimped in the privileged stratum, both for prestige and wealth, we find the “physicians”. One of them was Lop Comparat who haunted court circles.⁴¹ The fact that four physicians practiced simultaneously medicine suggests that health praxis was hetero-confessional.⁴²

4. A Lineage of Merchants: the Avincacez Family

One key of the Jewish mentality was the perception of the value of money. That particular insight turned Jews into a real bourgeoisie between aristocracy and peasants.⁴³ Nevertheless, the influence of the *infanzones* [noblemen], who had secured a third of jobs as judges in the municipal government,⁴⁴ and the interrelationship between squires and citizens, after the increase of converts, would be substantially modified in favour of the latter because *nobleza no entraña riqueza* (“nobility does not imply wealth”).⁴⁵ In this sense, there are clear commonalities between their status in the social scale and their involvement in loans. Some examples are: merchants that sold on credit and invested their assets; small traders, qualified craftsmen and people with liberal professions that combined their jobs with the profitability of their benefits; and lower classes who also did it punctually by selling their products through small loans to consumers during the exhibitions/fairs periods.

Those families of *negotiators* were linked by marriage to seal alliances and allow the movement of goods among them through dowry. In a patriarchal society, daughters

41. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, Barbastro, 1395, ff. 16r-16v and 26r-26v.

42. McVaugh, Michael R. *Medicine before the plague. Practitioners and their patients in the Crown of Aragón, 1285-1345*. Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1993: 166-185.

43. Gutwirth, Eleazar. “Widows, artisans, and the ‘Issues of Life’: Hispano-Jewish bourgeois ideology”. *Iberia and Beyond; Hispanic Jews between Cultures*. Dover: University of Delaware Press, 1998: 146-147.

44. Gimeno Lorente, María Carmen. “El Concejo de Barbastro en la Baja Edad Media”. *Annales: Anuario del Centro de la Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia de Barbastro*, 16 (2003): 27-67.

45. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro...”: 125.



committed and signed betrothal at the age of thirteen or fourteen to formalize the marriage when they were eighteen or twenty years old. That fact guaranteed a fertility period of fifteen or twenty years, and an average progeny of four children.⁴⁶ It is important to remark that teen daughters were educated with other young girls from their same social status; that means that behavioural education was more relevant than the acquisition of knowledge.

I am going to analyze the profile of the three male members of the Avincacez family taking into account the period of their economic activities: Hayim (1390-1403), Nicim (1390-1413) and Durán (1400-1414). These three men were integrated in the system of monetary exchanges, based upon the handicraft production and the regional trade of raw materials.

4.1 Haym

He was the patriarch of the family. In early 1390, he was the witness in the payment of chivalry⁴⁷ tax. One of the transactions paid during the following year shows the effectiveness of Jewish inter mediation: the *sobrejuntero* deputy (officer of the court) ordered the merchant Bueno Avinsimuel a shipment of 22.5 cubits of mink cloth property of Pascual Casona to find the highest bidder. After auctioned it in the marketplace,⁴⁸ it was awarded to Haym Avincacez, which had bid 10 *sueldos* and 2 *dineros* (another monetary unit) per cubit.⁴⁹

Haym also dealt with oil locally produced. The oil was used for food, but also sued by the textile industry. He joined in partnership to Jucef Comparat. In 1395, both of them leased a well of 150 *quintals* (weight unit: 100 lbs) to Salamón Taboch in order to store and redistribute it.⁵⁰ Thus, in 1401 he bought 14 *quintals* for 20 *sueldos* to a clergyman of the city. Haym agreed to receive the property once the olives were pressed by trusting in the harvest that the provider had in his mill and in two private homes.⁵¹

Another pillar of his business was the supply of common cloths to nearby villages, as in the sale of a “rag” to a neighbour of Buara (Alquézar) for the value of 30 *sueldos*.⁵² The horizontal dual relationship is obvious in the appointment of prosecutors to defend Haym’s interests in court; for instance, in 1403 his business partner and one of his relatives,⁵³ Jucef Comparat and Durán Avincacez, were designated.

46. Motis, Miguel Ángel. “El linaje de los Santángel de Aragón...”: 283-287.

47. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1391, f. 84v and 1401, f. 2r.

48. Saucó Álvarez, María Teresa. “La plaza del mercado de Barbastro a finales del siglo XV. Una hipótesis de reconstrucción”. *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 19 (2006): 501-509.

49. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1391, ff. 84r-84v.

50. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1395, ff. 11v-12r.

51. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1401, ff. 2r-2v.

52. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1396, f. 35r.

53. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1403, f. 71r.



In 1401, Haym exercised as an *adelantado* (a title held by nobles) taking part in various payments (200 *sueldos* of annual tax census to Miguel Morlans, and 300 *sueldos* to a chaplaincy) responding with his property. For instance, once his goods were confiscated by the prosecutor of the bishop.⁵⁴ It was not the first time that he exercised as an *adelantado*: In this August 1392, he and Salamón Comparat delivered 266 *sueldos* 8 *dineros* that the community owed to the Queen's Treasure in concept of Royal Dinner and Interior Governing.⁵⁵

On the occasion of his death around November 1405, we see that he was the father-in-law of Içach Comparat. His daughter's marriage linked Haym to one of the most influential people in his community. His son-in-law collected in his name some debts derived from the legacy that Haym left to his daughter. One example is the debt of some neighbours from Ponzano who owed him 130 *sueldos con su ganancia, entro al present dia de huey*.⁵⁶

From 1411, his executor, magister Salamón Coffe, perceived debts in Barbastro (100 *sueldos*) and Ilche (40 *sueldos*) with some difficulties. After more than a decade of a debt, Coffe had to proceed against third parties *como fiança qui erades en un contrato por carta publica debitoria*. It is interesting to note how arduous it was to prosecute the debts; for instance, the latter had to pay 23 *sueldos* for the legal costs.⁵⁷

4.2 Nicim

His first appearance as a consignee of a legal business, not as a mere instrumental witness, dates back to 1391. In it, he was identified as a draper. He lent 60 *sueldos* to a neighbour of his city.⁵⁸ At the same time, he also traded with Baruch Comparat, not only with wheat but also barley. For instance, he sold 70 *cahíces* (an old Spanish customary unit of weight) of barley to the town of Ponzano. The sale was estimated at 1,000 *sueldos*, on whose invoice had to lay judicial conviction against the neighbours of Ponzano.⁵⁹

Once again, horizontal partnerships were common. Hence, the loans arranged with Jucef, Lop and Baruch Comparat in nearby towns. Those loans did not usually exceed the amount of 100 *sueldos* (Ponzano, Pertusa, etc.).⁶⁰ This explains the disputes among them. Following the signature of *quinyan gamur*,⁶¹ they had to entrust to several *arbitros arbitrades et amigables compondores*; among them, we find

54. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1401, f. 73r.

55. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1392, ff. 42r-42v.

56. "With its interest, until today". AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1405, ff. 139v-140r.

57. "As deposit in a public notarized letter to reflect the debt". AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, ff. 20r y 32r-32v.

58. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1391, ff. 26v and 78v-79r.

59. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1413, f. 15r.

60. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1395, f. 5v and 1408, f. 29v; AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1413, f. 40v.

61. A Talmudic Law Institution equivalent to the *fianza foral* [regional deposit]. *Ruth*, 4:7.



the prestigious Içach Comparat.⁶² On the other hand, in small villages (Castejón de Sobrarbe, etc.)⁶³ common clothing were worked alongside with imported fabrics. The relevance of the Catalan, English and French trader was still limited at that time.⁶⁴ For instance, Bernardo de Limas from Barbastro purchased five cubits of clothing from London (approx. 4 meters), priced at 17 *sueldos* per cubit.⁶⁵

Due to a financial credit, his economic power launched in the summer of 1399 when he delayed one month the payment that the juries of Barbastro should make for 1,000 *sueldos et aquellos no vos podamos a present pagar*.⁶⁶ It is clear that cash flow problems were common to councils and Jewish communities due to the raise of the tax levy.⁶⁷ Also, his ability to raise capital is stated in the aftermath of the Jewish presence. In the spring of 1414, he terminated, along with his shareholders Içach Comparat (magister Pedro de Santángel) and Baruch Comparat, a debt of 600 florins (ca. 8,700 *sueldos*), the largest amount registered in the checked sources, except for 172 florins that remained outstanding, probably because they resigned due to the imminent liquidation of the Jewry.⁶⁸

Table 3. Loans arranged by Nicim Avincacez

Amount	Contracts		Value	
	Transactions	Percentage	Absolute value	Relative value
1 to 49 ss.	12	22.22 %	313.50 ss.	3.30 %
50 to 99 ss.	11	20.36 %	691.00 ss.	7.40 %
100 to 149 ss.	10	16.67 %	1,134.37 ss.	11.80 %
150 to 199 ss.	4	7.41 %	680.00 ss.	7.10 %
200 to 249 ss.	5	7.41 %	1,096.75 ss.	11.30 %
250 to 299 ss.	3	5.55 %	819.00 ss.	8.50 %

62. "Mediators and arbitrators". AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, f. 48v.

63. Castejón de Sobrarbe (Huesca). AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1395, f. 23v.

64. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. "Pequeñas ciudades y grandes villas en el ordenamiento del espacio aragonés". *Les sociétés urbaines dans la France Méridionale et la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age*, Burdeos: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1991: 47.

65. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1413, f. 3v.

66. "And those we can not pay today". AHPH, Monasterio de Sigena, S-27/21.

67. In the middle of the fifteenth century, several municipalities in Aragon renegotiated the interest rate down due to the size of its debt. Thus, the Council of Huesca in 1457, where the payment of pensions for the debt represented a third of its current expenses, managed to attract capital investments from of the Santángel family from Barbastro. Abella Samitier, Juan. "La deuda pública de los municipios aragoneses en los siglos XIV y XV". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 39/1 (2009): 57.

68. AMB., Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, f. 14r.



300 to 349 ss.	1	1.85 %	300.00 ss.	3.10 %
350 to 399 ss.	3	5.55 %	1,143.60 ss.	11.80 %
400 to 449 ss.	3	5.55 %	1,220.00 ss.	12.60 %
450 to 499 ss.	--	--	--	--
> 500 ss.	4	7.41 %	2,222.50 ss.	23.10 %
Total	56	100.00 %	9,620.72 ss.	100.00 %

In July 1399, during his first term as an *adelantado*, he delegated to Haym Avincacez the payment of 63 *sueldos* and 8 *dineros* that the Jewish community had to pay to the chaplaincy of San Nicolás.⁶⁹ His prestige was evident in the meeting held in the synagogue in March 1407 where he received the treatment of *Don* (courtesy title) and occupied a prominent place in the list developed by the notary following the *adelantados* Lop Comparat and Salvat Pinoch, only preceded by Don Jucé Comparat.⁷⁰ His last intervention occupying that liability was in June 21st 1414. A week earlier, his counterpart magister Pedro de Santángel appointed him plenipotentiary attorney to settle the outstanding issues.⁷¹ In name of the Jewish community, Nicim paid 1,000 *sueldos* to the Lord of the Castillo de la Roca⁷² every four months. However, he also appeared regularly during several months for various reasons.⁷³ One of his performances during the spring of previous year shows internal tensions, such as insults by Jehuda Falcon against the magister Salamón Coffe (another *adelantado*) who was accused of being an ass; he was literally rebuked: *aguey beniz vos don rocín mesiellyo*.⁷⁴

However, his trail reappeared in a document issued in December 1417, providing a vital key in his biography. It is an indictment issued by the squire Pedro de Miasén addressed to the last *adelantados* of the Jewry. Those *adelantados* were identified by with their Jewish and Christian *nomen* and *cognomen*: Anton Bardaxí⁷⁵ (Nicim Avincacez olim) and magister Pedro Santangel⁷⁶ (Içach Comparat olim). Shortly after his conversion, on January 24th 1415, the King Fernando I had

69. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1399, f. 62r.

70. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1407, f. 4r.

71. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, f. 3r.

72. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, ff. 31v-32r.

73. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, f. 1r; AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1414, f. 33v.

74. Popular expression of difficult translation equivalent to "you are an ass". AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, f. 1r.

75. He was not the only one with this name, which does not involve any kinship. People adopted their sponsors' name. For instance, in September 14th, 1414 the weaver Jaime Bardaxí challenged his Jewish wife Astruga to convert, receiving a negative response. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1414, f. 105v.

76. AMB, Protocolo de Pedro Garcés, 1417, f. 66v.



referred to his royal commissioners an *exhorto* (a requirement letter) to be paid all outstanding debts with no option for another extension.⁷⁷

The Inquisitorial proceedings against Salvadora Salvat, widow of Antón Bardaxí, in 1489 have been kept. According to the chronology, Antón was Nicim's first-born child. Thus, Antón confessed that his father, that is Nicim Avincacez, told him about the birth of Jesus blasphemously: *le vino a decir e instruyr el dicho su padre a esta confesante como seyendo Josep, viejo, fuera de casa, vino hun ferrero a casa donde stava la Virgen Maria y se echo con ella y la enprenyo, y de alli nacio Ihesu Christo*.⁷⁸

4.3 Durán

Durán's first biographical reference dates back to 1392.⁷⁹ He often acted as a witness in the documents issued by Haym,⁸⁰ so he remained in the background until 1401. Two years later, when he was twenty-five years old, he intervened in a deed, appointing *ad lites* Jucef Comparat and Haym Avincacez⁸¹ as public attorneys. As the other members of his lineage, he also intervened in the *res publica* as an *adelantado* in 1406 by paying the 300 *sueudos* that the Jewry was taxed by Vicent of Arahuesc's chaplaincy.⁸²

Table 4. Loans Issued by Durán Avincacez

Amount	Contracts		Value	
	Transactions	Percentage	Absolute value	Relative value
1 to 49 ss.	40	35.70%	1,296.2 ss.	15.37%
50 to 99 ss.	39	34.70%	2,456.43 ss.	29.12%
100 to 149 ss.	21	19.00%	2,407.1 ss.	28.53%
150 to 199 ss.	9	8.00%	1,597.8 ss.	18.93%

77. ACA, Real Cancillería, reg. 2389, ff. 47v-48r. Published by Escribá, Gemma. *The Tortosa Disputation: Regesta of documents from the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Fernando I, 1412-1416*. Jerusalem: Ginzei Am Olam, the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, 1998: 149 (doc. No. 516).

78. "The father of this witness told her that Joseph, being an old man, and being away from home, a smith went to the house where the Virgin Mary lived and left her pregnant, and from where Jesus Christ was born". AHPovZ, Sección Inquisición, leg. 11, n. 1, ff. 8r-8v.

79. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1392, f. 49v.

80. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1401, f. 2v and 1403, ff. 119r and 128r.

81. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1403, f. 71r.

82. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1406, ff. 87v-88r.



200 to 249 ss.	3	2.60%	679.75 ss.	8.05%
Total	112	100.00%	8,435.28 ss.	100.00%

They were rare operations in which the loan was made in wheat, although the payment was made in kind. That fact allowed a wide margin by substantial speculative⁸³ swings in price.⁸⁴ Thus, in June 1403 close to the harvest period, he lent 10 bushels of wheat *bel, limpio et mercadero* to a neighbour of the city.⁸⁵ He also traded with oil, although to a lesser extent.⁸⁶

Despite the agreed deadlines, repayment usually took several years, so interests were generated which proved the fragility of domestic and artisan economies, as we note in the partial payment made by Domingo Moriello in June 1411, an amount of 24 *sueldos* for a loan signed in December 1400, pending 20 *sueldos* that could be default interest.⁸⁷

He often issued delivery notes specifying the different concepts. So, in May 1411 he received 196 *sueldos* from Miguel de Simón, neighbor of Monesma: 122 *sueldos como fiança en que erades*, 68 *sueldos por razon de la ganancia*, and 7 *sueldos por las missions*.⁸⁸ That year, he also formalized a similar deed to a couple from Castejón del Puente for 60 *sueldos*, *racione lucri duorum annorum cuiusdam contratus quo erant obligati eidem*.⁸⁹ Similarly, he proceeded with neighbors from Ilche: he received 100 *sueldos* from the loan, 50 *sueldos* from the interests and 12 *sueldos* from the legal costs.⁹⁰ Finally, in April 1413, he recognized that Luis Datín, inhabitant of Barbastro, had paid 20 of a 50 *sueldos* loan. From these examples, we see that debtors did not pay regularly, but when they had availability.⁹¹

His last transaction was submitted in April 1414. He perceived 50 *sueldos* from a neighbor of Adhuesca, including the interests of a debt amounting to 8 florins (77.5 *sueldos*), at a time when it was difficult to run the assets because of the decay of the Jewry.⁹²

83. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1397, f. 21r.

84. The possibility of speculating on prices was accentuated. In 1414, depending on who realized the purchase, a *faneca* was fixed at 4 up 7,5 *sueldos*. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, ff. 5v-6r and 10r; Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1414, ff. 32v-33r.

85. "122 *sueldos* as guarantor, 68 *sueldos* on account of profit, and 7 *sueldos* for expenses". AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1403, f. 90v.

86. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1403, f. 132r.

87. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, f. 38v.

88. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, ff. 29r-29v.

89. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, f. 9v.

90. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, f. 55r.

91. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1413, f. 14v.

92. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, ff. 21v-22r.



5. Final Considerations

Due to the weakness of many family economies and the fluctuating climate, a wide range of businesses required deferring payment. Consequently, loans were a vertebral factor in the socio-economic life of the city. That affected to farmers, artisans, merchants and institutions. The Avincacez family managed certain amount of capital, which allows us to analyze the common elements of their lending activity. Durán issued around 600-750 *sueldos* per year, with a total amount of 8,500 *sueldos*; Nicim issued about 400-550 *sueldos*, with a sum of about 9,500 *sueldos*; while Haym's activity was less significant.

In general, during the second half of the 14th century, the Jewish credit market was based primarily on the *carta debitoria* or *carta de deudo* ("a debit contract"): *con aquesta present carta publica a todos tiempos firme e valedera, confieso e en verdat mia reconozco que devo dar e pagar*.⁹³ That contract was prescriptible and was realized under oath *sobre los santos IIII^o evangelios, corporalment por mi tocados*.⁹⁴ The contract had to show the loan without the interests and to observe a compliance with the statutory regulation of interests *ganancia o guanyo* ("benefit").

One of the most minted formulas was summarized like it follows: *los quales vos nos havedes emprastados, e van a coto e mandamiento del senyor rey del present dia adelant*.⁹⁵ However, in certain cases, the final computation started the same day that the letter was signed to finalize during the exhibition periods: *et si ultra terminum quod vadant ad cotum domini regis*.⁹⁶

With the turn of the century, the *comanda* (customer request) took an important role. The *comanda* was a versatile and universal tool in business operations. In it, the borrowed amount and the interests agreed were specified—hence the fictional expression "pure and faithful deposit" or "pure cabal".⁹⁷ Therefore, it was easy to violate the law, and whose withdrawal depended only on the will of the two parties. In both cases, the interests computed while still being alive: *et van de huey adelant iuxta coto del fuero, tanto tiempo quanto yo aquell tendre*.⁹⁸

Therefore, the numbers should be viewed with caution and seen as an indicator because there was a parallel accounting. There was not an interest to defraud because

93. "By virtue of this public deed, I confess that I have to pay you". AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, ff. 28v-29r and 1411-1412, f. 51v.

94. "I swear on the holy gospels that I take on my hands". AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1412, f. 2r.

95. "Which you have lent me, according to the interest established in the *fueros* of Aragón". AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1393, ff. 6r-6v; 1406, f. 8r; 1407, ff. 49v-50r and 1412, ff. 10r-10v; AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, f. 60r.

96. AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1411, ff. 28v-29r, 34v-35r and 1411-1412, f. 66v.

97. ACA, Diversos, Protocolo de Martín de Flandina, 1412, f. 32v; AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1405, f. 146v; 1412, ff. 61r, 86r-86v and 1414, ff. 35v-36r; Protocolo de Juan Fatás, Barbastro, 1411, f. 64v.

98. "Legal interests will be applied during the term of the contract". AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1407, f. 119v; ACA, Diversos, Protocolo de Martín de Flandina, 1412, ff. 14v-15r.



the loaner had to pay tribute to the Jewish government under severe penalties.⁹⁹ Instead, there was a desire to restrict information circulating about their money transactions due to an increasingly unstable landscape. Usually the transactions lower than 25-30 *sueldos* were not recorded because they did not exceed “oral threshold”. The reason was due to the high cost of notarial tariffs or because they transcended the networks of kinship or neighborhood solidarity.¹⁰⁰ It is for this reason that the cancellation of debts alluded explicitly to verbal agreements: *assi con cartas como menos de cartas con scriptos como menos de scriptos, o en qualquier otra manera e razon*,¹⁰¹ or they were cancelled generically: *cassando e annullando cualesquier albaran o albaranes por aquesta razon feytos and todas e cualesquier quantias de dineros que vos me deveessedes*.¹⁰²

The members of the lineage were able to meet capital requirements of a range that extended thirteen kilometres around on average. Although in their customer list, we can find residents from fifty locations, a third of the business was mainly done in the city of Barbastro (32%). Then, we find second-range towns such as Salas Altas and Salas Bajas (7%), Permisán (3.5%) and Fornillos (3.5%), some of those with a few inhabitants. The Mudejar communities were very marginal in their transactions, except those in the Valle del Ebro, being the city of Saragossa the executive head.¹⁰³

Table 5. Main Localities of Credit Control of the Avincacez Family

Locality	Kilometres	Fuegos	Durán	Nicim	Haym	Total	%
Azara	15	12	2	2	--	4	1.78%
Barbastro	-	455	50.5	16	6	72.5	32.20%
Buera	23	15	4	1	--	5	2.22%
Burceat	6.5	9	3	--	3	6	2.67%
Fornillos	11	16	5	3	--	8	3.56%

99. In Huesca by the end of the 14th century, loans through a public letter were rated at 5 *dineros* per pound (2%) [Motis Dolader, Miguel Ángel. *Ordinaciones de la alcabala de la aljama judía de Huesca del año 1389*. Zaragoza: Editorial Anúbar, 1990: 19] whilst in Tarazona was fixed at 2 *dineros* per pound when subscribing the capital and 1 *dinero* when repaying it (1.25%). AHPT, Protocolo Bernat de Castellblanch, Tarazona, 1397, ff. 111r-111v.

100. Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel; Laliena Corbera, Carlos. “La población de Barbastro...”: 154.

101. “So with public deeds as without them, or in any other way”. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1397, ff. 16r-16v; 1406, ff. 80v-81r and 1408, f. 29v.

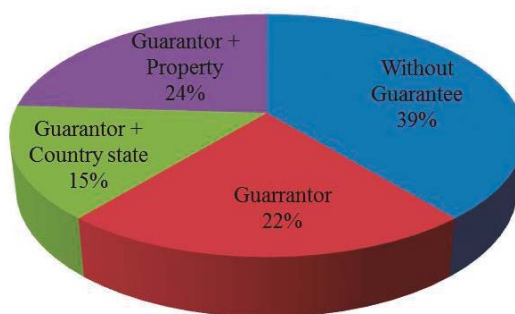
102. “Canceling any receipt I issued for this reason or any other amount of money you owed me”. AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1408, f. 42v-43r and 1410-11, f. 94r; AMB, Protocolo de Juan Fatás, 1414, f. 14r.

103. Motis, Miguel Angel. “Relaciones transversales entre judíos y mudéjares en Aragón...”: 101-127.



Illche	13	5	4	--	--	4	1.78%
Peralta de Alcolea	23	25	5	--	--	5	2.22%
Permisán	10	14	7	1	--	8	3.56%
Pozán de Vero	11	33	3.5	1	--	4.5	2.00%
Salas Altas	12	24	5	--	1	6	2.67%
Salas Bajas	10	31	7	3	--	10	4.44%

The Avincacez members were specialized in consumption loans as well as minor loans, though Haym also lent money to local corporations. Legislation established the level of this kind of loans minor than 200 *sueldos*, but indeed none of them exceeded that average: Haym (90 *sueldos*), Nicim (170 *sueldos*) and Durán (75 *sueldos*). The loans were issued with short-term liability; most of them were valid for a year or even less. Not surprisingly, many of their clients stated that requested borrowings *pora nuestros huebos e necesidades*.¹⁰⁴ Generally, those loans agreed in florins were the result of commercial transactions or raw materials purchases. Contrarily, the loan set in wheat or oil was for seeds or consumption. Moreover, we can appreciate significantly the profile of the debtor's diversity. In the graphic below, we find the case of Durán Avincacez. The required guarantees are shown to sign the contract, depending on both the amount and the recipient's estate.



GRAPH 1. GUARANTEES AND LENT DEPOSITS IN LOANS GRANTED BY DURÁN AVINCACEZ.

104. "In order to meet our needs". AHPH, Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1392, ff. 20v-21r, 1393, f. 15r; 1412, ff. 96v-97r and 1414, f. 28r.

One of the main catalysts for the credit flow was the exhibition periods. Barbastro had a fair during the feast of San Bartolomé since its concession in 1361 by King Pedro IV.¹⁰⁵ There were other fairs nearby: Monzón during the feast of San Mateo and Huesca¹⁰⁶ during the feasts of Corpus Christi and San Martin. Those three trade exhibitions defined a cycle where the economic activity was intensified. Both issuance and settlement moths (Easter, San Bartolomé and San Miguel) gave evidence of that.

**Table 6. Monthly Distribution of Issuance of Loans
Arranged by the Avincacez Family**

Month	Durán	Nicim	Haym	Total	Percentage
January	8	7	4	19	9.90 %
February	9	7	1	17	8.90 %
March	8	4	4	16	8.40 %
April	10	6	1	17	8.90 %
May	8	7	--	15	7.80 %
June	15	5	--	20	10.50 %
July	3	--	1	4	2.10 %
August	7	5	--	12	6.30 %
September	8	5	1	14	7.30 %
October	11	6	4	21	11.00 %
November	10	5	1	16	8.40 %
December	18	1	1	20	10.50 %
Total	115	58	18	191	100,00 %

The 14th century crisis established the basis to adequate the productive and social structures in terms of wealth. In the commercial circles, the ethno-religious division

105. AMB, Sección Pergaminos, n. 3/5.

106. AHN, Sección Clero, Convento de Santo Domingo de Huesca, carpeta 602-19/1 y 2; AHPH, Protocolo de Jaime Berbegal, Huesca, 1389-1403, ff. 48r-48v; Protocolo de Domingo Ferrer, 1395, ff. 14v-15r; Protocolo de Juan de Azlor, 1397, ff. 17r, 30v, 32v-37r and 60v-62v; Protocolo de Sancho Soas, Huesca, 1398, f. 54v; Protocolo de Pedro de Ygüés, Huesca, 1396-99, ff. 64v-65v.



was irrelevant. However, the impact was not only economic.¹⁰⁷ It also established the foundations that contributed to transform the society through increased production, higher domestic consumption and the growth of new markets, allowing Barbastro to control the productive activities of lower ranking sites situated on its economic *hinterland* and to act as the center of a commercial crossroad¹⁰⁸ among the neighboring Jewish communities of Huesca, Fraga, Monzón and Sariñena.

To sum up, these oligarchies of merchants were omnipresent in the Jewry major decisions throughout *adelantados* and official receivers who were perpetuated through cooptation (Comparat, Sanoga, Gallipapa, Abnataboch, Abnuba, Cofe, Avinsimuel, Fraym and Abnaxech). Their objectives and profiles were shared with their counterparts in the other ethnic and religious communities at the same time. Moreover, these oligarchies traced the path of socio-economic transformation that took place in Barbastro during the last medieval century whose flow will be inherited by the converted Jews. Without them, it is impossible to understand their history.

107. Sesma, José Ángel. "Pequeñas ciudades y grandes villas...": 133.

108. García de Cortázar, José Ángel. "Percepción, concepción y vivencia del espacio en el reino de Castilla". *I Semana de Estudios Medievales*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2001: 249.



THE PRESENCE OF CASTILIAN MEN AT ARMS IN THE SIEGE OF BALAGUER, 1413

SANTIAGO GONZÁLEZ SÁNCHEZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE CÁDIZ
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the presence of Castilian men of arms in the siege and conquest of Balaguer in 1413. It deals with the challenge of James, the Count of Urgell, to King Ferdinand, and how the latter, after virtually suppressing the various centres of support to his opponent, decided to lead the troops and attack Balaguer, where had taken refuge. Essential for this endeavour were the supplies, a large proportion of which were channelled through members of his family or Castilian collaborators. Attention is given to the nature and the places of the supplies, the means and the tactics used. Then, we focus not only on the members of important lineage of high and middle Castilian nobility collected in chronicles, but also on others whose names only appear in archival documents.¹

KEYWORDS

Fifteenth Century, Castile, Crown of Aragon, Ferdinand I, Count of Urgel, Balaguer Siege.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Saeculum XV, Castella, Corona Aragonum, Ferdinandus I, Comes Urgellensis, Balagarium Obsidio.

1. Used abbreviations: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó/Archivo de la Corona de Aragón; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional; AHPZ, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza; AMAL, Archivo Municipal de Alba de Tormes; AMM, Archivo Municipal de Murcia; AMPdN, Archivo Municipal de Paredes de Nava; AMVill, Archivo Municipal de Villalón; ARV, Arxiu del Regne de València/Archivo del Reino de Valencia.

1. Introduction

When Ferdinand became king of the Crown of Aragon, this initiated a new stage regarding the presence of Castilian troops in the territories that comprised it.² Nearly a year went by between his election at Caspe on 28th June 1412 (he was designated on the 24th)³ until the outbreak of hostilities that would directly confront the king and the Count of Urgell. In this time, the count had repeatedly delayed taking his oath of allegiance to the monarch as a subject,⁴ and the new

2. For the Castilian military presence in this period, see González Sánchez, Santiago. "El ascenso del infante don Fernando al trono de la Corona de Aragón. Los medios empleados", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 363-365. I draw attention to the "coincidence" between this first penetration of Castilian troops into the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon and the signing of the peace treaty between Castile and Portugal. Also Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. "La candidatura al trono del infante Fernando de Antequera y la intervención castellana en la Corona de Aragón durante el Interregno", *Martí l'Humà: el darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410): l'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, ed. Barcelona: Institut de Estudis Catalans, 2015: 880-890. For the interregnum, it is essential to consult the book by Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. *El Interregno (1410-1412). Concordia y compromiso político en la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa: Centro de Estudios del Bajo Aragón-Caspe, 2011.

3. There is a very wide bibliography about this question. Among the most recent contributions, see, for example, Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel, ed. *Acta Curiarum Regni Aragonum. Parlamentos del Interregno (1410-1412). Actas del Parlamento de Alcañiz-Zaragoza (1411-1412) (continuación). Actas del Compromiso de Caspe (1412). Sentencia del Compromiso de Caspe (25 junio 1412)*, Saragossa: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte-Ibercaja, 2011: VII/2; Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. *El Compromiso de Caspe (1412). Diario del Proceso*, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Aragón y el Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412)". *Rolde: revista de cultura aragonesa*, 143-144 (2012): 60-67; Morales Arrizabalaga, Jesús. "La Concordia de Alcañiz y el 'Compromiso' de Caspe de 1412, desde la legislación, el derecho y la justicia", *Rolde: revista de cultura aragonesa*, 143-144 (2012): 69-75; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel, ed. *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208-1458. El Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe*, Saragossa: Gobierno de Aragón-Centro de Estudios Medievales de Aragón, 2012, in which we highlight the contributions by Canellas Anoz, Beatriz. "Actas de los Parlamentos de Cataluña y Aragón tras la muerte de Martín el Humano y del Compromiso de Caspe y elección de Fernando de Antequera": 11-39; Navarro Espinach, Germán. "La historiografía moderna del Compromiso de Caspe": 41-59, and Morales Arrizabalaga, Jesús, "La 'publicación' de Fernando de Castilla como Rey de Aragón: El 'Compromiso' de Caspe de 1412 como cuestión de justicia": 315-346. Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. *Una Corona, set aspirants. Casp 1412*, Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2013; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El Compromiso de Caspe: el hecho histórico", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 117-127, and Sabaté, Flocel. "Per què hi va haver un Compromís de Casp?", *Els valencians en el Compromís de Casp i en el Cisma d'Occident*, Ricard Bellveser, ed. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2013: 45-119, and by the same Sabaté, Flocel. "El Compromiso de Caspe ¿ruptura dinástica o modelo de estado?", *Ruptura i legitimació dinàstica a l'Edat Mitjana*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2015: 279-290.

4. The letter from the delegates announcing the election of Ferdinand on 28th June, stated that: *...deure esser prestat per tots los sotsmesos a la real corona Darago lo deute de fealtat* (the duty of loyalty must be paid by all those under the royal Crown of Aragon). Bofarull y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1848: III, 278. The count's ambassadors in the Seu in Lleida took the oath. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas López, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980: V, 304-305.



king of Aragon considered intervening against James of Urgell.⁵ However, this did not prevent Ferdinand from notifying some monarchs, such as the Moroccan Abu Said Utman III, stating:

*... el bueno e pacífico stamieto e sosiego de todos nuestros regnos sin otra contradiccion alguna assin como si desde que nascieremos fuéramos Rey dellos. E assi mesmo el comde durgell el duque de gandia don ffederich que demandauen los dítos nuestros regnos como competidores nos han obedescido e jurado por su Rey e senyor.*⁶

2. The Count of Urgell's challenge to the king of Aragon

This situation led the new king of Aragon to send to Castile the men at arms who had helped him to obtain the kingdom, and who were disgruntled with the payment received and who, in Zurita's words, *...presumían haber sido la causa que reinase en ellos pacíficamente*.⁷ It was the Count of Urgell who would benefit from these events and, through Antonio de Luna and father García de Sesé, he began negotiations with the Duke of Clarence to obtain his military help and to contract foreign mercenaries willing to fight against the King of Aragon.⁸ To all this, we

5. As he informed Ponz de Ribelles in a letter sent from Saragossa on 14th October 1412, as we know through Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón último conde de Urgel. Memoria leída en las sesiones ordinarias celebradas por la Real Academia de Buenas Letras los días 11 y 25 de abril de 1899*, Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1899: 292 (doc. No. 107). See also: González Sánchez, Santiago. *Itinerario de don Fernando, regente de Castilla y rey de Aragón (1407-1416)*, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2013: 135, and Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "De efemérides, aniversarios y estancias reales. Fernando I de Aragón (1412-1416) en Zaragoza", *Miscelánea de Estudios en homenaje a Guillermo Fatás Cabeza*, Antonio Duplá Ansuategui, María Victoria Escribano Paño, Laura Sancho Rocher, María Agustias Villacampa Rubio, eds. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2014: 641.

6. "The good and peaceful situation of all our kingdoms, without any opposition, as if we had been king of them since we were born. And also the count of Urgell, the Duke of Gandia, Don Federico, who demanded our kingdoms as competitors, have obeyed us and sworn to their king and lord". ACA., C., reg. 2401, f. 54r, published by Arribas Palau, Mariano. *Intercambio de embajadas entre Abu Said Utman III de Marruecos y Fernando I de Aragón*, Tetuan: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes, 1956: 31.

7. "... they boasted about being the reason that he reigned peacefully in them". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 307.

8. Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 317-319; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica del serenísimo príncipe don Juan, segundo rey deste nombre en Castilla y León, escrita por el noble y muy prudente caballero Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Señor de Batres, del su Consejo*, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1953: LXVIII/II, 347-348. It seems that Antonio de Luna was in Bordeaux contracting mercenaries to help the count of Urgell, as we know through various testimonies. See, for example, the one in Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde de Urgel y su familia*, Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1868: I, 275. *E dix que... estant a Bordeu veu aqui al dit don Anthon qui soldejaba gent per entrar e esforzar lo comte Durgell contra lo Rey Darago e que axi ho dehién tots los de sa casa e ho saben molts altres castellans e altra gent que eran a Bordeu* ("and he said that.. being in Bordeaux he saw there said Anthon who paid people to enter and reinforce the Count of Urgell against the King of Aragon and that is what they were saying in his house and it is known by many other Castilians and other people who were in Bordeaux").



must add the count's audacity of raising flags for his cause and calling himself king.⁹ This, combined with the actions of some of his leading supporters, like Antonio de Luna,¹⁰ who took the castles of Trasmoz and Montearagón,¹¹ or the foreign troops contracted (Gascons and English) crossing of the frontier, led to a process and to the king deciding to intervene directly against him.¹² In the end, this decision was conditioned by the actions by James' troops in Catalonia, Aragon and Valencia. Thus, on the 24th of June, led by a group of noble supporters of James¹³ the Urgell

9. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 326.

10. Moxó y Montoliu, Francisco de. "Raíces navarras de la Casa de Luna", *Primer Congreso General de Historia de Navarra. 3 Comunicaciones. Edad Media, Príncipe de Viana*, Pamplona: Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1988: 144 (note 88) shows the many kinship links between the Lunas and such important Catalan lineages as the Cervelló, Montcada and Cárdena, which would be behind the favourable posture of Antonio de Luna towards the Count of Urgell.

11. Sancho Izquierdo, Miguel. "Ensayo de una biografía de don Antonio de Luna y de su influencia en el Compromiso de Caspe", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 18/30 (1914): 280 and 281. The first fortress was in the district of the Somontano del Moncayo y Tarazona. We have documents that show that Trasmoz was in the hands of men of arms of Antonio de Luna at the beginning of May 1413. On the 9th of that month, the monarch addressed the governor of Aragón urging him to call on all of those who had land from him to besiege the castle. In the same misive, the king explained that he was writing to the cities of Saragossa and Calatayud to supply him with devices, bombards and all other artillery apt for fighting and taking the castle of Trasmoz. Likewise, Tarazona and the villages in the district had begun to besiege the castle and would not leave it until they had taken it. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 3v. The letter to the council of Calatayud dated on the same 9th of May asked them to send as many people as possible to the siege of Trasmoz, as they had from Tarazona, and that they supply lombardas and other artillery so the governor of Aragon could take it. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 4v. The second fortress is in the municipality of Quicena, in the Hoya de Huesca and thus very close to this city. According to the confession by Pedro Meluso and two other supporters of James of Urgell, captured in Barbastro, there were only twenty-two defenders in Montearagón in the early days of August 1413, and they had no water, as they took it from the river and were isolated from the rest of the support of the Count of Urgell who they decided to ask for help. The king recommended Pedro Estañella, notary of Barbastro... *que los deuades bien strenyr en special al agua e que vnos quinze dias los tengades bien strenydos no admonendo les tracto alcuno nin atorgando les remision tro a tanto qu'ende hayades otro ardit o sentimiento segunt el qual d'alli auant uso regiredes...* E por esto remetemos a vos que si entendredes que tracto alcuno sia vtil e proueytoso que y pasedes ("That you must restrict especially the water and in some fifteen days you have them well restricted not permitting them any deal nor granting them pardon until you have another means or feeling for which you will govern from then on... and for this reason we refer to you if you understand any deal, that this be useful and profitable"). Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv en la Corona de Aragón*, Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1997: 31-32 (doc. No. 6). On the 11th of August, the surrender of Montearagón was signed, and it was in the power of the troops under King Ferdinand on the 15th of August, as we know from the ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2403, f. 62v; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I d'Antequera amb els infants d'Aragó i la reina Elionor (1413-1416)*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2004: 61-62 (doc. No. 50). Some authors put it back to the 29th like: Arco, Ricardo del. "El monasterio de Montearagón". *Argensola*, 53-54 (1963): 5.

12. See, for example: Guallar Pérez, Manuel. "El Conde don Jaime de Urgel frente al rey don Fernando de Antequera. Un episodio leridano de esta lucha, el sitio de Balaguer y la rendición del Conde al Rey, con los antecedentes de su rebeldía, según el relato que de aquellos sucesos hizo Lorenzo Valla", *Miscel·lània Homenatge al professor Salvador Roca i Lletjós*, Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs de l'Excelentíssima Diputació Provincial de Lleida, 1981: 186-208.

13. About the pro-Urgell Catalan nobility, especially the leading role of Berenguer de Fluvià, see: Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell i el Compromís de Casp", *Ruptura i legitimació dinàstica a l'Edad Mitjana*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2015: 152-156.



troops attacked Lleida from Albesa, seized Corbins and the mills of Picabaix, but did not manage to take the city.¹⁴ After the battle of Alcolea de Cinca, in early July there was the siege and surrender of Buñol Castle. This siege lasted from the 5th to the 19th of July when the royal troops defeated the supporters of the Count of Urgell and seized the fortress.¹⁵ Simultaneously, Ferdinand also reinforced his external position by signing a peace treaty with the Republic of Genoa on the 12th of June in Barcelona. Among other clauses, this treaty established that neither of the two parties would give any help to any rebel subjects of the other, and that these would be taken as those that either party indicated by means of letter or embassy, preventing them from recruiting men of arms, ships, supplies, etc.¹⁶ It is hardly

14. ... *vench de nit a Leyda ab gent d'armes, e les guaytes dels murs, sentints les génts, cridaren grans crits e aquell, vehentse decubert, tornassen a Balaguer* ("Came by night to Lleida with armed people, and the watchmen on the walls, hearing the poieple, shouted with great cries and they, seeing thye had been discovered, returned to Balaguer"), according to the description in the *Crónica de Pere Maça*, ed. José Hinojosa Montalvo, Valencia: Universitat de València. Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1979: 46. Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando de Aragón*, ed. Santiago López Moreda, Madrid: Ediciones Akal. Clásicos Latinos Medievales y Renacentistas, 2002: 185-186. Although the information is not compared and so with the due precautions, see also Roca, Luis. *Fastos Ilerdenses. Colección de efemérides pertenecientes a la historia de la ciudad*, Lleida: José Sol e Hijo, 1873: 16 (doc. No. 27 de 1413). *Por espacio de cinco horas mantienen un reñido combate contra la Ciudad en el punto llamado Mercadal, situado extramuros junto al antiguo camino de Balaguer los capitanes del Conde de Urgel Pedro Cortit, Artal de Alagon y P. Ramon de Fluviá, quienes tras la pérdida de más de sesenta de los suyos, entre muertos y heridos, ante la brava resistencia de la Ciudad, de cuyos defensores ninguno recibió daño se ven obligados á declararse en retirada, y la verifican con direccion á Alandí y á Benavent, donde con dicho conde se alojan, talando campos, destruyendo molinos é incendiando algunos lugares* ("For five hours the captains of the Count of Urgell Pedro Cortit, Artal de Alagon and P. Ramon de Fluviá maintained a close combat against the City in the point called Mercadal, situated outside the walls next to the old path to Balaguer and who fater the loss of more than sixty of theirs, between dead and injured, faced with the strong resistance of the City, none of whose defenders were harmed, were obliged to declare a retreat, and they verified it in direction towards Alkandí and Benavent, weher said count was lodged, cutting fileds, destroying mills and setting fire to some places"). The date of the attack on Lleida and the events that took place are in the RAH, Col. Salazar y Castro, 9-3-4-G-15, modern signature 9-462, ff. 192r-v, as contained in my article González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito de la 'Crónica de Juan II de Castilla' de Álvaro García de Santa María, del manuscrito 9-462 de la Real Academia de la Historia", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 214/2 (2017): 225. A few days later, the monarch wrote a letter to the councillors and leading figures in the city of Lleida in which he told them he was sending García de Villagómez and P. Alonso de Pande with certain artillery and equipment he had ordered made and others that had to be made to continue against James of Urgell, his land, vassals and minions. All that, undoubtedly, for the protection of the city and with a view to besieging other places under the count. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2403, f. 38, published by Jiménez Catalán, Manuel, *Apuntes para la historia de Balaguer*, Saragossa: Librería de Cecilio Gasca, 1913: 183 (Appendix 3).

15. On the 16th of July the castle had still not surrendered, as we know through Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile general de Valencia, Joan Mercader al rey Fernando de Antequera*, Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1979: 170 (doc. No. 6). Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Del asedio de Buñol al de Balaguer. Los valencianos y la sublevación de Jaume d'Urgell (1413)". *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 77 (2001): 155-217 (especially 159 and 165). And by the same, Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Después de Caspe. El urgelismo y las oligarquías", *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia. El Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412)*, Saragossa and Alcañiz, 24th, 25th and 26th November 2010, José Ángel Sesma Muñoz, ed. Saragossa: Gobierno de Aragón-Centro de Estudios Medievales de Aragón, 2011: 268.

16. Camarena Mahiques, José. *Tratado de paz entre Aragón y Génova en 1413*, Valencia: Diputación Provincial de Valencia, 1953: 100-104.



worth mentioning that the first person affected by this measure would be Count James of Urgell.

The vulnerable position the monarch found himself in led him to call on his people from Castile. Ferdinand decided how many people each had to bring, who had to come and from where, the reasons for the new call, the meeting point and that their arrival was urgent, also adding that although, *...para estos se empeñasen, que les daba su fe de ge lo bien pagar*.¹⁷ The appeal to Castilians of any condition in Barcelona to stay denoted fear and lack of foresight on the part of Ferdinand, as well as distrust of his new subjects.¹⁸

3. The direct clash

The military clash between Ferdinand and the Count of Urgell began shortly after a new arrival of Castilian troops in the territories of the Crown of Aragon, with the prior approval of the Courts.¹⁹ We do not know specifically how long the Castilian troops took to reach Aragon. The sources consulted mention the readiness and speed of their arrival,²⁰ and that those who took the longest took no more than ten days²¹ or they took very few days.²² In any case, from reading all these, it can be concluded that the speed with which they came would have been due essentially to their loyalty to the King of Aragon. Thus, the strategy of the Count of Urgell and some of his supporters was based on the discontent among the Castilians for not having been paid what was owed to them²³ and that this would prevent them from

17. "... for these he went into debt, he gave them his good word that they would be well paid". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 348-349. This nuance that Pérez de Guzmán indicates is interesting when considering if what Zurita expresses about the payment for the Castilians after their first entry into the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon as valid. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 307. The *Crónica incompleta del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón*, ed. Luis Vela Gormedino, Saragossa: Anubar, 1985: 24, supplies the list of councils from Castile that were requested to send men at arms. These were Medina del Campo, Cuéllar, Olmedo, Paredes de Nava and Arévalo.

18. The Castilian presence in the king's guard before and during the events studied here are widely verified. For this, see various sheets in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, ff. 6v-30r, for example. Some of the Castilians in this guard were: Juan Soriano, Juan de Sada, Pedro de Peñafiel, Fernando de Medina, Álvaro de León, Gonzalvo de Ávila, Juan de Herrera, Gonzalvo de Oñón, Juan López de Arévalo, Gonzalvo de Cuéllar, Pascual López de Poyo, Martín Pérez, Alfonso Zapata, Alfonso de Salas, Gómez de Moraleja, Pedro Sánchez de Cadreta, Fernando Dávila, Luis de Poyo, Benito Sánchez, Fernando Alfonso de Sevilla, Álvaro Garavito, Pedro Gonzalez de Toledo, Fernando Carrillo, Ordoño de Zamudio, etc.

19. *Crónica incompleta...*: 24.

20. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 334.

21. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349.

22. *Crónica incompleta...*: 24.

23. As we know from a document published by Florencio Janer, the payment stipulated in the first entry of Castilian troops was a florin per day for each lance and ten *maravedís* per day for the crossbowmen. Janer y Graells, Florencio. *Examen de los sucesos y circunstancias que motivaron el Compromiso de Caspe*, y



responding to his new call,²⁴ can be considered a failure. A considerable number of these troops, at least for the importance of their captains, must have arrived around mid-June. At that time, on the 14th and 15th of the month, the monarch penned various missives to the *escribano de ración* ("paymaster general"), leading nobles of Aragon and all the kingdom's officials, urging them to give accommodation and sell the bread and wine and what was required with their money to the *Adelantado* of Castile, Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, Diego Pérez Sarmiento, Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, Luis de la Cerda and Per Alonso de Escalante, who came with some men of arms to serve in Aragon.²⁵

The meeting point was set in Saragossa, and this is where the Castilians arrived, although not all at the same time²⁶ as there were knights who joined them later. The number of troops must have surpassed Ferdinand's initial previsions and would have been around a thousand lances.²⁷ The tactic the king used to position the troops was the same as the previous time, namely dispersion. However, three main nuclei were established from where the Castilians could carry out their action. These were Huesca, Sesa and Pertusa, all fairly close and where the troops who had arrived in Saragossa were sent. The cantonment in this area would indicate various facts. In first place, the area where foreign troops were expected to enter²⁸ and, on the other hand, Ferdinand's implementation of control over the frontier crossings, which was maintained until the end of the campaign against the Count of Urgell.²⁹

juicio crítico de este acontecimiento y de sus consecuencias en Aragón y en Castilla, Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1855: 147-148.

24. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 333.

25. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, ff. 55v, 56r and 58v-59r.

26. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 335; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349. He also shows Saragossa as a meeting point. Canellas López, Ángel. "El reino de Aragón en el siglo xv (1410-1479)", *Historia de España de Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1964: XV, 356.

27. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349; *Crónica incompleta...*: 24. These two works give the figure of a thousand lances from Castile, while Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 335, offers disperse data that when summed give a figure of nine hundred and ten lances.

28. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 321. The proximity of this part of the frontier to Navarre, the existence of Navarrese helping to take the castle of Trasmoz and the possible help from its king for the Count of Urgell, led Ferdinand to send him an embassy in May 1413. What was wanted from Charles III was his involvement in the defence against the foreign troops in the shared pass of the Ansó Valley. Through the documentation, we know of the existence of an embassy sent by the king of Aragon to Navarre in mid November, possibly in 1412, with admiral Alfonso Enríquez and the archdeacon of Alcor for the Castilians and for the Aragonese, father Elío. We do not know the final purpose of this mission for the secret the letter was written with. ACA., Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 19, n.º 2546.

29. Examples of this are the letter that two consuls in Perpignan wrote to the king of Aragon on the 7th of October and that are transcribed below.

Apres, molt excellent senyor, notificam a la vostra molt excellent e alta senyoria com nosaltres, quj continuament tenjm nostres spies en les parts de Gascunya e de Tolosa, per raho de les grans famas que, per molts dies passats han trebaylat del ajustament e venguda de part deça de gent darmes, en socors de Jayme dUrgell, hauem cobrades daquelles de pochis dies en ça tres, quj tots concordantment han reportat que en nagüa daquelles parts no son aplegades companyes darmes algunes, quj sien dalgun caler e lo deurer que hauem cobrat ha camjnat tot lo comtat de Comenge segujnt dun en vn tots los lochs on hoyra dir que hauja gent darmes e aquest diu e reporta que en tot lo comtat de Comenge ell no ha trobade gent darmes aplegada, sino en vn loch qujs apella Martres, on troba mossen Aymerich de Comenge ab xxx o xxxv rossins, quj, segons lj fon dit, era ab la dita gent applegat per fer la serca del dit comtat



As mentioned, this sector of the Franco-Aragonese frontier and even Navarre were expected to be especially conflictive with the forecast of the entry of foreign troops as corroborated by various letters sent to, and received by, the Castilian Suero de Nava, and in which the concerns were focussed on Antonio de Luna. The first of these, which is undated, was from Suero de Nava to King Ferdinand in the following terms:

Al mas catholico e mas verdadero e sforçado nostro Senyor el muit alto e muyt poderoso don Ferrando per la gracia de Dios Rey Darago.

E Senyor diz que don Anthon entienden que con estos dineros fara mil combatientes de los ingleses o mil et quingentos e que haura de Gascunya fasta setecentos combatientes e que dizen que ellos tanto que sian en esto regno tienen grandos tractos con algunos cavalleros e con algunos lugares e que ante que la vostra merce se percibria e los se reforçaran per manera que vos no los porets echar del regno. E Senyor dizen que tantost que entren en lo regno que luego entenden de tomar voç de llamar Rey a don Jayme. E ellos paren que han a entrar per lo puerto de Sola que es entre Bearn e Navarra e entienden que ellos serán en esta tierra a priessa. E si quierre Senyor si hi enviassades unos quingentos ombres darmes de aquellos que están en Barchinona a esta cuitat de Huesca car ellos senyor dizen alla que llegando a esta cuidat sera suya. E Senyor antes que estas cosas vayan mas adelante vostra merce deve compendre todos los cavalleros del regno a vostro gage por enviar por castellans. E dizen que ellos alla dizen que vostra persona e vostres fijos no pueden seyer seguros si en poder de castellanos no e que aquellos tienen ellos en gran reciello e por exo prengueran a mi scudero por que no nos avisasse que no enviassedes por ellos. Vostro humil servidor Suero de Naua.³⁰

de Comenge; e, en ul altre loch qujs appellat Rengatges, troba lo senyor de Campayanch ab L. rossins o entorn e ab xv o xvij homens a peu disent aquest que vol morir, si en tot lo dit comtat de Comenge ha de present altre gent darmes aplegada mas auant sen apres de uers Tholosa diu que aquj ha trobades les fames acostumades, les quals, en veritat, senyor molt excellent, cresem nosaltres ques meten mjsterialment per algũs quj son aquj del dit Jayme d'Urgell ("Then, very excellent sir, we notified your very excellent and high honor like us, that we continually have our spies in the areas of Gascony and Toulouse, who for many days have worked on the price and coming to this part of combatants, in aid of Jaime de Urgel, we have captured three of those in a few days, we have been informed that in none of those areas are there combatants, either in the county of Comenge, except in a place called Martres, where Aymerich de Comenge is with thirty or thirty-five horse, which would be to surround the aforementioned county; and in another place called Rengatges, where Monsieur de Campayanch has fifty horse and fifteen or eighteen men standing by, saying that he wants to die, if in all the said county of Comenge there are presently people of arms gathered later near Toulouse he says that he has found the customary hungers, which in truth, most excellent lord, we believe that are mysteriously introduced by some that are here from said James of Urgell"). Published by Lopes de Almeida, Manuel, ed. *Monumenta Henricina*, (1411-1421), Coimbra: Publicado por Comissao Executiva do V centenario da morte do infante D. Henrique, 1960: II, 68 (doc. No. 22). Also the letter the monarch sent to Antonio de Bardají during the siege of Balaguer, informing him about the presence of Gascon troops six leagues from the frontier of Aragon, near the passes of Ribagorza and Gistán and the Arán Valley. ACA., C., reg. 2381, ff. 37, r-v. Or the one that Ferdinand wrote to Pedro de Urrea warning him of the foreign men of arms moving towards the passes of Jaca, undated. ACA., C., reg. 2381, f. 42v.

30. "To the most Catholic, truest and most courageous Lord, our very highest and most powerful Ferdinand, by the grace of God, King of Aragon.

My Lord, they say that Don Antón understands that with this money he will have a thousand or fifteen hundred English combatants and from Gascony, seven hundred, and they say that when they are in these kingdoms they have great dealings with some knights and with some places and that before we realize it they will so be reinforced that they cannot be expelled from the kingdom. And lord they say that as soon as they enter the kingdom they will declare James the king. And it seems that they have to enter through the port of Sola that is between Bearn and Navarre and they understand to be here



The second letter is dated the 28th of May in Jaca and was destined for Suero de Nava giving him account of the ... *entrada que decían que haría por Francia don Antonio de Luna*, of the supporters he had and, especially, asking for ...*socorro de gentes*.³¹ This information and demands, as shown below, were close to the reality and were fully justified given that Antonio de Luna had penetrated and established himself in the fortress of Loarre with English troops.³² Thus, and since James' failure at Lleida on 27th June 1413, there were two nuclei where the military support for the Count of Urgell was concentrated, namely Loarre³³ and Balaguer.

It would be precisely the desire of James of Urgell to strengthen his position in Balaguer that led to his first serious military defeat, that of Captain Basilio who was leading the English troops sent to reinforce it.³⁴ This defeat not only implied prison or death for two hundred horsemen, between men of arms, archers and crossbowmen;³⁵ but also the loss of the money the Count of Urgell used, by impeding him from supplying himself with new combatants by this route,³⁶ cutting off possible help from Antonio de Luna and undermining his morale and that of his supporters, to mention some aspects.

quickly. My Lord, send five hundred fighters from those who are in Barcelona to Huesca, because they say they will be take this city. Lord, before these things go on you must send for Castilians. They say that your person and your children cannot be safe unless they are in the power of Castilians, that is why they took my squire so that you do not send for them. Your humble servant Suero de Nava". Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 274-275.

31. "... entry that they said Antonio de Luna would make through France"; "... help for people" ACA., Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 18, n.º 2237.

32. These English troops spent a short time in Loarre, from where they went to France before they were caught by the forces the king had in Huesca. Sancho Izquierdo, Miguel, "Ensayo de una biografía...": 458.

33. This fortress held out against the king of Aragon until early 1414. On 10th May 1413, Ferdinand entrusted the taking of the castle to Juan Delgadillo, as we know through the ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 6v.

34. We do not know if the fight took place ... *en terres Doscha* (in lands of Huesca) where the king's troops had the prisoners taken in the battle, as we take from Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 112. News of the capture of Basilio, surely fleeing, not far from Castelfollet in the same publication, page 358. For the English involvement in the conflict, see the article by Rycraft, Peter. "Caspé vista desde Inglaterra", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspé (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 733-741. The criticism that can be made of this article is not so much about its contents but rather more the poor translation which hinders its understanding.

35. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 336. This author does not provide the human losses from this clash, only indicating the number of prisoners, forty, and their captain. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349, cites Basilio among the dead, possibly with the aim of exalting the victory of the Castilians.

36. The entry of these troops could have been along the old Roman road that linked Béarn with Saragossa, as in the "Itinerario de Antonino" and that is mentioned by Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. "Los caminos que unían a Aragón con Francia en la Edad Media", *Les communications dans la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age, (Actes du Colloque de Pau, 28-29 mars 1980)*, Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981: 23-24.



On the contrary, for the king of Aragon this victory meant an increase in his morale, that of his troops and followers³⁷ and, especially, the beginning of his direct involvement in the resolution of the conflict. In this sense, he sent a letter to his aunt Teresa de Ayala, prioress of the monastery of Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo, dated 13th July 1413, informing her of the defeat of Captain Basilio by his troops.³⁸ This battle also meant a qualitative jump as it was the first direct clash between the two sides in the conflict; an aspect that characterised a new phase. On the 15th, the monarch ordered a payment of 1,200 Barcelonan to Pedro Alfonso de la Panda, the head of the queen's household for the artillery that the king was sending to the Lleida area.³⁹

The Urgell supporters continued to exert pressure. Thus, on the 16th of July, the Castilian Martín de Pomar who was in the city of Huesca reinforced his position with the arrival of fresh troops under the also Castilian, Suero de Nava. Their orders were to resist the entry of Gascons and English.⁴⁰ However, part of these troops—sixty men of arms and a hundred and fifty foot soldiers—did not stay in the city but rather pursued those in favour of the Count of Urgell who were in some Pyrenean valleys, for example following the River Gállego upstream, with the castle of Javierre.⁴¹ The document we base this on is a good sample of the way some Castilian troops acted, the decision taking, the use of spies—which is deduced from certain information like the interception of a message—the enemies' means of supply and how many of them there were, as well as the existence of backers of the king of Aragon in the mountains, etc.

37. We know that the news was spread throughout the territories of the Crown of Aragon and was used to demoralise those supporters of the Count of Urgell who still resisted in certain places, like the castle of Buñol. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 170 (doc. No. 6).

38. He indicates that he would leave... *de aquí (Se refiere a Barcelona) esta semana primera* ("... from here [referring to Barcelona] this first week"). This document, of which there is no signature, is from the archive of the monastery of Santo Domingo el Real in Toledo and was published by Álvarez de la Braña, Ramón. "Carta de don Fernando el de Antequera sobre una derrota de los ingleses en Aragón el año 1413", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* [3rd series] 7 (1902): 382-383. Regarding those fallen in the battle, he shows that none of them got away and that Basilio had been captured. The nobles who took part in this clash were Diego Gómez de Sandoval *adelantado* of Castile, Luis de la Cerda and Pedro Alfonso de Escalante, on the Castilian side and for the, Aragonese, Juan de Ixar, father Juan de Bardají, the mayor general of Aragon and Jaime Cerdán. Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, bishop of Zamora, received the news of the defeat of the English through Fernando de Villarreal, Castilian squire of the company of Pedro Núñez de Guzmán, on the 12th of July, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 36r-v. On the same 13th of July, he sent a letters dated in Barcelona with which he made a goodwill donation of 1,000 gold florins to Gómez de Vega and Pedro de Soto, squires to the *adelantado* of Castile, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, who had reported the defeat of the English, who the above mentioned *adelantado* and other inhabitants and vassals of the king of Aragon had defeated, as we know from the book by the treasurer Juan Dezplá. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 65v.

39. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 69v.

40. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 323.

41. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón relativos a Castilla (1412-1416)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 208/3 (2011): 381 (doc. No. 99).



What has been called a direct confrontation began with the king's decision to lead his troops,⁴² thus showing his desire to punish the Count of Urgell for his disrespect as an example to others. Ferdinand compared this action with uprooting the weeds from his kingdoms.⁴³ The combats in the new period that then began took two forms, a first one that in broad terms was dominated by raids in the country and that was repeated at certain moments during the siege to try to tighten the hold on the defenders even more, and the final phase that would comprise, primarily, the siege of the Count of Urgell in the town of Balaguer.

The sweeps across the country were essentially aimed at clearing out, freeing and occupying possible foci loyal to the Count of Urgell in the area where the fighting was to be concentrated, and on the count's possessions. Moreover, these were intended to cut possible supplies and clear out those favourable to the Urgell cause, with the inherent psychological impact of despondency and flight. The consequences of this was the occupation of the villages and castles of Apies, Menàrguens, Albesa,⁴⁴ Alcolea, Almolda, Castellflorida, Albalate de Cinca, Osso de Cinca,⁴⁵ Rafals, Puy de Cinca, Estanosa, Ibars, Os, Les Avellanes, Agramunt, Linyola and Castelló de Farfanya, some taken by force, others that ... *se rindieron a partido* and that were spread over the territories that made up the Crown of Aragon.⁴⁶ Some of these places no longer belonged to the Count of Urgell as he had ceded them to some

42. Carbó, Laura. "La relación competitiva entre Fernando I de Aragón y el conde de Urgel. El fracaso de la negociación y el enfrentamiento armado (1410-1413)", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12/1 (2010): 73-91 <<http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/repositorio/revistas/relacion-competitiva-fernando-conde-urgel.pdf>> (Consulted 26th November 2016). The king left Barcelona on the 26th of July according to what we know through Sans y Travé, Josep María, ed. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya, anys 1411-1714*, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de la Presidència, 1994: I, 7.

43. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado...": 381 (doc. No. 99).

44. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 343-345. In 1415, the town of Albesa, the southern point of the County of Urgell, came into the hands of the Castilian Diego Fernández de Vadillo by royal concession, as we find in Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El condado de Urgel. Aproximación histórica", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 351. We use the page numbering of the Castilian version. In the Catalan version, it is on: 11-25.

45. After the confiscation of the castles and towns of El Grado, Osso de Cinca, Castellflorida and La Almolda from the Count of Urgell, King Ferdinand gave them to the jurist Berenguer de Bardají and his son, Juan de Bardají, as can be seen in the transcription of the AHN., Sección Nobleza, Parcent, carpeta 40, n.º 10 made by Rodríguez Lajusticia, Francisco Saulo. "La confiscación de bienes aragoneses hecha al conde de Urgel: los castillos y villas de El Grado, Osso de Cinca, Castellflorida y La Almolda (1414)", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Saragossa: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 718-724.

46. "...gave themselves up". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361. Alcolea, Os, Almolda, Castellflorida and Ratfallo had surrendered after the start of the siege of Balaguer, as explained in Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 334-335 (doc. No. 157) and in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 58 (doc. No. 45). The capitulation of Agramunt was drawn up on the 13th of August and on the 20th, the town surrendered, as we know from Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 36-341 (doc. No. 160). And as the monarch recognised in a letter to his son, Alfonso, it cost him the sum of 2,500 florins in López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 61-62 (doc. No. 50). With a more informative nature, see also Costafreda i Puigpinós, Virginia. "Agramunt a la fi del comtat d'Urgell". *Sió*, 595 (September 2013): 35-41.



relatives, like his wife, undoubtedly to ensure their future, as happened with Os, Agramunt, Albesa, Linyola or Balaguer itself.⁴⁷

4. The Castilians who supplied the royal troops

Despite the above, it must be born in mind that this fighting, as well as cutting the supply routes, involved the Castilian troops looking for booty and a means of supplying. This is shown clearly in the actions of Juan Delgadillo and Juan Carrillo before the seizure of Castelló de Farfanya, where they obtained over four hundred and fifty head of livestock, between cows, mares and mules.⁴⁸ The fear of a lack or shortage of stores for the many members of the royal army and the length of the siege was revealed on one of the occasions when the convenience or uselessness of deploying a considerable part of the troops to go to face the English companies, who were rumoured to be on their way to help the Count of Urgell, was discussed.⁴⁹ Thus, provisioning them with victuals was as essential as the supplies of arms, metals, material like buffalo hides to protect the engines, or the services of smiths, quarrymen and other craftsmen, so tending to increase the pressure on the besieged and to take Balaguer and so finish the resistance by James.

Among the people who took charge of sending supplies of all kinds to the people in the camp at Balaguer there were those closest to the monarch, like his son Alfonso, close to whom was the bishop León, Alfonso de Argüello, and Queen Leonor; to Fernando's Castilian collaborators like the bishop of Zamora or Catalans who joined his cause after his election as king, as happened with Pere de Sagarriga, archbishop of Tarragona.

4.1 Prince Alfonso

The role that Prince Alfonso played in supplying the encampment at Balaguer was of great relevance for the rapid conclusion of the siege of the town.⁵⁰ This is

47. Costafreda i Puigpinós, Virginia. "El fin del condado de Urgel: hablan sus protagonistas", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 438. I use the page numbering of the Castilian text. In the Catalan version this is on: 145-155.

48. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes de Urgel*, ed. Prósper de Bofarull y Mascaró, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1853: II, 490.

49. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362.

50. In an identical sense, although he does not enounce himself expressly Arantegui, José, "El sitio de Balaguer en 1413. Bajo el punto de vista del empleo de la artillería", *Memorial de Artillería* [3rd serie], 15 (1887): 456. These functions of Prince Alfonso are also mentioned in the work by Aragón, M. Antonio. "El infante Alfonso de Aragón no asistió a la toma de Balaguer (1413)". *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 7 (1962): 623-636; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492. And this is highlighted by Ryder, Alan. *Alfonso el Magnánimo, rey de Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia (1396-1458)*, València: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1992: 42-44.



shown by the quantity and importance of what he sent and the number of times that he was resorted to. In this sense, around forty letters have survived in which his father, King Ferdinand, asking him to send the arms, money, material and men he required to wage the siege of Balaguer.⁵¹ From a chronological point of view, the monarch's requests for supplies were made in line with the needs imposed by the strategy of the moment, so it is not surprising to find similar orders at different stages of the siege. This occurred on various occasions with the money to pay the soldiers, the requests for men to fight or craftsmen to make arms or build the pieces to make these work, as examples.

Among the material the monarch requested from his son was that related to setting up artillery pieces they had to use in the siege. These supplies included gunpowder⁵² or, if that was not available, saltpetre as a substitute, as well as sulphur, copper⁵³ and coal.⁵⁴ In the latter case, it was for use in the foundry by the blacksmiths who were making new copper bombards.⁵⁵

The requests for combatants have left documentary evidence. In such a sense, we know that Ferdinand asked his son to send three hundred skilled crossbowmen at the start of the siege of Balaguer,⁵⁶ and that later he again asked for one or two hundred armed men from the city of Barcelona with one month's salary paid,⁵⁷ plus two hundred other horsemen from Roussillon,⁵⁸ as well as his order to call up the militias through the use of *Princeps namque* in mid-September⁵⁹ or the request for an indeterminate number of crossbowmen, who prince Alfonso had already sent him at the end of the same month.⁶⁰

51. As well as the letters mentioned, there are approximately thirty the prince sent to his father related strictly with military affairs and that, from the ACA, are published or registered in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*

52. The king made several requests for gunpowder. The first, dated the 24th of August and repeated on the 27th of the same month and the 2nd of September, in which he requested 40 quintals, and a second on the 7th of October asking his son to send 50 quintals. These are in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 76-77 (doc. No. 68); 83-84 (doc. No. 77); 101 (doc. No. 99) and 160 (doc. No. 176), respectively.

53. In the amount of fifty quintals of saltpetre, sulphur and copper, as we take from Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 349 (doc. No. 172), and from López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 160 (doc. No. 176).

54. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 458-459.

55. Copper should be understood in that epoch as bronze, as shown by Castro y Sayz, Adolfo de. *Apuntes para la historia de la fundición de artillería de bronce en España*, Madrid: Imprenta del Cuerpo de Artillería, 1887: 3. Then, Cipolla, Carlo M. *Cañones y velas en la primera fase de la expansión europea 1400-1700*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1967: 25, indicates that bronze is technically very easy to melt down and all over Europe, there were large numbers of craftsmen familiar with this process due to the widespread and ancient demand for bells.

56. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 34 (doc. No. 9).

57. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 113 (doc. No. 111). Reference to these men of arms also in 118-119 (doc. No. 120).

58. Prince Alfonso informed his father of the difficulty he had in finding them. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 129 (doc. No. 134) y 142-144 (doc. No. 153).

59. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 128-129 (doc. No. 133).

60. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 153 (doc. No. 166).



Other fairly numerous requests from the king were for the tools to make arms or devices like the siege towers for the combats. Ferdinand asked his son on various occasions for shafts for lances and others with iron hooks, long and strong lances with which to hold the ladders against the walls;⁶¹ arrowheads,⁶² of which 3,000 thick ones and other fine ones and strong irons, the best that could be found, another 20,000 common ones, but of the best forging⁶³ and almost at the end of the siege, 35 or 40,000 arrowheads, also of the finest quality.⁶⁴

The building, setting up and repairing of offensive and defensive arms, as well as the various machines required the presence of numbers of specialists in the various tasks, most of whom were craftsmen. A good part of them were involved in woodwork, metalwork, stonework and the rope-making. At the beginning of August, the king asked his son Alfonso to send carpenters and *molers* to make the artillery pieces.⁶⁵ Almost at the end of the siege, the king ordered Alfonso to arrest the six carpenters from Barcelona who had left the camp at Balaguer without permission.⁶⁶

In early September, the urgency was for thirty stonemasons,⁶⁷ surely to shape the stones that were to be used as cannonballs to bombard Balaguer. Three days later, on the 5th of September, the king increased this number to forty.⁶⁸ Despite this, in a later missive, the king explained the desertion of a high number of stonemasons, specifically twenty, who had abandoned the camp without permission.⁶⁹ The *molers*, were also masons but experts in making rotating grindstones that were used to sharpen, polish, deburr, rectify, shape, etc., and would be of great use in the siege. The king asked Alfonso to send him *molers*, without specifying the number, in early August,⁷⁰ and it seems his son had sent them by the 10th.⁷¹ On the 20th of September, Ferdinand again asked for eight good young *molers* with their tools for

61. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 39 (doc. No. 19).

62. Without specifying the number in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. No. 114).

63. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 145 (doc. No. 155).

64. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 197 (doc. No. 228).

65. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. No. 23).

66. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 196-197 (doc. No. 227).

67. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 343-344 (doc. No. CLXIV); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 101 (doc. No. 99).

68. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 106-107 (doc. No. 103).

69. The letter is dated 20th September and it contains an accusation against twenty masons, who had reached the camp to make the stones for the engines and the bombards, of abandoning it without leave. The king had ordered them to be sought and twelve of them had been found and taken in chains. Ferdinand I ordered his son to send them back, with their foreman by the name of Sala, to punish them for what they had done. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145). Dated the 8th of October, the monarch addressed the town of Cervera asking them to send various masons from the town, as seen in Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 350 (doc. No. CLXXIV).

70. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. No. 23).

71. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 49 (doc. No. 35).



whom he had a great need,⁷² a request that was repeated on the 25th, but now for twenty, also young and with their tools.⁷³ There was less need for gunsmiths, as the monarch asked his son for five or six, and only on one occasion.⁷⁴

Although not mentioned expressly, specialists were also very necessary for rope-making, bearing in mind the large number of times the monarch requested this material, and for the handling of these ropes. Ferdinand wrote to Alfonso on various occasions to tell him about the... *gran fretura de cànem per fer cordes als gins e a altres menuderies*,⁷⁵ to send him six que ropes of *cànem* thirty fathoms each for the siege towers and fourteen hatchets, and that the ropes should be as thick as... *la breó del bras*.⁷⁶ This number doubled, to twelve, but now thirty-five fathoms and as thick as an arm.⁷⁷ However, the need for rope continued throughout the siege of Balaguer. Thus, on the 20th and 25th of September, the monarch again sent an order to his son to supply him with twenty quintals of *cànem fi* (fine hemp) without oakum to make ropes, twelve ropes of the same product but thirty-six fathoms long and as thick as a man's wrist, and eight more ropes thirty-six fathoms long and as thick as a *manesca* lance as, without the ropes or bolts,... *res no podem fer ací*.⁷⁸ With another purpose and almost a month later, dated on the 22nd of October, Ferdinand asked his son to send two hundred skeins of twine thread, of the best that he could find,⁷⁹ to which he added twenty more two days later⁸⁰ and a hundred and fifty on the 28th of the same month, for strings for the crossbows, as those that the bishop (he must have been referring to the bishop of León) had sent were thick and were useless.⁸¹

For handling the ropes, the king asked Alfonso to send thirty sailors, the most apt and skilled he could find, for the day of the battle.⁸² They would undoubtedly be in charge of an important part of moving the siege engines that had been built close to the defences of Balaguer, although they would play a minor role in the final moment.

72. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145).

73. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 145 (doc. No. 155).

74. Dated the 10th of September, as found in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. No. 114).

75. "... great workmanship in hemp to make ropes for the machines and other elements". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 83-84 (doc. No. 77).

76. "... the thickness of an arm". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. No. 114).

77. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 127 (doc. No. 130).

78. "... we can do nothing like this". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145) and 145 (doc. No. 155). The latter document contains the phrase cited at the end.

79. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 188 (doc. No. 211).

80. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189-190 (doc. No. 214).

81. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 197 (doc. No. 228).

82. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 146 (doc. No. 156). Other news about the resort to sailors comes from a document dated the 19th of October 1413, when Juan Mora, a sailor at the head of those who had left from Barcelona four days before, arrived in the camp at Balaguer. This contingent was made up of the above-mentioned Juan Mora, sixteen crossbowmen and nine with pavises. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 137r-v.



Despite all the above, the making of artillery, the arrival of fresh reinforcements and their salaries, the supply of various materials, in other words, the continuity of the siege, depended on the money available. In this sense, Prince Alfonso played an essential role in financing the endeavour, as being able to have the money more or less quickly depended on his skill at negotiating and his powers of conviction. On the 2nd of August, the king ordered him to find out where the jewels of James of Urgell and his family were,⁸³ surely to pawn or sell them to pay for the siege. The prince, through the network of informers he had, must have worked hard on this task as, on the 23rd of the month, he sent his father a missive informing him that he had found some people who had jewels and other assets of the count of Urgell, his wife and his mother, and that they had seized them.⁸⁴ The monarch answered on the 27th ordering him to... *de continent emparar e facts tenir de manifest al present tro quey aiám feyta altra provesio*.⁸⁵ However, we do not know if these assets were used for the ends cited.

Besides, Alfonso's role was fundamental in negotiating a loan of 50,000 florins from the Catalan Courts.⁸⁶ The first news we have of monarch's need for money dates from the 6th of August, a day after the start of his siege of Balaguer.⁸⁷ In fact, that same day, he asked his son to send 25,000 florins without delay,⁸⁸ a quantity the prince had already sent by the 10th of the month.⁸⁹ The monarch's expectations about the length of the siege and, surely, the political reality of the lands he ruled, make it difficult to understand that he would begin this undertaking with the financial resources he had available. Thus, it can be understood why, on the 15th of August, he had already spent almost all of the 25,000 florins, as he recognised that... *no havem al present pus moneda de què.ns puscam occórrer ne sabem bonament d'on ne per quina via prestament ne puscam haver*, which is why he asked his son to negotiate with the Catalan Courts to lend him 25 or 30,000 florins,⁹⁰ although two days earlier, he had reported his negotiations with the same institution for a loan of 50,000

83. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 36 (doc. No. 13).

84. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 74 (doc. No. 65).

85. "...take with care and keep in mind any other provision". Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 342-343 (doc. No. CLXIII).

86. In total, the Courts of Catalonia lent the monarch 82,000 florins, part of which also served for the recovery of Cerdanya. Ferdinand presented a proposition in the Courts in Montblanc in 1414 asking to be exempted from repaying said amount, alleging that he could not do so... *per la gran diminucio e alienacio de nostre real patrimoni, les rendes del qual segons sabets e es notori son empenyorades, alienades, e en moltes altres maneres diminuides* ("for the great reduction and alienation of our royal patrimony, the incomes of which as is known are pledged, alienated, and in many other ways diminished"). *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña*, Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1907: XI, 345.

87. González Sánchez, Santiago, *Itinerario...*: 153.

88. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. No. 22).

89. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 48 (doc. No. 34).

90. "...we do not have any more money in the present to be able to help nor do we know well where or how quickly or if we can have more". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 62 (doc. No. 50).



florins.⁹¹ The negotiations to obtain approval for this lasted from the 13th to the 28th of August.⁹² The loan of such a large amount seems to have been split into various instalments. The first that should be handed over by the eighteen people who made up the commission appointed by the Courts of Catalonia would be of 20,000 florins, as we deduce from a letter the prince sent to his father on the 13th of September where he explained that he was dealing with said representatives for the granting of a loan of 6,000 florins, from the remaining 30,000, to pay two month's salary for the two hundred horsemen who had to go with the governor of Roussillon to guard the passes and ports.⁹³ The following day, the 14th of September, the eighteen-man commission agreed to provide the prince with the 6,000 florins for the payment of the two hundred horses that the king had requested from them.⁹⁴ A week later, the letters that were exchanged almost daily mention money, some in which requests for it were made and others explaining the reasons for the delay in sending it. Thus, on the 20th, the king again asked his son to send him 30,000 florins immediately with Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁵ The following day, the prince again wrote to his father explaining the difficulty he had to find and send him money, because the General of Catalonia had none, but letting him know that certain persons and under a certain surety had agreed to lend him 10,000 florins that he would send with Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁶ On the 23rd of September, the king was puzzled that of the 30,000 florins or what was missing from these:

*... per los quals per tantes e tantes lretres vos havem scrit que'ns trametéssets aquells per en Leonard de Sos o per altra persona fiable, som marvellats que aquells quil'is han a bestaure, vullen haver de nós prestament les obligacions, constitucions e comissions que han obtengudes de nós los ambaxadors del principat de Cathalunya, car ja per açò, pus per nós són atorgades a ells, no qual duptar en liurar-nos les monedes. E axí meteix nos maravellam que lo General no trop monedes a raó de XIII milia en aqueixa ciutat, en la qual és la font de tota nostra senyoria.*⁹⁷

91. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 60 (doc. No. 48).

92. The last date in the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 88 (doc. No. 84). Previously the king had acquiesced to a plea from the Courts of Catalonia revoking the order to requisition victuals, as appears in López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 78-79 (doc. No. 72).

93. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 118-119 (doc. No. 120).

94. This is what the prince informed his father. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 121 (doc. No. 123).

95. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. No. 145).

96. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 137 (doc. No. 147).

97. "... For which through so many letters we have written that transmitted by Leonardo de Sos or another reliable person, we are amazed that those who have money in advance want to have the obligations, constitutions and commissions the Ambassadors of Catalonia have obtained from us quickly, because of this, because they are granted by us to them, do not hesitate to hand over the coins. And it is also wonderful that the General does not... currencies at the rate of fourteen thousand in that city, in which is the source of all our lordship". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 139 (doc. No. 149).



A letter from the prince, also on the 23rd of September, explains to his father the difficulties he was finding to send him the quantities approved by the Courts of Catalonia. Among others, he explains the refusal by the monarch to accept one of the conditions that had been imposed on him by eighteen members of the commission of the mentioned institution that was to reduce the number of Catalan knights in his service during December from a thousand to five hundred. Then the prince offered him the 5,000 florins that he had lent to help his house until he could receive what remained of the 50,000. He also asked his father to sign for the second instalment of 12,000 florins that he had been lent, as he had promised the king that he would do so in two weeks, and agreed to send him 6,000 florins that would be the payment for two hundred horsemen with Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁸ On the 30th of September, Alfonso informed his father about the state of the negotiation for the loan the Cortes of Catalonia had granted him. Through this missive, we know that the second part of this loan was 30,000 florins, of which 12,000 had been handed over, half of which had been sent to Roussillon to pay the men of arms and the remaining 6,000 with Leonardo de Sos to Balaguer. The other 18,000 florins would not be delivered until Ferdinand agreed to taking half the number of Catalan knights in his service.⁹⁹ The ending of the siege of Balaguer approximately a month later, as well as other sources of money, are perhaps among the reasons why we do not know what was done with these funds. Everything seems to indicate that Ferdinand reached an agreement with the members of the General of Catalonia and that he may have received at least 5,000 or 6,000 florins, an amount that his son Alfonso claimed to pay the salaries of his officials and members of his household.¹⁰⁰

Simultaneously with the negotiation with the Catalan Courts, Prince Alfonso was dealing with the representatives from Majorca for a grant of 12,000 florins *...per lo fet de la reemçó de vostre patrimoni del dit Regne*, as reported at least from around the 25th the August.¹⁰¹ However, and as we know from a letter from the monarch to his son Alfonso on the 23rd of October, the 12,000 florins from the kingdom of Mallorca were distributed in the following way. The king destined 1,000 of them to pay everything necessary for the ambassadors he had living in France and ordered his son to send the remaining 11,000 florins to the camp at Balaguer,¹⁰² even though the following day he asked him to use the same funds to purchase material necessary to continue the siege.¹⁰³ However, it seems that on the 27th of October, this amount had still not been handed over, as the prince asked his father to write to the messengers from Majorca urging them to deliver the money to pay for the artillery that he had sent him.¹⁰⁴ In any case, and despite the end of the

98. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 142-143 (doc. No. 153).

99. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 153-155 (doc. No. 167).

100. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 204 (doc. No. 241).

101. "...for the fact of the redemption of your patrimony of the said kingdom". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 79-81 (doc. No. 73).

102. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189 (doc. No. 213).

103. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189-190 (doc. No. 214).

104. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 195-196 (doc. No. 226).



siege of Balaguer at the end of October, we do not know whether the Majorcans had delivered the 12,000 florins, as on the 16th of November, the prince wrote to his father to inform him that he had received a certain amount of money for his journey to Lleida and explaining that Gabriel Sapila did not want to deliver any of the money sent by the Kingdom of Majorca.¹⁰⁵ With this, he responded to the royal missive of the 10th of November in which the king assigned him 2,000 of the 12,000 florins that the Kingdom of Majorca had granted him.¹⁰⁶ Besides these quantities, Alfonso also provided his father with 2,000 florins in early September.¹⁰⁷

The petitions the monarch made to his son to send some tents that Queen Margarita had lent him,¹⁰⁸ or the two or three porters for his service,¹⁰⁹ were of less importance in king's triumph over the Count of Urgell.

To the above, one must add the role the prince played throughout the siege of Balaguer regarding the defence of the kingdom and the control of the frontier crossings, especially those with France. In this sense, on the 9th of September, the king informed him that foreigners were still entering into his kingdoms, so it was necessary to provide for the security of the castles and forces situated on the passes. To this end, he called on his son Alfonso to assign the castle of Pinyana to Joan Cortit and the castle of Orquan and the town of Conques to Pere Dorquan, assuring that they would be returned without any damage.¹¹⁰ Similarly, he had an part active in supplying money for the two hundred men of arms who had to accompany the governor of Roussillon to guard the frontier passes.¹¹¹

All these cases highlight the concern of diligence of Prince Alfonso to supply his father with everything necessary to continue the siege and for his final triumph over James of Urgell, despite recriminations from his progenitor to hasten certain shipments or about delays for various circumstances that in no way detract from his work.

Apart from the above, Prince Alfonso took charge of informing the authorities of certain territories, like Sicily, that made up the Crown of Aragon, about the progress of the campaign. Thus, on the 2nd of September 1413, he informed the captain, judges and juries of the city of Palermo about the advances that had occurred in the siege of Balaguer and the taking of the castles and baronies of the count and

105. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 207 (doc. No. 248).

106. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 205 (doc. No. 243).

107. Specifically on the fourth day, according to the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 103-104 (doc. No. 101).

108. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 34 (doc. No. 8).

109. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 131 (doc. No. 137).

110. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 112-113 (doc. No. 110). Pinyana was in the Alta Ribagorça district and specifically in the municipality of Pont de Suert in the province of Lleida. Then, Conques was the name of the old capital of the municipality of the same name, and since 1970, it is one of the six parts included of the new municipality of Isona i Conca Dellà, in the Pallars Jussà district of Lleida. The castle of Conques belonged to the Barony of Orcau.

111. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 118-119 (doc. No. 120).



Antonio de Luna in Aragon, Catalonia and the kingdom of Valencia.¹¹² With this, as well as dispelling rumours about possible help for the Count of Urgell from outside the kingdom, he managed to calm and encourage the supporters of the cause he defended and helped to ensure possible military or financial help.

4.2 Alfonso de Argüello, bishop of León

Other important assistance was what was channelled through the bishop of León, Alfonso de Argüello, who was Prince Alfonso's adviser and senior chancellor, and who the king addressed on various occasions, although his son may have been the final recipient. This is the case in the letter in which he was told to take care of supplying the army with... *XII cuyros de bufano adobados en blanco o de ciervo adobados en blanco... todos los quals cuyros havemos grand necessitat para los engenyos*.¹¹³ Another was written together with the archbishop of Tarragona to send ten anchors from ships or galleys and two hundred dry boards of pine one or two fingers thick, the longest and lightest they could find.¹¹⁴ The latter was asked for fifty quintals of copper to make a new bombard.¹¹⁵

4.3 Queen Leonor

Queen Leonor remained in the rear-guard and, as she had in Seville during the siege of Antequera in 1410, she stayed in Lleida, the most important town and the one closest to the place under siege. Amongst other things, Leonor supplied her husband with mud bricks to form a line of contravallation, as well as... *de XXX pares de barriles o de portadores cum sus besties perque tiren agua continuament del rio... X quintales de fierro et la mide (Quiere decir medida) de les bombardes... per tal que a la dita mida fagamos fazer aqui les piedras*.¹¹⁶ And almost certainly also crossbows, as Martín García, a porter from her household, went to Balaguer with various animals loaded with these arms for which he received 100 Jaca *sueños*.¹¹⁷ However, from what we know from the documentation available, Ferdinand preferably entrusted his

112. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu, ed. *Col. lecció documental de la Cancelleria de la Corona d'Aragó. Textos en llengua catalana (1291-1420)*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013: 996-997 (doc. No. 931).

113. "... twelve buffalo hides tanned white or of deer tanned white... all these hides for which we have a great necessity for the engines". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460.

114. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 343-344 (doc. No. CLXIV); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 101 (doc. No. 99).

115. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460-461.

116. "... of thirty pairs of barrils or of porters with their animals to draw water continuously from the river... ten quintals of iron at the size of the bombards... so that we have said size of stones made here". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 45 (doc. No. 26).

117. Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer en 1413 por Fernando I de Aragón", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 435. We use the page numbering of the text in Castilian. In the Catalan version, this is on: 135-143.



wife with the delivery of supplies from Lleida. In this sense, and when the camp was moved, he asked her to make a call all over the city for those who transported stores to the camp to pass over the bridge, for whose continuous protection he had arranged to have men of arms in Vilanova, one league from Balaguer, who would lead them safely.¹¹⁸ In another missive, he indicates the route for the camp suppliers advising them that, when they reached Menarguens, they should speak to father Hugo de Villafranca who would show them the safe route.¹¹⁹ These are some examples of the unease felt in the rear-guard areas which had previously been possessions of the Count of Urgell. In mid-August, in a missive dated on the 15th, the monarch again sent instructions to Queen Leonor to send victuals of bread and barley.¹²⁰ We have no further news until almost two months later, on the 12th of October, when bread must have been in short supply in the army. Indeed, Ferdinand asked his wife urgently that night and then continuously after, to have as much bread as possible kneaded and baked in Lleida to avoid a shortage in the camp and to be resupplied as soon as possible.¹²¹ The supply, practically guaranteed, and the proximity of the end of the siege of Balaguer mean that we have no further evidence in this regard.

There is, however, evidence of various petitions by the monarch almost at the end of the siege of Balaguer. Thus, on the 16th of October, the king asked his wife to send 2,000 florins to which he added 2,000 more that would be returned in eight days.¹²² On the 27th of the same month, he requested the despatch of two hundred foot soldiers from Lleida and a hundred from the marquisate, pleading her to send them rapidly, without an hour's delay.¹²³ On the same date, he asked his wife to send two boats to avoid the flight of the Count of Urgell... *qui vingan luego a devant Menargas*.¹²⁴ Leonor answered the next day that she could not obtain the two boats he had requested and that they had gone to look for them in Mequinenza, and she explains that she had sent him the footmen he had asked for.¹²⁵

Leonor fulfilled another function namely the custody of certain prisoners in Lleida castle. In this sense, we know that in September the monarch sent various prisoners from the town of Albesa to said castle and to avoid an uprising.¹²⁶ However, they were not alone as, although it is not expressly stated that they were in the castle,

118. Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 333 (doc. No. CLV); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 44 (doc. No. 25).

119. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 46 (doc. No. 28).

120. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 61 (doc. No. 49).

121. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 166 (doc. No. 183).

122. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 175 (doc. No. 195).

123. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 194 (doc. No. 223).

124. "... who then come before Menarguens". López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 194 (doc. No. 222).

125. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 198 (doc. No. 229).

126. Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 346 (doc. No. CLXVIII); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 114-115 (doc. No. 113).



there were also local men from Linyola in prison, who the king told his wife to guard well and not to free them under any circumstances.¹²⁷

4.4 Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, bishop of Zamora

Another Castilian of great importance in everything related with the siege of Balaguer was the then bishop of Zamora, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida.¹²⁸ We believe that outside the family circle, he was the key character in everything related to the logistics of the military operations, and even a good part of the relations diplomatic prior to the armed conflict.¹²⁹

Before the siege of Balaguer, the bishop of Zamora sent Alfonso de Fuensalida, a Castilian squire, to the Queen of Navarre to explain to her in person certain questions that the prelate... *no le podía escribir por letra sobre ciertos afers tocantes a la cort del senyor rey*.¹³⁰ Some days later, but still in July 1413, he ordered him to go from Daroca to Barcelona to report the conversation with the queen of Navarre to the king.¹³¹ It is easy to suppose the mission that took him to the Navarrese court; collaboration with the king of Aragon or, at least, the neutrality of inhibition Navarre in the clash between the monarch and the Count of Urgell.

When the siege of Balaguer had begun, Diego took over the supply of armament to the troops who would besiege the castle of Montearagón. Thus, we know that Martín de Guermeda from Miedes, a village in Calatayud, received an order from the bishop of Zamora of 44 Jaca *sueldos* for the salary of four of his mules that took four loads of pavises and other artillery from Calatayud to Saragossa, from where the prelate ordered them to be taken to the siege of Montearagón.¹³²

Despite the above, where Diego Gómez de Fuensalida deployed his powers of organisation was during the siege of Balaguer. Indeed, Diego seems to have concentrated a good part of the finances of this endeavour,¹³³ supplying the monarch with the armament and equipment he needed for the siege. From the start, different deliveries were channelled through him. In this sense, we know of

127. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 175 (doc. No. 195). As has been presented in its place, these towns had come under royal power prior to or at the start of the siege of Balaguer.

128. The following lines are extracted from my article González Sánchez, Santiago. "La participación de eclesiásticos castellanos en las empresas bélicas de la regencia y del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III Historia Medieval*, 27 (2014): 278-280.

129. This is evident if, for example, one takes as the reference principal for this person's work the document from the ACA, Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 36r-80v, on which we base ourselves.

130. "... I could not write in a letter about certain affairs regarding the court of his highness the king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, army of 1413 to 1414, from February to February, f. 36v.

131. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 37r.

132. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 37v.

133. Dated in Barcelona on the 12th of June 1413, there is a letter from King Ferdinand to Francesc Ferriol and all the officials holding his rights in the Kingdom of Aragon instructing them to give all the coins that are in or reach their hands belonging to the court Diego Gómez de Fuensalida or whoever the latter ordains. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 56v.



various payments made by order of Diego to Sancho del Corral, squire to father Diego Fernández de Vadillo, the king's secretary, who brought horses from Castile to the siege of Balaguer,¹³⁴ Alfonso de Fuensalida who... *fue con seys cargas de pavesos de barrera al sitio de Balaguer e con otras artellerías*,¹³⁵ two inhabitants from Fresno, a hamlet of Calatayud, who were owed for the transport of six loads of pavises from Saragossa to the army before Balaguer,¹³⁶ or Guillén Pardo who purchased ropes and belts in Calatayud to tie down the loads of the pavises and other artillery he was taking to Balaguer.¹³⁷

This Guillén Pardo, who appears as a porter and member of the royal household *fue dela ciutat de Caragoza al sitio de Balaguer con el trabuco ingenio e otras castellerías que leuauan*.¹³⁸ It is possible that they drove four carts and that between going, staying there and returning, they spent eighteen days... *dos carretas que leuauan la percha del ingenyo* and ...*dos carretas que leuauan el trabuquo e cuerdas e otras artellerías*.¹³⁹ We do not know if this was different from another that, also on Diego's orders, Guillén Pardo did the same. In any case, he was ordered to go from Calatayud to Tarazona and from there to the castle of Trasmoz to take charge of the transport of the siege machine, blunderbuss and lombard of the governor of Aragon to Balaguer.¹⁴⁰ On the bishop's orders, the amount of eighty Jaca *sueudos* was paid to an inhabitant of Saragossa who was owed this for bringing and taking with a great company and with oxen and carts... *las perchas de los ingenios e la otra fusta e las artellerías que y eran en la yglesia de Santa Engracia de Zaragoza... las quales perchas e artellerías havían de yr de allí adelant al sitio de Balaguer de mandamiento del dito senyor rey*.¹⁴¹ Among these carts, it is possible there were the five that Pero Vicent, from Tauste, had acquired and that had been used to transport the equipment and other artillery.¹⁴² Moreover, there is evidence that the good men of the city de Calatayud had to send to the bishop of Zamora three of the best siege machines with all their accoutrements.¹⁴³

Apart from that, Diego made various purchases of arms, like five crossbows that he also sent to the forces outside Balaguer: one of three, at a price of six florins

134. (13th August 1413, 15 florins). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38r.

135. "... went with his six loads of barrier pavises to the siege of Balaguer and with other artillery" (18th August 1413, 20 florins). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38r.

136. (18th August 1413, 18 florins). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38v.

137. (s/f 1413, 3 *sueudos* jaqueses). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39r.

138. "... went from the city of Saragossa to the siege of Balaguer with the blunderbuss, siege machines and other castles that they carried". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 41v.

139. "... two carts that carry the pole of the siege machine" "...two carts that carry the blunderbuss and ropes and other artilleries". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 50r.

140. The order of payment dates from 23rd March 1414, as we see in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39r.

141. "... the poles of the siege machines and the other wood and the artellery that was in the church of Santa Engracia in Saragossa... these poles and artillery had to go from there to the siege of Balaguer by order of said lord out king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 40r.

142. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 40r. At 8 florins per cart, which made up 40 florins.

143. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 456.



each,¹⁴⁴ an indeterminate number of oxybeles, boxes of arrowheads and...*otras artellerías*,¹⁴⁵ three oxybeles and two of *cinfonia*,¹⁴⁶ and two other purchases of two oxybeles¹⁴⁷ and another two without specifying the type.¹⁴⁸ As well as various equipment like hemp ropes¹⁴⁹ and fifty pavises, at a florin and a half each.¹⁵⁰

The above-mentioned prelate ordered two men from the place of Torrellas who had to serve in the siege of Balaguer for two months, at three Jaca *sueldos* per day,¹⁵¹ and fifty-six crossbowmen from Tarazona for fifteen days.¹⁵² This was undoubtedly at royal instance, as the correspondence must have been fairly frequent, as known through various news to this regard.¹⁵³ On various occasions, Diego also sent spies to the south of France, as did the monarch.¹⁵⁴ The first time that there is news of the Castilian Juan de Miranda and Pedro Navarro, from the kingdom of Navarre, in the cities of Bayonne and Oloron... *por saber e sentir si se amassauan gent darmas ni si don Anthon de Luna hera entre daquellas partidas*.¹⁵⁵ Later, it seems, a Pero Nauares *hesitant en la ciutat de Huescha el qual de mandamiento e hordenación del sido senyor fue por espía a Bordeu e a otras partes en la rebellón o guerra que don Jayme Durgell fazia contra el senyor rey*.¹⁵⁶ And the third... *a Pedro de Mont Cler barbero dela ciutat de Caragoca el qual de mandamiento del dito senyor obispo fue dela ciutat de Caragoca al castiello de Loharre por espía enel mes de setiembre más cerqua pasado por saber e sentir do Antonio de Luna si hera enel castiello de Loharre ni que si fazia*.¹⁵⁷

144. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43r.

145. "... other artilleries". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43v.

146. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44r.

147. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44v.

148. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 55r.

149. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 49r.

150. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 45v.

151. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44r.

152. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 46r.

153. *Item dio de mandamiento e hordenación del dito senyor obispo a Ffrancisco de Seuilla que fue con letras del dito senyor obispo al sitio de Balaguer las quales levó al senyor rey* ("Item commanded and ordered by said bishop to Francisco of Seville who went with letters from said bishop to the siege of Balaguer which he took to his lord the king"). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 42v. ...*correu que fue de Caragoca a Leyda enel mes de nouiembre más cerqua pasado con letras del senyor obispo que leuó al senyor rey* ("... mail that went from Saragossa to Lleida in the month of November passed closer with letters from the lord bishop that he took to the king"). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 73r.

154. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 71r.

155. "... to know and hear if people of arms are amassing and if Anthon de Luna was in those places". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 42v.

156. "But Nauares being in the city of Huesca who under orders from the lord went to spy in Bordeaux and other places in the rebellion or war that James of Urgell was waging against our lord the king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 51v.

157. "... to Pedro of Mont Cler barber in the city of Saragossa who ordered by said bishop went from the city of Saragossa to the castle of Loarre to spy in the month of September more closely to know and hear if Antonio de Luna was in the castle of Loarre and what he was doing". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 72v-73r. All these cases appear in my article González Sánchez, Santiago. "El espionaje en los reinos de la Península Ibérica a comienzos del siglo xv". *En la España Medieval*, 38 (2015): 167, 169.



When the siege of Balaguer was coming to an end and in view of the conquests on the royal side, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida entrusted... *Pero Ferrer pintor hestant enla ciutat de Caragoca... C pendones reales... por ponerlos enlas heredades bienes casas e castiellos delos rebeldes que prendían e ocupauan amanos dela cort del dito senyor rey.*¹⁵⁸ This perhaps is linked to the high responsibility that he must have exercised in the seizure of the assets that had belonged to James of Urgell and his followers.¹⁵⁹ In this sense, we know that by order of the above-mentioned prelate, various payments were made to people who took these assets in the mountains of Jaca,¹⁶⁰ in *Quart a Uilla Nueua de Burgacut ala uilla dAlagón e alos lugares del río Dexalón e del río de Berga et... dallá el río de Ebro alas uillas de Exea a Tahust a Uncastiello a Sos a Gordún e a otros lugares de la montanya de Jaqua*,¹⁶¹ and in other unspecified places, as happened with Esteban Zaragozano, gatekeeper in the house of the king.¹⁶²

Through Diego's hand also passed payments to important members of the nobility, especially the Aragonese, who had served the king in the siege of James of Urgell in Balaguer, thanks to which we know about the contributions of each of them. These included, for example, Jaime de Luna who served with fifteen armed horsemen,¹⁶³ Juan Martínez de Luna with fifty,¹⁶⁴ the same number as Blasco Fernández de Heredia¹⁶⁵ and Juan de Híjar,¹⁶⁶ while Gil Ruiz de Lihori,¹⁶⁷ Pedro

158. "... Pero Ferrer painter resident in the city of Saragossa ... one hundred royal banners... to put on the assets, houses and castles of the rebels taken and occupeied in the name of court of said lord the king". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44v. We know that on an indeterminate date, but possibly in August 1413, By order of the above-mentioned bishop, Esteban Zaragozano porter of the king's household, was paid a certain amount that was owed to him for certain royal banners he had ordered made to put on the houses and assets of those who had rebelled against the king. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39v.

159. Before the siege of James in Balaguer and thus, prior to his defeat, there is documentary evidence of a letter from the king to Juan Jiménez de Cerdán, justice of Aragon, ordering him to hand over the assets confiscated from James and Antonio de Luna to Diego Gómez de Fuensalida. Giménez Soler, Andrés, *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 318-319 (doc. No. 139).

160. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 51r y 52r.

161. "Quart to new town of Burgacut to the town of Alagón and to the places of the River Dexalón and of the River Berga and... beyond the River Ebro to the towns of Ejea to Tauste to Uncastillo to Sos to Gordún and to other places in the mountain of Jaca". ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 52v.

162. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 54r.

163. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 48v.

164. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 47v. He lent the king 1,000 florins for four months and ten days, as shown in the previous document and that appears in Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliorcética, economía de guerra y hacienda en el siglo xv (El asalto a Balaguer por Fernando I)", *La organización militar en los siglos xv y xvi*, Málaga: "Cátedra General Castaños". Capitanía General de la Región Militar Sur. Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente. Asesoría Quinto Centenario. Universidad de Cádiz. Diputación de Sevilla, 1993: 372.

165. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 60r.

166. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 45. As we take from Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliorcética, economía de guerra...": 372, and Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434.

167. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 60v y 61v.



Jiménez de Urrea¹⁶⁸ and Juan de Bardaxí served with a hundred each.¹⁶⁹ There is also a payment to Juan de Híjar for the salary of the people of arms who he had in the siege of Balaguer for two months.¹⁷⁰ Besides these and other services,¹⁷¹ at the end of his days, King Ferdinand rewarded the innumerable services of the prelate with the granting of the places and castles of Avinçanlla and Grostán, in the kingdom of Aragon, and that had belonged to James of Urgell.¹⁷²

4.5 Diego Fernández de Vadillo

As well as the above people, there were other Castilians closely linked to royal circles who had important roles, other than supply, in Ferdinand's triumph in Balaguer. The most prominent of these was undoubtedly Diego Fernández de Vadillo, court notary to Ferdinand... *de quien el rey fiaua mucho*, who was given the order to take charge of all the equipment of the army and who moreover,

*... mandaua en todo como el rey e por sus albalás e mandados se dauan todas las cosas que eran menester en el real, e los dineros para ellas e maderá e tablas, clauazón e póluora e vinagre e cueros de bacas e bueyes e mantenimiento de la gente e açadas e açadones e espuertas e picos e palas e todas las otras cosas que para los pertrechos del real fazían menester, e todo estaua cargado a él no para que diesse cuenta dello, saluo lo que él en todo fazia lo auía el rey por bien fecho e era home tan deligente e acucioso en todo que era vna gran marauilla como él por sí lo podía cumplir e fazerlo también como si el cargo tuuiesen muchos, e con todo estaua al fazer de los palenques e al assentar de las lombardas, e daua recaudo a todas quantas cartas venían al rey de Aragón, de Castilla e de otros fechos que al rey pertenecía, e tan acucioso andaua en todas las cosas del real que los más días su comer era en la noche o muy tarde.*¹⁷³

168. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 66r. He also made a loan to the king for the needs derived from the siege of Balaguer for 3,000 florins at an interest of 10 percent, as we know of the payment of 150 florins for half of it. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 41, from where it was taken by Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliórcética, economía de guerra...": 370, and Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434.

169. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 67v.

170. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43r.

171. For example, what he lent him in everything concerning the collection for his coronation in Saragossa in 1414. For this, see the two works by Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. "Las demandas de la coronación de Fernando I en el reino de Aragón". *Aragón en la Edad Media. Ejemplar dedicado a la profesora Carmen Orcástegui Gros*, 14-15/2 (1999): 1409-1428. And Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. "Les demandes de la coronació de Ferran d'Antequera i d'Elionor d'Alburquerque al Principat de Catalunya: una primera aproximació", *Fiscalidad real y finanzas urbanas en la Cataluña medieval*, Manuel Sánchez Martínez (ed.), Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 77-119.

172. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2424, ff. 122r-123v. There are doubts about the day when this concession is dated, the 9th of March, but it is evident that is from March 1416.

173. "he ordered everything like the king and through his letters and orders gave everything that was needed in the camp, and the money for the wood and planks, nails and powder and vinager and skins of cows and oxen and to maintain the people and hoes and mattocks and baskets and picks and shovels and all the other things that were required for the camp, and everything was in his charge not for him to realise that, except that everything he did for the king was well done and he was so diligent and careful



Diego Fernández de Vadillo took charge of the building a stockade to put the bombards in, and everything needed to produce shielding and ladders, supplied the nails to finish the siege towers and surrounded Balaguer with a wall, among other tasks.¹⁷⁴

His importance and proximity to the king did not go unnoticed by those in Balaguer, and as such, he was sought out as an interlocutor before the monarch by the inhabitants, with the aim of establishing negotiations to surrender the town, which Ferdinand rejected.¹⁷⁵

Rodrigo de Almazán was linked to Diego Fernández de Vadillo as his scribe. Rodrigo de Almazán took charge of controlling the money necessary to make and repair siege engines, bombards and other artillery, as well as transporting it from Lleida to Balaguer.¹⁷⁶

5. Nature of the provisions and places of supply

One of the features that can be appreciated in these requests was their urgency, which appears expressly¹⁷⁷ in some cases without caring if it were night or day¹⁷⁸ when the order had to be transported. Through some of these requests, one can see the distinct necessities, priorities and strategies that Ferdinand used in the siege of Balaguer. Thus, for example, when what he had requested through his wife was shown to be ineffective against the defences built up by those inside the town,¹⁷⁹ priority was given to artillery: *Y comenzóse a combatir la city, más con fuerza e ímpetu de batería que con combates de escaramuzas y peleas*.¹⁸⁰ If Ferdinand showed such demands in the request for material for building machines, etc., it was due to the shortage of these materials. If enough of some of these was not found, orders

in everything that it was a great wonder how he alone could comply and do also as if he had many charges, and with everything he was in the making of the stockades and the placing of the lombards, and gave response to all the letters that came from the king of Aragon, of Castile and of other parts that belonged to the king, and so diligent was he in everything about the camp that most days, he ate at night or very late". González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 237-238.

174. González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 239-240, 242-243, 245 and 259-260.

175. González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 257-258.

176. In this sense, we know of various payments. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 37v (Barcelona, 20th July 1413) for 1,000 florins; f. 41v (Barcelona, 20th August 1413) for 600 florins; f. 42v (Barcelona, 3rd September 1413) for 200 florins; f. 43r (Barcelona, 11th September 1413) for 300 florins; f. 44v (Balaguer, 24th September 1413) for 600 florins and f. 45r (Balaguer, 13th October 1413) for 1,000 florins.

177. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455, 456 and 460.

178. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460.

179. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348, indicates that those in Balaguer had many lombards and shots and very good crossbows.

180. "and the fight for the city began, more with the force and impetus of battery than with combats of clashes and fighting". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348.



were issued to replace these with others.¹⁸¹ In other cases, the demands were due to the imperatives derived from the difficult coexistence between Castilians and Catalans,¹⁸² or the proximity or distance of some of the places of supply. This was influenced by such other factors as the state of the roads and the means of transport, among other questions. Despite these insistent requests, Ferdinand informed his son, Prince Alfonso and the bishop of León about his needs on a daily basis.¹⁸³ Hence, the setting up and preparation of all these arms and machines was delayed, as we know that, *Pasaron muchos días antes que las máquinas y trabucos y todo el otro aparato de artillería estuviese en orden para el combate*.¹⁸⁴

As can be deduced from some letters that Ferdinand sent, the supply points were in the camp at Balaguer,¹⁸⁵ Lleida¹⁸⁶ and Barcelona.¹⁸⁷ To these, we must add those that more or less occasionally lent their support. These include Saragossa,¹⁸⁸ Calatayud,¹⁸⁹ Mequinenza,¹⁹⁰ Huesca,¹⁹¹ Igualada, Cervera and Montblanc,¹⁹² Tàrraga,¹⁹³ Solsona,¹⁹⁴ Manresa,¹⁹⁵ Valencia and the villages around the besieged

181. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 458-459.

182. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361.

183. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.

184. "Many days went by before the machines and blunderbusses and all the apparatus of artillery was ready for the battle". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348 and 359.

185. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 458-459.

186. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.

187. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 460. With all the possible reserves, as it is a very biased work in relation with one of the sides in this conflict, and as well as the many supplies and of all types from Barcelona. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte d'Urgell*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1931: 27, mentions the great artillery that was taken from Barcelona and especially a copper bombard from the General de Catalonia that launched projectiles weighing four quintals and was called the bombard of Balaguer. We use this work with due precaution as it is an anonymous piece that is apologetic about the figure of the Count of Urgell and was written at the end of the sixteenth century when the aim was to defend Catalan political rights against the authoritarianism of the House of Austria.

188. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 46v and 85v. *como fue dela ciudad de Caragoza al sitio de Balaguer con el trabuco ingenio e otras castellerías que leuauan al senyor rey* ("how he went from the city of Saragossa to the siege of Balaguer with the blunderbuss, siege engine and other castles that they took to the lord the king"), from the document cited in first place. More references in Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434-435.

189. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 456.

190. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 146. In this same register, f. 152, as we find in Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 352 (doc. No. 177), the king asked them to send all the coal they could, dated the 17th of October.

191. For example, six carpenters, as we know from the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 140v. They may be same ones referred to in f. 144r.

192. The case of the masons from the last three places in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 144v.

193. Eleven carpenters counting the foreman. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 145r.

194. Eighteen carpenters. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 146r.

195. This provided sixty-six combatants. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 146v-147r.



town.¹⁹⁶ There were others whose collaboration was required, like Lécera, Escatrón, Lagata, Almonacid de Cuba and Belchite, as well as the vicar general of Rueda Abbey near Escatrón, all in the province of Saragossa, and Muniesa in Teruel province.¹⁹⁷ It is possible that other places used for supply were possessions that had belonged to, or had been taken from, the Count of Urgell, although we have no evidence for this claim. This dispersion of the places of supply must have entailed setting up a system of transport that, undoubtedly, must have existed within the camp itself, at least in the early phases of the siege.

Apart from the significant assistance from people from the territories of both the Crown of Aragon¹⁹⁸ and Castile, the siege of Balaguer is an indication of the degree of acceptance that the new dynasty prompted among the people, without discarding the existence of pressures. Among the people from the distinct territories of the Crown of Aragon and Castile, not only were combatants recruited¹⁹⁹ but also stonemasons, muleteers, smiths, etc., without whose participation the siege would have been practically impossible. If we attempt or quantify the number of these people who, one way or another, took part in the siege of Balaguer, we must differentiate between those in the camp and those who did other work in the places of supply or on the way to the camp. In any case, it is a practically unviable task, because in most cases, their names have not been preserved in the history of the taking of Balaguer. At the most, we can aspire to know the names of some of them, in this case Castilians or from Castile, such as Juan Gutiérrez de Henao, who made

196. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.

197. From the camp before Balaguer and dated 7th August 1413, Ferdinand wrote to the good men of the mentioned towns requiring them to send carts for the transport of the artillery, victuals, etc. The request for ten carts from Lécera and twenty from the abbey of Rueda is expressly stated. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, ff. 20v and 21r, published by Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv...*: 29-30 (doc. No. 2), 30 (doc. No. 3) and 30-31 (doc. No. 4).

198. It is enough to cite in this case, and besides the strictly military facet, the aid that the baile general of Valencia Joan Mercader must have provided. In this sense, we have proof of him sending, before September 1413, of 1,073 gold florins that never reached the monarch as the messenger with the money... *entro en la dita Ciutat de balaguer con toda la moneda e rocin* ("entered said City of Balaguer with all the money and cavalry"). ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, f. 66r, published by Bacaicoa Arnaiz, Dora. "Un hecho sucedido en el sitio de Balaguer, en 1413". *Tamuda*, 6/1 (1958): 93-94. From Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 172 (doc. No. 8), we know it could have been in August, as there is a plea from Joan Mercader to the king asking him for credit for a cuanto le diga de su parte el cadí Alí de Bellvís, in charge of delivering the money. Joan Mercader would also be in charge of sending 6,000 florins to the king with which to relieve the city of Valencia and the 12,000 sueldos from Murviedro (Sagunto) to pay the salary of one month for the footsoldiers. Both documents in Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 177-178 (doc. No. 14) (13th October 1413, Valencia), and 179-181 (doc. No. 16) (17th October 1413, Valencia).

199. In the letter from the king of Aragon to Murcia, informing them about how the Count of Urgell was captured and dated in Balaguer on the 29th October 1413, he also indicates the presence of members of the nobility... *de las otras gentes populares que en esta huestre continuamente estovieron en nuestro servicio* ("of the other people that were in this host continually were at our service"). AMM., Cartulario Real 1411-1429, f. 7v, published by Vilaplana Gisbert, M.^a Victoria J., *Documentos de la minoría de Juan II. La Regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*, Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993: XV, 454-455 (doc. No. 231).



the siege engines, as he had done in the siege of Antequera;²⁰⁰ the knight Pedro García de Villagómez and P. Alonso de Pande, in charge of making the artillery and munitions in the city of Lleida²⁰¹ and, although we do not know where, Jacobo Rendeler master of the building of bombards *e de tirar de aquellas* who had also worked in Castile under Ferdinand's orders.²⁰² What we do know is the important presence of stonemasons in the camp to cut as many stones as possible to be fired from the batteries and devices,²⁰³ the many masters in the founding of artillery who would work day and night,²⁰⁴ which leads us to consider, among other things, the harshness of the working conditions and the king's haste to finish the siege. Other collaborators around Balaguer were the people from the nearby villages, whose contribution included supplying the camp with firewood and coal.²⁰⁵ It cannot be ruled out that their help was done under duress or that this was not as sincere as could be expected, especially because they found their land in areas that had been possessions of Count James of Urgell. In any case and from during the siege, there is abundant evidence of opposition to the monarchy and support for the Urgell cause in important cities in the Crown, like Castellón de la Plana and Villarreal,²⁰⁶ and also in Valencia, where it achieved a great influence, among other reasons, for the popular support.²⁰⁷

200. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 72r, payment of 760 Barcelonan sueldos to him and two other assistants (Barcelona, 19th July 1413). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 140r, with which he was ordered to pay Rodrigo de Burgos for the siege tower that father Juan Gutiérrez made. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...* 360.

201. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 457. A payment to the first of the three men on horse, including himself, and two on foot, (18 July 1413), for the amount of 1,350 Barcelonan sueldos, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71r.

202. He had built bombards for the siege of Antequera in Seville. At the time that concerns us here, there is evidence that he received various payments. Thus, for example, on the 20th of July in Barcelona, one of 40 florins, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 76r. Later, the king of Aragon assigned him a salary and three assistants, on the 15th October 1413, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 139v. The document which contains the names of three masters in making bombards is also interesting, Pedro Simón, Gonzalvo Simón and Alfonso Simón, and three others in firing them, one of whom went by the name of García de Almazán. Además. In the siege of Balaguer, the king ordered a salary to be given to a bellmaker and two Moors, who must have been his assistants dated the 18th of September 1413, as we find in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 141v. From the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 34v, we know that Alfonso Simón was from Castile and an expert in making bombards, and that he was paid for forty days at a rate of 11 Barcelonan *sueldos* a day, for a total of 440 Barcelonan sueldos, and committed himself to serve the king of Aragon in Lleida in mid July 1413, as appears in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 70v.

203. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...* II, 506.

204. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...* II, 492.

205. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...* II, 492.

206. Letter from the monarch (Barcelona, 15th June 1413) to the governor of Valencia explaining that he had received information that injurious things were being said about him in these cities, and ordering him to investigate what had happened and punish the guilty parties. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 58v.

207. In general and as can be seen throughout the article by Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos. Sobre la oposición a Fernando I de Trastámara". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 33/1 (2003): 191-261.



6. Means used in the siege

The importance of the artillery in this battle has been indicated, not only in the chronicles but also through a large amount of documentary evidence. It is known that the monarch requested bombards and other artillery pieces from the cities of Calatayud and Saragossa to use in the fight for Tremoz Castle, before the start of the siege of Balaguer, in writing sent to the governor general of Aragon.²⁰⁸ Later and with his mind on besieging the Count of Urgell in Balaguer, requests for artillery were made in the *veguerías* of Lleida, Cervera and Tàrrrega²⁰⁹ or, going further afield, the letter the monarch sent to the knight commander of Jerusalem asking him to make as many pieces available as possible.²¹⁰ As well as the above, requesting material mainly for making artillery pieces, these documents show the most frequent type of combat by the royal troops. However, the documentation available generates doubts about the immediate availability of these pieces for the monarch. It is known that on the 9th of August, Ferdinand sent a letter to his wife, the queen, for her to obtain what was needed to cover certain needs of the camp. Among other questions, he explained Pedro García's bombards, so that the stones they had to launch could be made to the right size.²¹¹ This leads us to consider that around these dates, King Ferdinand still did not have enough artillery pieces for the siege.²¹² To this, we have to add the decision to build new copper bombards, as can be seen in the missives sent to the archbishop of Tarragona, the bishop of León and the mayor, jury and good men of Verdú.²¹³

The fact that the king did not have enough artillery for immediate use must have influenced his decision to begin the siege with the methods used in the Granada campaigns. This would make sense of the building of a... *línea de contravalación*.²¹⁴ Once the artillery pieces were placed around the besieged town,²¹⁵ both the bombards and the siege engines opened fire, so the damage was felt immediately in the part of the castle —Castle Formós—,²¹⁶ as well as in the parapet of the wall that

208. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 451-452.

209. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 453.

210. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 454-455.

211. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.

212. This can be deduced from what Zurita and Monfar wrote about setting them up and the delay in their use. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 493.

213. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383., f. 161; ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 172v.

214. "... line of contravallation". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.

215. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 457. Arantegui talks about up to six batteries in the power of the royal troops, some composed of different numbers of blunderbusses, bombards and siege engines.

216. The destruction of the castle has traditionally been dated in 1413, but there is a letter from the king on the 2nd of November that year in which he indicated that he planned to stay there on a visit to Balaguer, as well as archaeological studies that prove that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was occupied by garrisons that adapted it to their needs or the later building of services for the town and the first archaeological digs have questioned. For this, see Alós Trepas, Carme; Escuder Sánchez, Javier; Solanes Potrony, Eva. "El Castell Formós de Balaguer: arqueologia de una fisonomia", *O*



protected Balaguer²¹⁷ and, possibly at a later date, on the tower on the bridge, half of which was knocked down.²¹⁸ The consequence of this must have been widespread damage, as shown in the descriptions by Zurita and Monfar, who calculated the weight of each stone that was hurled by one of the machines at eight quintals.²¹⁹ This damage was one of the causes, although not the only one, for some of the sallies by the defenders out from of the walls of the town.²²⁰

Another of the means of attack used by the king was the use of siege engines, castles of wood and ladders, of which we have few descriptions and whose builder was the above-mentioned Juan Gutiérrez de Henao.²²¹

*Y era la bastida máchina de tan extraña grandeza y de tanta pesadumbre que parecía igualar con una torre muy grande; y moviase con harta facilidad y ligereza; y ponía tanto terror y espanto como si no hubieran de hallar ninguna resistencia las compañías de ballesteros que iban en ella.*²²²

If the artillery was important for the besiegers, it was no less so for the besieged, as we know through Zurita and the studies by Arantegui, who estimates that the defenders had over thirty pieces.²²³ These figures are similar to those offered by Diego de Monfar, who reports a bombard called the mayor, made in Castelló de Farfanya and thirty ordinary ones that fired a ball bigger than an orange.²²⁴ This agrees with Zurita's claim that the defenders had smaller bombards, that... *eran como tiros de campo*²²⁵ and that did... *harto daño en el real*, a claim that contradicts those

rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 417. We use the page numbering from the Castilian text. In the Catalan version this is on: 109-121.

217. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364 and 368, respectively. In the times of Count Peter II (1347-1408), the wall was built that the Pla neighbourhood and the area of the Mercadal Square, and extended to the north and west to Formós Castle, as we take from Velasco González, Alberto; Fité i Llevot, Francesc. "Los condes de Urgel, promotores artísticos", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 397. We use the page numbering from the Castilian text. In the Catalan version this is on: 45-94.

218. This must have happened at the end of August 1413, as the missive by Prince Alfonso is dated 2nd September. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu ed. *Col. lecció documental...*: 996-997 (doc. No. 931).

219. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 511.

220. As Zurita indicated for the 26th of September, "... that same day, they sallied from the town to skirmish and there was a very close and wild skirmish". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

221. We know of at least three payments made for his maintenance prior to the siege of Balaguer and in which he appears as *Johan Gotiérrez maestre de las bastidas* (Juan Gutiérrez master of the assault towers). They are dated on 27th February, 13th April and the 16th of July in Barcelona, and the amounts were 30 florins, in the first case, and 40 in the others, at a rate of one florin per day. As found in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 80r. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360.

222. "And the siege tower was of such strange grandure and heaviness that is seemed to euqal a very large tower; and it was moved with such ease and lightness; and put such terror and fright as if the companies of crossbowmen who were in it were not to meet resistance". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 371.

223. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 462.

224. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

225. "... were like firing ranges" "... too much damage in the camp". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.



by Monfar who stated that... *fueron de muy poco provecho al faltarle la pólvora*.²²⁶ This damage included an attempt to kill King Ferdinand himself when... *pasó la pelota por encima de la cabeza*²²⁷ and that caused the death of a Castilian knight.²²⁸ Precisely the king would use this incident to spur on the final assault on the objective²²⁹ and in the response he gave to his aunt Isabel of Urgell who pleaded with him for clemency for her husband the count.²³⁰

Despite the above, artillery was not what the defenders of Balaguer used most, this despite their many bombardments and shots, possibly due to a shortage of munitions because of the siege they were submitted to.²³¹ Indeed, a good part of the defence was based on... *dar rebatos sobre las estancias, acometiendo por diversas partes, como gente desesperada y diestra; y esto era muy ordinario acometer a los reales*.²³² This defence meant the destruction of some of the machines in the camps²³³ and dedicated to their bombardment, as well as the capture of prisoners and animals, in the latter case, as victuals. In this sense, we must highlight the entry by the defenders of Balaguer into the camp one day when the guard was under Luis de la Cerda. They took between eight and ten men prisoners and fourteen or fifteen mules,²³⁴ or the one carried out on the 4th of September against the Duke of Gandía which ended twenty of his men taken prisoner²³⁵ These acts became less frequent as the siege grew longer.

226. "... were of very little use through a lack of gunpowder". Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

227. "... the ball passed over his head". On 26th September, the king ... *iba vestido de un balandrán de escarlata y salió en un caballo blanco y le conocieron, armaron los de Balaguer un lombarda en una esquina de la barrera de la ciudad* ("... was wearing a scarlet cassock and riding a white horse and they recognised, and those of Balaguer armed a lombard in a corner of the barrier of the town") making him a target for the artillerymen in Balaguer. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

228. On the 13th of October, *fue muerto de un tiro de bombarda un caballero muy principal de la compañía del adelantado de Castilla que se llamaba Sancho de Leyva* ("...a very leading knight of the company of the adelantado of Castile who was called Sancho de Leyva was killed by a shot from a bombard"). Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.

229. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

230. *...mandando tirar a mi persona con tiros de pólvora e ballestas, habiéndome conocido* ("... ordered fire at my person with shots with gunpowder and crossbows, having recognised me"). Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 355.

231. Monfar echoes the lack of gunpowder. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

232. "... sallied against the residences, attacking from various parts, like desperate and skilful people; and this was very ordinary to attack the camps". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348.

233. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360.

234. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 497; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 355. The quantification is only supplied by these sources. Zurita restricts himself to mentioning the fact. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349. While the *Crónica anónima...*: 29, presents it as a great Castilian lapse that could have had more serious consequences.

235. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361; González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 239. This camp of the Duke of Gandía was near the convent of Santo Domingo, as we know through González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 256., for example. About this convent and its historical fate, see the old work by Timoneda Píkmant, Fernando. "Convento de Santo Domingo (Balaguer)", *Album históric, pintoresch y monumental de Lleyda y sa provincia*, Lleida: Estampa de Joseph Sol Torrens, 1880: I, 85-92 (doc. No. 10).



The reasons for this must be found in the physical tiredness and fall in morale, a great part of which was due to the distrust about the arrival of the promised help, the desertions or the Count of Urgell's own attitude.²³⁶ The despondency among the besieged increased with the continuous help the King of Aragon received from Castile and the other territories that made up his Crown and that contributed to increasing the military pressure on the defenders.

7. The tactics used

The tactics varied depending on the stages the siege went through. Thus, for example, and regarding the artillery, at least two stages can be distinguished. In the first, a discontinuity can be observed in the attacks and fronts open, due especially to the lack of availability of all the pieces, as some were still being made. In the second stage, that began on the 26th of September, the pressure on the defenders increased with simultaneous bombardments²³⁷ night and day,²³⁸ that intensified with the battle for the town from six sides on the 11th of October.²³⁹

The tactics that the king used in the field of operations did not only mean the use of artillery duels or cavalry as such, but rather extended to what we might call propaganda techniques, aimed firstly at undermining the morale of the enemy troops. We know about these facts through the sources and they went from the promulgation of a general amnesty preached in the camp at Balaguer,²⁴⁰ the

236. Regarding the problem of the desertions among the supporters of the Count of Urgell, we have a letter from Prince Alfonso to the authorities in Palermo. It contains two references to the numerous desertions the count was suffering and who switched to the royal side, certainly with the purpose of exalting. *molts, de dia en dia, se ixen de la dita ciutat e se'n vénen al dit senyor rey... grant gent dels dela dita ciutat se.n hixen tot dia e vénen al dit senyor rey* ("... many, from day to day, leave said town and come to said lord the king... many people of those from said town leave every dya and come to said lord the king"). Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu. *Col.lecció documental...*: 996-997 (doc. No. 931).

237. The claim by Lorenzo Valla is interesting, as, if it were true, it would mean considerable progress compared with the siege of Antequera, when he indicates that... *para que el estruendo fuera más horrendo y los golpes más efectivos, no sólo operaban todas [las piezas de artillería] al mismo tiempo, sino casi en el mismo instante* ("so that the roar was more horrendous and the blows more effective, not only were all [the artillery pieces] operated at the same time, but almost at the same instant"): Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando...*: 188.

238. ... *y de allí adelante no cesaban de batir las lombardas y trabucos a grande furia de día y aun de noche, como decían, a piedra perdida* ("...from then on they did not stop firing the lombards and blunderbusses with great fury by day and still by night, as they said, indiscriminately"). Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

239. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.

240. Awarded by the king to all those who abandoned the cause of James of Urgell and left the town of Balaguer in a limit of two weeks, offering them guidance for two months that would ensure them immunity for the crimes committed. In the case of not accepting this, they would be declared traitors and punished in person and assets. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu, ed. *Col. lecció documental...*: 995-996 (doc. No. 930).



mobilisation achieved through the order known as *Princeps namque*²⁴¹ or the actions carried out by two knights, one Catalan, Luis de Garbó or Cardona depending on the sources consulted, and the other Castilian, Luis de la Cerda. The task of Luis de la Cerda is presented through the chronicles as a kind of sapper who had to gradually undermine the confidence of some of the Count of Urgell's subordinates. His task was to convince some of the defenders of Balaguer about the justice and pardon they would receive from King Ferdinand if they abandoned James.²⁴² This took place through the negotiations carried out to free the prisoners among his troops that James' supporters had taken.

A different purpose, but similarly aimed at undermining the resistance of the defenders, was the work of the Catalan knight, Luis de Garbó or de Cardona, who... *movió cierta plática con uno de los de dentro ofreciendo que el rey le haría merced* and through whom the house of the Countess of Urgell was won on the 20th of October.²⁴³ Ferdinand explained to his son, Alfonso, the vicissitudes of the handing over of this fort in a letter. Through this missive, we know that:

*... ferem exir los altres qui no eren del tracte de fora en scusa de cercar lenya e los restants tancaren la porta de la casa e feren cert senyal al Gobernador de Cathalunya e certa gent qui staven avisats los quals vist lo senyal anaren ves la dita casa e com los exits de aquella volguessen tornar trobaren les portes tancades e per fugir a les mans de nostres gents lançaren se en lo riu on muri hu dells; los altres passaren se a la ciutat e la dita gent nostra ubrint los del tracte les portes ja dites entraren sen dins la dita casa levant tantots nostre standart per senyal al altres de nostre real de la qual cosa los de la dita ciutat mostren gran abatiment.*²⁴⁴

The success of these actions was due to many factors, notable among which was the lack of supplies due to the tightening of the siege, at least in regards to the troops. However, we consider that elements of another order, among which we could count saving their own families or preserving their assets, were the motives why leading

241. The usage of *Princeps Namque* began to be applied in mid September 1413, as we know from the López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 128-129 (doc. No. 133). The order was read in the council of Tarragona on the 4th of October, as we know through Cortiella i Odena, Francesc. *Una ciutat catalana a les darreries de la Baixa Edat Mitjana: Tarragona*, Tarragona: Institut d'Estudis Tarraconenses Ramón Berenguer IV. Exma. Diputació Provincial de Tarragona, 1984: 25. However, on 10th October, the king summoned the barons, knights, citizens and men of Catalonia, both crown and seignior, to go to Balaguer immediately to help the crown quash the rebellion by James of Urgell. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu, ed. *Col. lecció documental...*: 998-999 (doc. No. 932).

242. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 510; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 363.

243. "... promoted certain dialogue with on of those inside offering that the king would show him mercy". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352, only indicates the fact; the date is from Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368.

244. "... made the others who were not part of the deal leave to look for firewood and the others closed the door of the house and made a certain signal to the Governor of Catalonia and certain people who were warned and who on seeing the signal went to the house and as those who had left wanted to return but found the doors barred and to flee from our people leaped into the river where one of them died; the others passed to the town and our people opened the door for those in the deal and entered into said house all carrying our standard to signal to the others in our camp at which those in said town showed great dismay". Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 353-354 (doc. No. CLXXIX).



knights, who had followed the count for a long time, abandoned him. This would be the case of Martín López de Lanuza, who abandoned the count together with his family, or Juan de Sesé and forty other people on the same day,²⁴⁵ or Artal de Alagó.²⁴⁶ However, we do not know the reasons in other cases, like that of the knights Ivany dez Ponts and Ombert de Vilafrancha, who left Balaguer on the 18th of August and who the king rewarded with two and four mounts and their inclusion in the house of Prince Alfonso.²⁴⁷ However, a question that remains to be answered is what the role of these and other people who passed to the royal side was, if they were allowed to fulfil any, in the later development of the siege.

The tactics indicated sometimes came up against adverse factors that affected the two camps the king set up around the besieged town. Although at first there were strategic reasons for this division,²⁴⁸ it is possible that by the end of the siege, these were related to other natural causes, like the rise of the River Segre, that had placed impediments on the king at the start of the campaign.²⁴⁹ Thus, the royal troops were in two different places at the end of the siege, one part under the command of the king and the other led by the Duke of Gandía.²⁵⁰ Some of the conditioning factors in the siege were the lateness of the season, with less daylight, and the shortage of the land despite it being a fertile area,²⁵¹ especially as the Count of Urgell had consumed the provisions;²⁵² setbacks like the desertions that, in some moments, seemed to be constant and massive, especially in some of the trades, like the stonemasons, of whom twenty disappeared in one day, leaving without the king's permission;²⁵³ problems derived from the excessive slowness in building castles and siege engines for the battle. However, one of the greatest concerns was undoubtedly the growing diversity of opinions and the ill-feeling that had arisen among the grandees who attended the Council. It was here, where the conflict between Catalans and Castilians concerning how the war should be conducted was

245. Martín López de Lanuza left Balaguer on 20th October, as we find in Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352, does not provide the date. Juan de Sesé was the son of García López de Sesé, who the then abbot of Valladolid, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, unsuccessfully tried to draw towards Ferdinand's opinion by offering him properties and money.

246. Vendrell de Millás, Francesca; Masiá de Ros, Angels. *Jaume el Dissortat. Darrer comte d'Urgell*, Barcelona: Editorial AEDOS, 1956: 156.

247. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 64 (doc. No. 54).

248. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 346. When the Duke of Gandía came before the king, he was ordered to cross the river and remain in one of the places that would turn out to be strategic.

249. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 350; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 38-39 (doc. No. 18).

250. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. We also know it through the parade at the end of the siege, specifically on the 3rd of November 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 204r-206r.

251. As highlighted in the accounts by the various chroniclers. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 350; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 344.

252. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

253. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 506.



most acutely visible.²⁵⁴ In general lines, These were some of the circumstances that contributed to slowing down, and perhaps at some moments, a boosting the taking of Balaguer as soon as possible. Indeed, one could think of the taking of Balaguer as a kind of cauteriser of the possible discrepancies between the knights from the various kingdoms that helped Ferdinand in his task.

8. The number of combatants for the king and the presence of Castilians

To take the town of Balaguer,²⁵⁵ the King of Aragon used a large number of men of arms from Castile, the peninsular territories that made up the Crown of Aragon and Navarre.²⁵⁶ It is difficult to evaluate the number of troops by their origin. Very diverse figures are offered for the Castilians, ranging from a thousand lances to start the campaign, to which one must add the... *que podrían ser hasta ciento* poor Castilians that Ferdinand ordered to be armed Barcelona and who would be in charge of his protection,²⁵⁷ as well as the few forces that were scattered around the territories of the Crown of Aragon. According to García de Santa María... *quando cerco al conde de Urgel en Balaguer que le fueron de Castilla mil e quinientos homes de la guisa e de armas e otra gente de pie*.²⁵⁸ In any case, the number of Castilian troops would later be

254. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360-361. The author considered these contradictions normal given the diversity of nations involved in the siege of Balaguer.

255. The siege ended on the 31st of October with the surrender of James of Urgell, as the king informed his son, Alfonso. Bofarull y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, en *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1847: II, 534-535; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 199 (doc. No. 232). We have news of its spread in Castile, for example in Seville, as evidenced by a payment for glad tidings on 6th December 1413. Collantes de Terán Delorme, Francisco. *Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Inventario de los papeles del Mayordomazgo del siglo xv, 1401-1416*, Seville: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Delegación de Cultura, Sección de Publicaciones: Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes, 1972: I, 464 (doc. No. 98). And in other peninsular kingdoms, like Navarre, where Álvaro de Garavito went to report it and received 60 gold escudos minted in France. Castro, José Ramón. *Archivo General de Navarra. Catálogo de la Sección de Comptos. Documentos*, Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1962: XXX, 435 (doc. No. 878).

256. The monarch, without specifying any number or origin, addressing the Catalans in his speech before the Courts of Montblanc in 1414 indicated that it was ... *ab notable nombre de gent darmes e de peu* ("... with notable number of people of arms and on foot"). *Cortes...*: XI, 345. The Navarrese help, led by Godofre, marshal and Count of Cortes, was seven knights and four Navarrese squires with a force of 20 men of arms, as indicated by Fernández de Larrea y Rojas, Jon Andoni. *El precio de la sangre. Ejércitos y sociedad en Navarra durante la Baja Edad Media (1259-1450)*, Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2013: 100.

257. "... could be up to a hundred". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349. This figure of a thousand Castilian lances is agreed on by the *Crónica incompleta...*: 24 and Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 329, who also gives the number of up to a hundred castilian horse.

258. "... when the Count of Urgell was besieged in Balaguer that one thousand five hundred men went there from Castile with the bridle and at arms and other people on foot". García de Santa María, Álv. *Le parti inedite della: "Crónica de Juan II" di Álv. García de Santa María*, Donatella Ferro, ed. Venice: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Gruppo Studi d'Ispanistica), 1972: 151.



mixed with others all over the Crown of Aragon. This can be deduced from a letter by the monarch in mid-June explaining the arrival of men of arms from Castile in Saragossa, and who joined the Aragonese who were in the city quantified as two thousand nags.²⁵⁹ This can also be noted during the battle itself.²⁶⁰ In the case of there being individualised data, the previous figure is not reached and nothing enables us to conclude that all these troops were from Castile, as is the case of the *Adelantado* Diego Gómez de Sandoval, who it is claimed to have had six hundred lances without their origins being indicated.²⁶¹ To these, we must add the Castilians troops who were ready on the frontier of this kingdom with Aragon in case there was the entry of foreign troops and that the king quantified in one of his letters. According to Ferdinand... *en les fronteres de Castella que son prests vuy millia bacinets e deu millia omes a peu per entrar en nostra ajuda al primer ardit que hagen nostre si era cas que de la dita gent strangera entrava. E daquesta gent de Castella vindra per capita Johan de Velasco*.²⁶² These are very high figures for combatants that did not need to be mobilised, and appear exaggerated, like those of five or six thousand Castilian lances that a witness offered in the trial of the Count of Urgell after the siege.²⁶³

More evidence that these troops from Castile were quantitatively important can be drawn from the reviews and parades before and during the siege of Balaguer. In around forty parades in Barcelona, Saragossa, Huesca, Balaguer and Lleida, there were companies of Castilian men of arms, in greatly varying numbers, in eleven. In at least another twenty, some Castilian soldiers were included among troops from other origins. To these, we must add some cases in which the place the parade was done and which troops formed part of the house of the king of Aragon does not appear. From the chronological point of view, most of these parades in which the Castilian presence was concentrated were during June, July and, to a lesser extent, August of 1413.

To mention some cases, on Friday, 24th of June, the company of Francisco Ortiz was reviewed in Barcelona.²⁶⁴ On the 10th of July, at least five men of arms arrived

259. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 57r.

260. In a letter written during the siege of Balaguer, the monarch wrote that he had 4,000 men of arms available. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, f. 29v. See also Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 351. For example, Álvaro de Ávila, Mosén Bernal de Centelles, Mosén Gil Ruiz de Lihori and Pedro Alfonso de Escalante who were together with their men of arms, who numbered six hundred, in the nunnery in the town, as we know from the *Crónica incompleta...*: 24, and by González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 233. This could be the convent of Santa Clara which is the subject of the work by Triviño Monrabal, María Victoria, "Convento de Santa Clara de Balaguer (Lleida) siglo XIX", *La desamortización. El expolio del patrimonio artístico y cultural de la Iglesia en España*. San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escorialenses: Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2007: 829-845.

261. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 351; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 345; *Crónica incompleta...*: 28.

262. "... on the frontiers of Castile that are taken by eight thousand cuirassiers and ten thousand foot soldiers in our aid the first artifice that we do if it were the case that said foreign people entered. And of these people of Castile the will come for captain Johan de Velasco". Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 351 (doc. No. CLXXV).

263. Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 303.

264. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 48r.



from Castile.²⁶⁵ On the 15th, there was parade by the company of García de Herrera, made up of himself and ten other knights,²⁶⁶ and the thirteen men of arms who came with arms Juan Delgadillo, of whom at least nine were Castilians.²⁶⁷ In Huesca, on the 14th of June, Martín de Pomar paraded with twenty-four other knights.²⁶⁸ On the 16th, in the same city, it was Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar heading sixty knights and six crossbowmen.²⁶⁹ On the 17th, Suero de Nava also paraded through Huesca with thirteen knights, eleven lancers and twenty-seven men armed with pavises and lances.²⁷⁰ In Balaguer in early August 1413, Suero de Nava also paraded... *de las partes del reino de Francia* together with five men of arms and five crossbowmen,²⁷¹ as did the above-mentioned Martín de Pomar on the 13th of September, although he had already been in the king's service since the 3rd of August, in the town of Menàrguens with various men of arms.²⁷² And, without wanting to go into greater details, in Lleida on the 17th of November 1413, the king ordered the salary to be paid to Alfonso de Aguilar, captain of the men of arms who had come again from Castile, specifically from Cordoba, for the twenty days of their return journey and the four they had been in Lleida. These were forty-seven knights and four crossbowmen on horseback.²⁷³

As well as these seignorial troops with vassalistic links to Ferdinand, the King of Aragon also made widespread use of paid troops from Castile. These, according to the documentation, appear as companies of crossbowmen and almogavars. Like the twenty-five paid crossbowmen under the command of Íñigo de Solórzano,²⁷⁴ twenty-five others led by Juan de Palencia²⁷⁵ and the same number Juan de Guecho.²⁷⁶ In each of these three cases, they appeared under the *constabla de...*

There were Castilian warlords hired, undoubtedly for their great experience, from the area of the frontier with the Kingdom of Granada. At least twenty-three warlords have been counted from, among other places, Jerez, Morón, Baeza, Antequera, Córdoba, Lorca and Baena, each at the head of ten almogavars. that gives a total of

265. The first that appears in the list is Pero García de Villagómez, but without stating that he is a captain. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 51v.

266. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 27v.

267. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 44v.

268. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 188r-v.

269. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 190r-191r.

270. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 191v-192v.

271. "from the parts of the Kingdom of France". ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 38r.

272. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 46v.

273. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 57v-58v.

274. They paraded through Barcelona on the 9th of May 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 114r.

275. Although they paraded in Barcelona on the 10th of August 1413, they also passed review on the 6th of October in the siege of Balaguer, as appears in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 119r-v.

276. They paraded in Barcelona on the 28th of May 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 113r.



two hundred and fifty-three, counting the captains, who were present at the siege of Balaguer.²⁷⁷ It is possible, in agreement with the evidence gathered, that as well as their service in the siege and in the later siege of Loarre,²⁷⁸ also conducted sweeps and raids in the surrounding lands and those that were still loyal to the Count of Urgell as this was one of their main tasks.²⁷⁹ We do not have the names of these ten almogavars under each warlord although they were probably mainly Castilians, although we cannot rule out that some may have been of Muslim origin. However, we know what the warlord and the almogavars under his command received, respectively four and three Barcelonan *sueldos* per day.²⁸⁰ Undoubtedly, the contacts that Ferdinand established during the Granadan campaigns and the services that these troops had lent him were behind the contracting of these soldiers.

Other Castilian troops came from places that were under the seigniorship of the king of Aragon. Here, one can differentiate the requests for militias from certain councils from the duty of vassalage that linked certain knights who had land from him. Ferdinand alluded to their duty to assist him as vassals, to which end he called... *a todos los escuderos e caualleros que de él tenían tierra* in Paredes de Nava,²⁸¹ Cuéllar,²⁸²

277. See the list of parades in *Castellanos en el cerco a Balaguer* (Castilians in the siege of Balaguer). The documentary references to these troops are in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 128v-130r. An interesting work about the almogavars, their ranks, military functions and presence in the wars of the fifteenth century, is Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa. *Organització i defensa d'un territori fronterer. La Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: 242-284. She considers that by the end of the fourteenth century, they had completely disappeared from Catalonia, which may explain why the majority of those who figure here were Castilians.

278. After the end of siege of Balaguer, the king ordered at least ten of them to Loarre. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 149r.

279. This was the case of Gonzalvo Gutiérrez for whom the monarch requested, without specifying a receiver, that he and his companions be supplied with whatever they needed with his money, and if necessary, guides and assistance. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, ff. 34r-v.

280. As can be seen, for example, in the payments that were ordered for Juan García de Jerez and Alfonso de Baeza to serve the king *vers les parts de Leyda* ("... to the area of Lleida") for one month (19th and 18th July 1413, Barcelona). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 72v.

281. "... to all the squires and knights who had land from him". AMPdN., Cuentas de Propios, (1413), carpeta 238, f. 14/23v. We do not know if this council sent the same number of crossbowmen and lancers that were sent to the siege of Antequera in 1410, a total of a hundred and sixty men, divided into two shifts. González Sánchez, Santiago. *Los recursos militares de la monarquía castellana a comienzos del siglo XV. Las campañas granadinas del infante don Fernando: Setenil y Antequera (1407-1410)*, Madrid: Comité Español de Ciencias Históricas. Dykinson S.L, 2016: 137.

282. We know about a letter from the King of Aragon requiring the town of Cuéllar to contribute what they had offered —we do not know exactly what this refers to— for the war against Balaguer and Perpignan, as taken from Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de Cuéllar*, Segovia: Publicaciones históricas de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1961: 412-413 (doc. No. 198); Velasco Bayón, Balbino; Herrero Jiménez, Mauricio; Pecharromán Cebrián, Segismundo; Montalvillo García, Julia. *Colección documental de Cuéllar (934-1492)*, Cuéllar: Ayuntamiento de Cuéllar, I, 2010: 467-468 (doc. No. 279). Unfortunately, the document has been lost, so we have to make do with the details from an early eighteenth-century inventory. Perhaps the news that in 1411, the then Prince Ferdinand called on the council of Cuéllar to despatch ... *treinta vasallos con sus ballestas y otras armas, que sean jóvenes y no posean bienes raíces* ("... thirty vassals with their crossbows and other arms, who are young and have no good roots") who would serve to reinforce the troops that he already had in the kingdoms of the Crown of

Villalón de Campos,²⁸³ Medina del Campo and Olmedo,²⁸⁴ Arévalo and in Ávila,²⁸⁵ the five towns of Ledesma²⁸⁶ and in Alba de Tormes. With regard to the latter place, we know that on the 1st of June 1413, three of its vassal knights were called to Soria where they had troops gathered: these were Fernán Alfonso de Olivera, councillor, Lorenzo Doval, mayor, and Juan Martínez de Beleña, ex-mayor, who contributed eight lances. As well as the 1,500 maravedies of land for each lance, each of them received a payment for ten days of journey, *correspondiéndoles 150 maravedíes por cada lanza*. In the end, Fernán Alfonso de Olivera, did not take four lances, but rather six, bringing the total to ten.²⁸⁷

As well as the above, one must bear in mind the number of combatants, generally knights, with whom the various Castilian nobles of the houses of the king and queen offered to serve Ferdinand. In this sense and besides those who formed his guard, there were the seven armed horsemen with whom Juan Carrillo, usher of arms to King Ferdinand, had promised to serve in the kingdom of Aragon;²⁸⁸ the five who came again from the kingdom of Castile;²⁸⁹ the thirteen armed horsemen who returned from Castile, as well as three others who Juan Delgadillo, the king's baker,

Aragon could be indicative. Velasco Bayón, Balbino; Herrero Jiménez, Mauricio; Pecharromán Cebrián, Segismundo; Montalvillo García, Julia. *Colección documental de Cuéllar...*, I: 438 (doc. No. 262).

283. Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. "La candidatura al trono...", note 76: 889. The signature that he supplies is (AMVillalón, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1404-1423, f. 23r-44r). However, it has been impossible to check this claim with the original document as, according to the archivists of the Diputación de Valladolid —where the archive of Villalón de Campos is now kept—, the Chapter Acts of 1413 have not survived, but rather these go from 1411 to those of 1419. What we do know is the men of arms that were sent to for the Antequera campaign in 1410, namely 25 crossbowmen and 23 lancers, as we know from AMVillalón, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1404-1423, f. 23v^o. Must it be supposed that the same number were requested for the siege of Balaguer?

284. *Crónica anónima...*: 24. Olmedo contributed an indeterminate number of lances that the king's vassals had there, which could have been sixty-six, as can be seen in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 226.

285. Medina del Campo, Cuéllar, Paredes de Nava, Arévalo and Ávila would have contributed a total of two hundred and sixty-six lances, as stated in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 231.

286. Ledesma, together with its five towns and Saldaña supplied a total of one hundred lances. For this, see González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 231.

287. "... corresponding to 150 maravedies for each lance". AMAL, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1413, ff. 28v-29r, 30r-31r, 36v-37r. The dates that correspond to these sheets are 1-6-1413, 2-6-1413 and 20-6-1413, respectively. The documentary references and information about the contribution of this council are from Monsalvo Antón, José María. *El sistema político concejil: el ejemplo del señorío medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1988: 181-182. The documentation is also mentioned in Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. "La candidatura al trono...": 889.

288. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 29v (Barcelona, 20th June 1413). News about these seven armed horsemen in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71v, payment of 105 florins (Barcelona, 15th July 1413).

289. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 40v (Barcelona, 24th July 1413).



agreed to make available,²⁹⁰ and as a final example, the three who were recruited by Fernando Díez de Toledo, archdeacon of Niebla and the king's physician.²⁹¹

In any case, there is not even evidence of a determined number of Castilians for what could be called the final period of the struggle as, for example, it is recorded that the king ordered a count of all the knights from Castile and their people in order to pay them, without specifying the number.²⁹² The number we do know is of the final reinforcements who went to his aid and those that the queen of Castile was preparing to send him, three hundred cuirassiers paid for three months.²⁹³ Moreover, we have the figures that Zurita supplies for Valencians and Catalans at the start of the siege, three hundred Valencians, who had arrived with the Duke of Gandía,²⁹⁴ and six hundred Catalans, all on horseback,²⁹⁵ although the former would rise later to five or six hundred.²⁹⁶ We do not know the number from the

290. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 40v (Barcelona, 23rd July 1413). Information about these three armed horsemen in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71v, payment of 45 florins (Barcelona, 15th de July 1413).

291. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 37r (Barcelona, 18th July 1413).

292. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356.

293. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 351 (doc. No. 175); Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. The relations between Queen Catalina and Ferdinand went through ups and downs but were generally bad. Accordingly, it snads out that one of the witnesses in the trial of the Count of Urgell after his defeat claimed that he heard him say... *que el sabia per letres que la Reyna de Castella havia mesa veda en Castella que gent darmes non isques* ("he knew from letters that the Queen of castile had prohibited any men of arms from leaving this kingdom"). Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 303. It is probable that with this statement and others, James of Urgell was quantifying the number of combatants that awaited... *Il rocins lança en ma et D arxes e D lançes de gascons* (two horses lances in hand and five hundred archers and five hundred lances from Gascons), trying to encourage his followers.

294. Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos...": 246-247 (doc. No. 1). Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey. Nobleza y guerra en el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 143, based on ARV., Reial Cancillería., n.º 619bis, ff. 1r-37v, provides the same figure. Then, Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 432, highlights that the Duke of Gandía formed part of the royal army from the onset, having been one of the competitors for the throne of the Crown of Aragon.

295. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 346-347.

296. The figure of five hundred is from Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 181-182 (doc. No.17), 182-183 (doc. No. 18) and 185 (doc. No. 21) and Pérez Pérez, Desamparados. "Presencia valenciana en el sitio de Balaguer. Año 1413". *Medievalia*, 8 (1989): 305. Both quantities in Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos": 224-225. The latter author also gives a figure between five and six hundred Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. "La milicia ciudadana de la Valencia medieval", *Clio & Crimen*, 3 (2006): 319-320. In line with the data we take from Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey...*: 143, to the three hundred financed by the Diputació del General one must add the two hundred and fifty-three recruited by the general mayor. The first three hundred, under the leadership of the Duke of Gandía, were contracted for three months' service; the hundred and fifty-three under Bernat Centelles and the remaining hundred led by the noble Pero Maça de Liçana, for two months. Regarding the financial role of this institution and despite not containing the case cited, see Camarena Mahiques, José. "Función económica del General del Regne de Valencia en el siglo xv". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 25 (1955): 529-542. About Pero Maça de Liçana, we have various sources of information; the chronicle that has his name, *Crónica de Pere Maça*, (1979); the book based on that, written by Riquer Morera, Martí de. *Vida i aventures del cavaller valencià don Pero Maça*, Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2004: chapter VI, 59-63. There is a first edition from



Kingdom of Aragon, except the names of some knights.²⁹⁷ The king also had the help of two important Navarrese knights who brought twenty men of arms, although he rejected the offer of three hundred men from that kingdom.²⁹⁸ This would have meant internationalising the conflict and, perhaps more evidently, that it would have been interpreted within the Crown of Aragon as a lack of legitimacy of the new monarch, as well as raising doubts about his military power.

Regarding the total number of Castilian combatants,²⁹⁹ the figure varies between three thousand and three thousand five hundred horse during the siege.³⁰⁰ In the final parade, the camp being split into two, the number in only the king's camp was two thousand, excepting the people who had taken the Count of Urgell to Lleida³⁰¹ and who we know numbered between two hundred and two hundred and fifty.³⁰² For his part, Lorenzo Valla established figures that seem somewhat rather exaggerated; *Las tropas del rey estaban formadas por castellanos y catalanes conjuntamente, en número aproximado de ocho mil infantes y cuatro mil jinetes*.³⁰³ This opinion contrasts with that of Zurita, at least regarding the different number of troops on foot or on horseback, as what is observed in this author is the preponderance of knights over the numbers of lancers and crossbowmen. He claims that were few of the latter in the final parade in the monarch's camp;³⁰⁴ but we do not know why, whether through desertions or that a good number of them were on missions outside the camp.

One sector of the army remained active, although we do not know for how long. In Sáiz Serrano's opinion, this would have gradually been reduced until ending up as a small unit of the royal guard. This would have been around two hundred men

1984. And the details in the Hinojosa Montalvo, José. *Diccionario de Historia medieval del Reino de Valencia*, Valencia: Nova Composición, 2002: III, 61-62.

297. To the members of important lineages cited above, one must add those of Juan de Moncayo, who Ferdinand rewarded for his services in Balaguer with the grant of places and castles in Clamosa and Puy de Cinca, in the Kingdom of Aragón, as we see in AHPZ., expediente Casa Ducal de Híjar, ES/AHPZ-P/1-114-57, dated the 8th of October 1414. And father Sancho Pérez de Pomar, who had had twenty six loads of wheat seized when present in the siege of Balaguer, in Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv...*: 34-35 (doc. No. 12).

298. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367-368. Zurita does not supply the number of these knights nor does he mention the offer King Charles III of Navarre made to Ferdinand and the latter refused.

299. Declarations by some of the witnesses called to the trial of Count James of Urgell estimated the number of Castilian lances at Balaguer at between five and six thousand. Bofarrul y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes...*: III, 81.

300. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 538. The two figures indicated correspond with both chronicles.

301. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374.

302. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. The two figures indicated correspond with both chronicles.

303. "The king's troops were made up of Castilians and Catalans together, a number of approximately eight thousand foot soldiers and four thousand horsemen". Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando...*: 188.

304. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374.



and eight lances, led by a hundred and thirty Castilian-origin knights and men of arms.³⁰⁵

However, a more detailed study of the document on which Sáiz Serrano bases himself provides valuable information. First there is the possible service to the king for three months and a day, as the royal secretary Juan de Tudela made a payment on the 8th of December 1413 in Lleida, with which we know that they were given a month's salary, but the king's order was extended until the 10th of March 1414. The second is that the number of Castilian captains rose to one hundred and thirty-four, and the lances, to two hundred and fifty.³⁰⁶ As well as holding the names of various important captains present in the siege of Balaguer,³⁰⁷ the document enables us to see how the royal host was organised. Through this, we know that eighty-nine captains were in charge of one lance, which is 66.51 percent of the two hundred and fifty; thirty took two lances, 44.77 percent; five supplied three lances, 11.19 percent; three had four lances, 8.95 percent; one went with five lances, 3.73 percent; two took six lances, 8.95 percent; one contributed eight lances, 5.97 percent; another came with nine lances, 6.71 percent; one participated with twelve lances, 8.95 percent, and Pedro Núñez de Guzmán took twenty-eight lances, 20.89 percent. As well as the onomastics, the toponyms of the surnames of these captains reveal their origins: Rueda, Ayllón, Salamanca, Soria, Sepúlveda, Logroño, Ávila, Olmedo, Portillo, Almazán, Cilleruelo, Carrión, Oviedo, Aguilar, Vozmediano, Pedrosa, Villalón, Tordehumos, Revenga, Serón (de Nágima), Zamora, Tiedra, Villapadierna, Cuenca, Mayorga, Mieres, Berlanga, Vergara, Valbuena, Villaviciosa, Valderas and Urueña. Some of these places, like Olmedo, Villalón and Tiedra, were under the lordship of the King of Aragon so it is likely that some of these knights had feudo-vassalistic links with Ferdinand. According to the toponymy, the place that contributed more knights was Olmedo, with ten. We must also highlight that in twenty-two cases, the knight used others of the same rank or squires to lend their service, twenty of them supplied one lance, one two lances and the other, three.³⁰⁸

Another question to consider is what could be named the qualification of the combatants, that resulted in many cases from previous experience. In this sense, we know the consideration deserved by the Castilian troops who were awaiting the arrival of Ferdinand in Igualada before going to Balaguer, as they were qualified as *escogida* and *muy lucida* troop.³⁰⁹ However, these criteria took on a point of admiration when the majority of them were called *soldados viejos*, in allusion to

305. Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey...*: 101.

306. This coincides with a final payment of 3,746 florines, which should have been 3,750 to coincide with the payment of 15 florins per month for each lance. However, although we do not know why, a lance was paid at 11 florins. We draw attention to the different salary paid for a Castilian lance. During the epoch of the Interregnum it was 1 florin per day, as we know from Janer y Graells, Florencio. *Examen...*: 147-148. While the siege of a Balaguer lasted and after the fall of the town at a rate of half a florin per day as we know from the ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, f. 6r.

307. (chosen and very lucid). The most notable cases were those of Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán and his son-in-law Pedro de Guzmán also cited in various chronicles.

308. ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, ff. 6r-10r.

309. (chosen, brilliant). Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 343.



the experience they had had in the Granadan campaigns, which would not have avoided their lack of adaptation to this terrain if winter had arrived.³¹⁰

These opinions contrast with those held about the people who fought for the Count of Urgell in Balaguer, whose condition as not being... *todos soldados* was highlighted, although they were considered skilled, although given the conditions they were subjected to and their inexperience, it is probable they were behind acts of great courage, typical of... *gente desesperada*.³¹¹

Thus, there was a qualitative dimension that differentiated the combatants on either side of the conflict. Perhaps, and apart from wanting to increase his own forces and thus compensate for the greater numbers on the monarch's side, one of the reasons for the Count of Urgell's wish for help from English mercenaries was their notable *professionality*.

In any case, the aid from Castile so that Ferdinand could definitively take the throne of the Crown of Aragon has been considered fundamental. Besides the evidence for this support in the months prior to the Balaguer campaign,³¹² we dare to sketch out three tables of this aid in the Appendix, that could undoubtedly be extended. The first presents some of the payments made to Castilians who served the King of Aragon during the siege of Balaguer, either for their service at arms, or for their material collaboration. The second contains the names that appear of those who were either captains or members of the Castilian nobility present in the siege. The third contains the payments to the Castilians who remained in the king's service after the end of the siege.

All this leads us to consider the role that the Castilians had throughout the siege of Balaguer. In first place, and as expressed above, we have to highlight their work supplying the supplies and equipment necessary to maintain the siege and that we have focussed on Prince Alfonso, Queen Leonor and the bishops of León and Zamora. Besides these and what they provided, there were other important supplies like the animals supplied by squires like Sancho del Corral.³¹³

Another aspect is that of the work on the siege itself. Castilians can be seen in all the armed clashes, either through their numerical importance, shown above, or for the trust placed in them. This trust in the Castilians could provoke distrust of the men of arms from the territories of the Crown de Aragon. This can be deduced from evidence collected as, in practically all the actions of arms, beside a knight from these origins there was another from Castile. As an example from among the various that could be presented, there was the pursuit of possible English enemies

310. "old soldiers". Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

311. "...all soldiers"; "desperate people". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349.

312. From among the many examples, there are the cases of Sancho Pérez de Pomar, Martín de Pomar and Pedro de Pomar, who were in the king's service with ten, two and five men respectively, on the 24th of May 1413 in the Kingdom of Aragon. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 20v.

313. Cited in the table of payments to Castilians in the siege of Balaguer. In relation to this, especially the seizure of horses, one must consider the damage caused to the Castilian economy by these acts, as shown by García de Santa María, Álvaro. *Le parti inedite...*: 152.



coming to help the Count of Urgell which was entrusted to the governor of Catalonia along with the Castilian, Pedro Núñez de Guzmán.³¹⁴ There are other reasons than the one the chroniclers tell us about a different conception of the continuity of the siege of Balaguer, which led Castilians and Catalans to differ in the king's council.³¹⁵ It must be supposed that this co-participation by knights from both kingdoms went beyond the strictly armed action that the chronicles indicate and went as far as the guard of the camp, although it seems suspicious that it was not like this for the two references to this that we take from Zurita and that both refer exclusively to Castilians.³¹⁶ However, if the preference for one part of the combatants can be considered beyond doubt, it is no less so the one the King of Aragon showed for the *Adelantado mayor* of Castile, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, to whom all the guards and night guards were entrusted and who... *andaba sobre todos*.³¹⁷

These armed clashes also meant the definitive rise of the Castilian knights who had begun their experience military in the Granadan campaigns and who were in the house of the King of Aragon. This would be the case of Diego Gómez de Sandoval and Álvaro de Ávila.³¹⁸ For others, it was the start of their military careers, as can be seen with Álvaro de Garavito.³¹⁹

The geostrategic situation of the peninsular and insular kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon, its involvement in the solution of the Schism that had divided the Church, among other problems, meant that the presence of Castilian troops there was prolonged beyond the scope of this study until the end of the reign of Ferdinand I of Aragon in 1416, with the purpose of both consolidating his power and securing that of his successor.

9. The rewards to the Castilians

The bulk of the concessions that Ferdinand made as king of Aragon came about after the defeat of the Count of Urgell and his followers. We must bear in mind the

314. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362.

315. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361. A reason that can also be perceived in Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

316. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349 and 366.

317. "...watched over everyone". Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 371. Apart from highlighting his importance, referring to the monarch, Monfar adds that... *sin fiarse de catalanes ni aragoneses* (without trusting Catalans or Aragonese). Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 518.

318. About the latter, see the article by Franco Silva, Alfonso. "El mariscal Álvaro de Ávila y los orígenes del Condado de Peñaranda", *La fortuna y el poder. Estudios sobre las bases económicas de la aristocracia castellana* (S. XIV-XV), Cadiz: Universidad de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1996: 241-264.

319. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 365. This character, for whom no citations have been found, would have been part of the Leonese family of the same name, which is briefly dealt with in Álvarez Álvarez, César. "Linajes nobiliarios y oligarquías urbanas en León", *La nobleza peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales*, Leon: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1999: 61-62.



serious situation of the royal patrimony on his entry into Aragon,³²⁰ the confiscation of the losers' assets³²¹ and the need to reward, in some way, the Castilian help, which had to a great extent not been satisfied the previous time. From the patrimonial point of view, the defeat of the Count of Urgell meant an increase in the crown's possessions and a certain economic solvency,³²² which led to the request from those who... *solicitaban la enmienda de sus servicios, más aún los que le habían servido en el sitio de Balaguer*.³²³ Hence, in some of these favours, there was a need for reward, like that which took place after the surrender of the Count of Urgell in Balaguer, when the king donated all the goods that were found in the Count's palace to some Castilians who were there.³²⁴

At a later date, apart from the salary, the monarch recompensed those who served him during the siege of Balaguer.³²⁵ These favours took place throughout 1414 and 1415 and, to a good extent, they were done in regions where the Count of Urgell and his supporters had had their possessions, some about these same properties.³²⁶ These donations were not only a reward for certain services and attitudes shown towards the King of Aragon, but also one of the monarch's aims was to enable that through these, part of the Castilian nobility, particularly some of its most loyal members, could settle in the Crown of Aragon or, if not, receive a new source of income and through them, have a stable power base and so control the kingdom.

Among the assets owned by the supporters of the Count of Urgell, we know that on the 23rd of February 1415, Ferdinand donated those that had belonged to Luis de Cegrany to Nuño de Laguna and García de la Vera.³²⁷ The marriage of Álvaro de Garavito with Violante, one of the daughters of Martín López de Lanuza, through

320. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 291. Diego Gómez de Fuensalida is mentioned as a witness among those present at the swearing in of the three delegates: Juan de Subirats, Berenguer de Bardají and Francisco Sarçuela charged with analysing the situation of the patrimonial assets of the Crown of Aragon at the start of Ferdinand I's reign, as shown by: Gallostra Vendrell, Francisca. *Rentas reales de Aragón de la época de Fernando I (1412-1416)*, *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, Madrid-Barcelona: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1977: XLVII, 15.

321. Regarding this, one can see the confiscations of assets from Martín López de Lanuza, after he left Balaguer in Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368. Or the confiscation of Antonio de Luna's assets in Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 381. Or the loss of the assets of the Count of Urgell's mother in Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 357. Regarding the fate of the rights and properties of Antonio de Luna, see Torre Gonzalo, Sandra de la. "'Por hacer paz y justicia': la traición como arma política durante el *Interregno* en el reino de Aragón (1410-1412)". *e-Spania*, 14 (December, 2012) <<http://e-spania.revues.org/22001>> (Consulted 1st June 2017).

322. Vendrell de Millás, Francesca; Masiá de Ros, Angels. *Jaume el Dissortat...*: 174.

323. "...they requested the amendment of their services, especially those who had served him in the siege of Balaguer". Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 626.

324. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 34.

325. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 538. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356.

326. Specifically we are referring to the donation of Balaguer to Prince John, as can be seen in Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 535-536, and in Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 48-49. For the process of breaking up the county, see the section with the same title in the article by Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell...": 165-169.

327. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 631.



which they returned the assets of that Aragonese knight to his family, would have had this same character of a donation, although covert.³²⁸

In any case, we have more reference to the distribution of the possessions of the Count of Urgell that were scattered over Aragon, Valencia and Catalonia. These were donated to the monarch's close collaborators such as Suero de Nava, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Diego Fernández de Vadillo and Álvaro de Ávila. On the 15th of August 1414, the former was granted the castles and places of Orviergo and Setcastelles, in the Kingdom of Aragon, with all their rights and the profit that was derived from them, as a result of his military acts in the sieges of the castle of Loarre and Balaguer, as well as for having served the king with his estate.³²⁹ Diego Gómez de Sandoval was awarded Liria, near Valencia, but this was later returned to the crown, as its donation contravened privileges numbers 36 and 40 established by Peter IV.³³⁰ On the 1st of July 1414, the royal secretary, Diego Fernández de Vadillo, was granted one of the towns that formed part of the County of Urgell, Albesa, for his good services and especially for his behaviour in the siege of the town of Balaguer.³³¹ It was Álvaro de Ávila who received the greatest number of donations. On the 29th of July 1415, this Castilian knight was granted various of the possessions that had belonged to the Count of Urgell, like the towns and castles of Sieteaguas, Bunyol, Macastre, Ayatava and Alborraix, in the Kingdom of Valencia. The reasons for these concessions were the services in the taking of Antequera, of having moved people to the Kingdom of Aragon and of having served the king in the siege of Balaguer, among others.³³² This donation generated a later double controversy, with father Vidal of Villa Nona, who claimed its ownership,³³³ and with the general mayor of Valencia, Joan Mercader, whose son Berenguer was warden of the castle and who expected these domains to come under his power.³³⁴ The interests of the Mercader family in the Hoya de Buñol must have been strong as, after these events, Alfonso V bought these domains from Álvaro de Ávila, for which he paid fifteen thousand florins, later selling it to his steward Berenguer Mercader for twelve thousand.³³⁵

Within the royal family itself there were also beneficiaries of the possessions of the Count of Urgell, like Prince John of Aragon, who was awarded Balaguer, Agramunt

328. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 391. As deduced from this author, Álvaro de Garavito cannot have been older than seventeen or eighteen when this marriage was arranged.

329. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 628.

330. Vidal Beltrán, Eliseo. "Política patrimonial de Fernando I y Alfonso V en el Reino de Valencia", *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Vda. de Fidel Rodríguez/ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 1970: I, 495-503. She supplies the date of the donation.

331. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 632. Basing himself on Monfar, this also appears in Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell...": 167. And by the same author Bertran, Roigè, Prim. "El condado de Urgel...": 351, which emphasises that this town was the southernmost point of the former County of Urgell.

332. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 634.

333. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado...": 365 (doc. No. 59).

334. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 263-264.

335. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 42.



and other towns that were not mentioned by name.³³⁶ Through Ferdinand's will, at least two of the properties that his son, Prince Peter, inherited were previously held by the Count of Urgell, specifically Tàrraga and Vilagrasa. He also received donations of the town of Terrassa³³⁷ in Catalonia and Elche and Crevillente in the Kingdom of Valencia.³³⁸

On the other hand, the armed action studied here also served to reward some Castilian knights with properties in their kingdom of origin. The most evident case is that of Diego Gómez de Sandoval to whom, through his uncle, the then bishop of Palencia, Sancho de Rojas, Queen Leonor granted Saldaña... *por los grandes servicios que él hizo al Rey de Aragón mi marido, en la sucesión del Reino de Aragón, y en la batalla con los ingleses, cuando vinieron a favorecer al Conde de Urgell en el cerco de Balaguer.*³³⁹

10. Conclusion

Various facts have to be highlighted about the triumph of Ferdinand in Balaguer. Firstly, the distinct posture compared with his rival regarding the generalisation of the conflict, that could have spilled over the frontiers of the territories of the Crown of Aragon. It can be seen how the Count of Urgell and his supporters like Antonio de Luna tried to internationalise the problem, whether through dealings with the English or by contracting men of arms from this kingdom and its French possessions. On the other hand, King Ferdinand took care that his assistance was limited to the kingdoms that made up his crown, Castile, and it can be said at an individual level, Navarre, given his rejection of the official assistance he was offered. Similarly, there was a different attitude on each of the sides in the way they headed the troops. James of Urgell must have been influenced by the difficulties he was going through. In this sense, we know about his moments of doubt, letting himself be influenced and even, if we believe some sources, of wanting to abandon to save himself.³⁴⁰

336. The concessions were granted in the reign of Alfonso V of Aragon. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 535-536; Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 48-49; Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgel...": 165-169.

337. We are inclined to think that this was the modern-day Terrassa, near Barcelona and that, as Zurita shows, belongs to Catalonia.

338. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 473.

339. "... for his great services to my husband, the King of Aragon, in the succession to the Kingdom of Aragon, and in the battle against the English, when they came to favour the Count of Urgell in the siege of Balaguer". From García Rámila, Ismael. *Estudio histórico-crítico sobre la vida y actuación político-social del burgalés ilustre que se llamó D. Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Adelantado Mayor de Castilla y primer Conde de Castro y Denia (1385-1455)*, Burgos: Imprenta Excma. Diputación de Burgos, 1953: 94 (doc. No. 10).

340. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352. A work as favourable to the Count of Urgell as *La fi del comte d'Urgell*, undoubtedly to praise his behaviour, mentions that James left Balaguer on various occasions during the siege, but once outside did not have the heart to flee and abandon his house, so he reentered the town. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 28. For the figure of James, although I have been unable to consult it, one can also see Carrové i Viola, Doménec. *Jaume d'Urgell. El dissortat*, Balaguer: Arts Gràfiques Romeu, 1968.



On the other hand, the King of Aragon, who has a literature favourable to his cause, always showed an attitude of control of the situation, as shown by certain events gathered by the chroniclers, such as... *el Rey andaba en torno a la cibdad*.³⁴¹ The favourable progress of the siege was in his favour, without forgetting his previous military experience.

From the military point of view, the siege of Balaguer was a considerable advance over that of Antequera, three years earlier. For example, in the latter... *la poliorcética prepondera aún sobre la artillería*.³⁴² In the case of Balaguer, the artillery was not restricted to firing rocks but also had iron cannonballs, as we know from the surviving documents. Other phenomena that would become generalised later were glimpsed at Balaguer. One of these, given the needs of the Count of Urgell, was the resort to militias, who appeared there beside the feudal army. If Antequera represented the rise of Ferdinand in his kingdom of origin, Balaguer can be considered the triumph that guaranteed him and his successors the throne of the Crown of Aragon. Perhaps with as much reason as he is known by the nickname of Antequera, we could give him that of Balaguer. From a personal point of view, and has been shown, seizing this town would consecrate him as the winner of the last and most decisive battle of his life.

341. "... the King walked around the town". Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 353.

342. "... poliorcetics still outweigh the artillery". Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 463.



Appendix 1. Payments to Castilians in the siege of Balaguer

Name	Position	Condition	Subject	Payment	Document
Juan de Miranda			Espionage in Bayonne and Oloron.	4 florins	Ejercicio 1413-1414. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, fols. XXXVI-LXXXv. ³⁴³
Alfonso de Fuensalida		Squire	Having taken six loads of pavises to Balaguer.	20 florins	
Alfonso de Fuensalida		Squire	Expenses in the siege of Balaguer.	8 florins	
Suero de Nava	Head waiter to the king	Knight	Salary for the armed men he maintained in the king's service	He was owed a total of 1,021 florins. Payments of 321 florins; 148 florins; 170 florins; 530 florins and 95 florins	
Sancho del Corral	Squire to Diego Fernández de Vadillo	Squire	For bringing horses from Castile for the siege of Balaguer.	15 florins	

343. All the data of these people that appear with this signature are from the works of Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. *Aragón en el reinado de Fernando I (1412-1416). Gobierno y Administración. Constitución Política. Hacienda Real*, Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1986; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliorcética, economía de guerra...": 372-375; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 433-434.



Fernando de Villarreal	Squire to Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán	Squire	For bringing news of royal victory over the English troops.	20 florins	
Juan de Medina	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Rodrigo de Torres	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Diego de Carrión	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Fernando de Lora	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Juan de Zamora	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Pascual de Conca	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Juan de Sevilla	One of the king's squires			90 Barcelonan sueldos	
Fernando Díaz	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	
Rodrigo de Valladolid	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	
Juan de Villalpando	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	
Pedro de Mayorga	Hunter to the king			135 sueldos	



Rodrigo de Medina del Campo	Barber	Barber	270 sueldos	
Salvador Tomé	Huntsman to the king's house		270 sueldos	
Juan de Orduña	Montero of the king's house		270 sueldos	
Lope de Benavente	Tailor's assistant		120 sueldos	
Pedro de Valladolid	Guard		120 sueldos	
Juan Rodríguez	Kitchen water bearer		120 sueldos	
Juan de Valladolid	Kitchen porter		120 sueldos	
Miguel de Toro	Cook		120 sueldos	
Juana García	Fishmonger		90 sueldos	
Francisco de Pereña	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	
Alfonso de Ledesma	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	
Juan de Aldea	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	
Juan de Moraleja	Footman on the king's hunt		135 sueldos	



Alfonso Pérez de Corporales	Footman on the king's hunt				135 sueldos	
Álvaro de Salcilla	Footman on the king's hunt				135 sueldos	
Miguel de Toledo		Squire			90 sueldos	
Alfonso de Medina	In charge of the kitchen silverware				90 sueldos	
Mencía González	Sweeper				90 sueldos	
Leonor Pescadora	The king's baker				90 sueldos	
María Fernández de Bella	Washmaid				90 sueldos	
Catalina López de Bella	Washmaid				90 sueldos	
María	Cook				90 sueldos	
Ana Francisca López de Sevilla	Seamstress				90 sueldos	

The above table is complemented with the one below.



Appendix 2. Castilians in the siege of Balaguer

	Name	Position	Condition
1	Diego Gómez de Sandoval	<i>Adelantado mayor</i> of Castile	Knight ³⁴⁴
2	Pedro Núñez de Guzmán	Head sheriff of the Behetrías of Castile, to the king of Aragon	Knight ³⁴⁵
3	Álvar Rodríguez de Escobar	Man of the king of Aragon.	Knight
4	Pedro Alonso de Escalante	Page and servant to the King of Aragón	Knight
5	Gonzalo Rodríguez de Ledesma	Head huntsman to the king	Knight
6	Álvaro de Ávila	Marshal to the king of Aragon	Knight
7	Juan Hurtado de Mendoza	Steward to the king of Castile	Knight
8	Luis de la Cerda		Knight
9	Pedro Hernández de Guzmán		Knight
10	Juan Delgadillo	Taster and waiter to king Ferdinand	Knight
11	Juan Carrillo de Toledo	Chamberlain, mayor guard to the king and head mayor of Toledo	Knight
12	García Fernández de Herrera	Marshal, frontier of Lorca	Knight
13	Fernando Manuel	Son of Enrique Manuel	Knight
14	Martín de Pomar, el Mozo		Knight
15	García Gutiérrez de Grijalba		Knight
16	Ruy Díaz de Mendoza	Head mayor of Seville	Knight
17	Ruy Díaz de Cuadros		Knight
18	Juan Carrillo de Ormaza		Knight

344. The names of these people are from different chronicles, especially those by Zurita and Pérez de Guzmán. The fact that there are not references to each of them obeys their frequent allusion in the cited works.

345. He was at the head of twenty-eight lances, as we know from the ARV., *Maestre Racional*, n.º 8304, f. 6v.



19	Sancho de Leyva		Knight
20	Tel González de Aguilar	Lord of Aguilar	Knight
21	Aznar de San Felices		Knight
22	Diego Fernández de Vadillo	Secretary to the king of Aragon	Knight
23	Pedro Álvarez Nieto		Knight
24	Enrique de Villena	Cousin of the king and anterior master of Calatrava	Knight ³⁴⁶
25	Álvaro Ruiz de Escobar	Manservant of the king of Aragon	Knight
26	Álvaro de Garavito	Chamberlain to the king of Aragon	
27	Pedro Martínez de Torres		Knight ³⁴⁷
28	Garci Fernández Sarmiento	<i>Adelantado mayor</i> of Galicia	Knight ³⁴⁸
29	Pedro Rodríguez de Guzmán		
30	Gonzalo de Aguilar ³⁴⁹		
31	Juan Gutiérrez de Henao		
32	García de Herrera		Knight ³⁵⁰
33	Lorenzo Fernández de Castillo		Knight

346. He was present in the siege of Balaguer, where he would have been ridiculed for his inability to measure with an astrolabe the exact height of the walls of that town. About this question, from what is found in García de Santa María, see Millás Vallicrosa, José María. "Medición de alturas en tiempo de don Enrique de Villena", *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 28 (1959-1960): 179-183, especially: 181. Another mention of this fact is in Beaujouan, Guy. *La science en Espagne aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Conférence donnée au Palais de la Découverte le 4 février 1967: 24-26. I have personally checked that the events referred to in are in manuscript in the RAH., Col. Salazar y Castro, 9-462, f. 197v, that I transcribed in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 246.

347. See the acts that he is said to have protagonised in Zurita, Jerónimo, *Anales...*: 366.

348. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 347. He also highlights his collaboration in this task empresa: Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 450; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 300 and *Crónica incompleta...*: 19.

349. Bastard son of Gonzalo Hernández, lord of Aguilar. Queen Catherine sent him to Aragon at the head of four hundred men of arms.

350. From this knight on, the source used is the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500. And the criterion taken into consideration when considering a combatant to be Castilian is mainly the surname.



34	Blasco Fernández de Quiroga		Knight
35	Juan de Villaviciosa		Knight
36	Rodrigo de Castrillo		Knight
37	Fernando de Tamara		Knight
38	Alfonso de Valladolid		Knight
39	Ruiz González de Valladolid		Knight
40	García de Mondragón		Knight ³⁵¹
41	Gutierre de Nava		Knight
42	Fernando de Lodoña		Knight
43	Alfonso Díez		Knight
44	Alfonso de Castro		Knight
45	Gonzalvo de Navia		Knight
46	Juan de Oviedo		Crossbowman
47	Diego de Carvallar		Crossbowman
48	Pedro de Soto		Crossbowman ³⁵²
49	Juan Carrillo	From the house of the king of Aragon. Usher in arms	Knight
50	Juan de Herrera	From the house of the king of Aragon.	Knight
51	Gutierre de Torres	From the house of the king of Aragon. Man in waiting	Knight
52	Juan de Trigueros		Knight
53	Fernando Dávila	From the house of the king of Aragon. Man in waiting	Knight

351. All those cited from the company of García de Herrera. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 27v.

352. From the company of Gutierre de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 38r.



54	Álvaro de León	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
55	Fernando de Medina del Campo	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son ³⁵³
56	Pascual López de Poyo	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
57	Fernando de Medina	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
58	Martín Pérez	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight's son
59	Pedro de Guzmán ³⁵⁴	From the house of the king of Aragon. Dispenser	Knight
60	Alfonso de Talavera		Knight
61	Gonzalvo de León	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
62	Martín de la Rúa	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
63	Sancho Dávila	From the house of the king of Aragon. Waiter	Knight
64	Luis del Pueyo	From the house of the king of Aragon. <i>Sotsbataller</i>	Knight
65	Benito Sánchez ³⁵⁵	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
66	Fernando Alfonso	From the house of the king of Aragón. Mace bearer	Caballero
67	Martín de Torrestrella	From the house of the king of Aragón	Knight

353. This individual served the king of Aragon as a man of arms (2nd June 1413, Barcelona). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 96v.

354. Nephew of Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán and at the head of four lances, according to the ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, f. 6v.

355. He also appears as a knight with two lances in the ARV, Maestre Racional, nº 8304, f. 6v.



68	Gómez de Moraleja	From the house of the king of Aragón	Knight's son
69	Pedro de Peñafiel	From the house of the king of Aragón	Knight's son ³⁵⁶
70	Álvaro Garavito	From the house of the king of Aragón. Waiter ³⁵⁷	Knight
71	Juan Delgadillo	From the house of the king of Aragón. Baker	Knight
72	Juan Alfonso de Jarama		
73	Juan de Soto		
74	Sancho Ortiz de Santa María ³⁵⁸		
75	Juan de Madrigal	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
76	Sancho de León	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
77	Pedro de Carrión	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
78	Pedro González de Toledo ³⁵⁹	From the house of the king of Aragon	Knight
79	Gonzalvo López de Horozco	Knight of the Order of Santiago ³⁶⁰	Knight
80	Miguel Ruiz de ¿Reyna? from the kingdom of Castile		Knight ³⁶¹

356. Those cited belonged to the family the family of the king and officials of his house. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 40r-41v. He served as a man of arms to the monarch (31st March 1413, Barcelona). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 97r.

357. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 43v.

358. From the company of Juan Delgadillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 44v.

359. From the house of the king of Aragon. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 45r-v..

360. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 47r. This knight appears without the second surname in the ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 78r.

361. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 47v.



81	Francisco Ortiz		Knight
82	Gabriel González de Montoya ³⁶²		Knight
83	Father Diego Ortega		Knight
84	Juan Alfonso		Knight
85	Gonzalvo de Benedito		Knight
86	Juan de Castro		Knight
87	Juan de Mena		Knight
88	Andrés de Zamora		Knight ³⁶³
89	Juan Carrillo		Knight
90	Pedro Rodríguez de Hita		Man of arms
91	Juan Gómez de Zamora		Man of arms
92	Alfonso de Castro		Man of arms
93	Alfonso de ¿Nues?		Man of arms
94	Gonzalvo de Trujillo		Man of arms ³⁶⁴
95	Gutiérrez de Hinojosa, from Jaén		Knight
96	Gil de Soto		Knight ³⁶⁵
97	Diego de Toledo		Knight ³⁶⁶
98	Antonio de Murgurxo		Knight
99	Marco de la Higuera		Knight

362. From the company of Francisco Ortiz who arrived on the 24th of June 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 48r.

363. From the company of father Diego Ortega. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 48v.

364. From the company of Juan Carrillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 49r.

365. From the company of Juan Carrillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 50r.

366. From the company of Luis Marcos. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 50v.



100	Juan López		Knight ³⁶⁷
101	Pedro García de Villagómez		Knight
102	Fernando de Medina		Knight
103	Fernando de Cabezón		Knight
104	Gil García de Román		Knight
105	Diego Alfonso		Knight ³⁶⁸
106	Fernando de Valladolid		Knight
107	Juan de Valladolid		Knight ³⁶⁹
108	García de Heredia		Knight
109	Luis de Heredia		Knight
110	Alfonso de Salamanca		Knight
111	Martín Deva		Knight ³⁷⁰
112	Martín de Pomar		Knight
113	Martín de Pomar, minor		
114	Rodrigo de Pomar		Knight ³⁷¹
115	Gonzalvo de Aguilar		Man of arms
116	Martín Sánchez		Man of arms
117	Francisco Páez Castellejo		Man of arms
118	Luis González de Guadalajara		Man of arms
119	Nuño Hernández de Córdoba		Man of arms

367. From the company of Antonio Torija. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 50v.

368. They arrived in Barcelona on the 10th of July 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 51v..

369. From the company of Mateo Ram. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 52v.

370. From the company of García de Heredia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 54r.

371. From the company of Martín de Pomar. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 54v.



120	Benito González de Écija		Man of arms
121	Francisco Sánchez de Olmedo		Man of arms
122	Pedro Alfonso de Alfaro		Man of arms
123	Pedro de Maderuelo		Man of arms
124	Pedro Méndez de Valdés		Man of arms
125	Juan Jiménez de Bédmar		Man of arms
126	Antonio Sánchez de Córdoba		Man of arms
127	Pedro Ruiz de Córdoba		Man of arms
128	Alfonso Ortega de Córdoba		Man of arms
129	Pascual López de Gálves		Man of arms
130	Alfonso de Trujillo		Man of arms
131	Pedro de Vargas		Man of arms
132	Juan de Mendanyo		Man of arms
133	Gonzalvo de Alcalá		Man of arms
134	Juan Páes de Sotomayor		Man of arms
135	Alfonso de Córdoba		Man of arms
136	Juan de Trasmiera		Man of arms
137	Bartolomé Martínez de Cazorla		Man of arms
138	Alfonso Martínez de Córdoba		Man of arms
139	Alfonso González de Córdoba		Man of arms
140	Álvaro González de Córdoba		Man of arms
141	Alfonso de Gata		Man of arms
142	Juan de Palma		Man of arms
143	Pedro de Alcaraz		Man of arms
144	Alfonso Jiménez de Baena		Man of arms
145	Diego de ¿Sonachuelos?		Man of arms



146	Juan de Morales		Man of arms
147	Juan Alfonso de Canteres		Man of arms
148	Pedro Fernandez de ¿?		Man of arms
149	Alfonso Pérez de Campo		Man of arms
150	Felipe Sánchez de Consuegra		Man of arms
151	Íñigo López de Córdoba		Man of arms
152	Álvaro de Canteres		Man of arms
153	Juan García de Sotomayor		Man of arms
154	Martín de Córdoba		Man of arms
155	Gonzalvo de Jaén		Man of arms
156	Alfonso Sánchez de Ayllón		Crossbowman on horseback
157	Fernando Estorca		Crossbowman on horseback
158	Fernando de Baena		Crossbowman on horseback
159	Juan Gómez de ¿Palta?		Crossbowman on horseback ³⁷²
160	Diego de Vadillo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
161	Gonzalvo Rodríguez	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
162	Juan Susillo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
163	Lope de Pas	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
164	Juan de Córdoba	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight

372. From the company of Gonzalvo de Aguilar. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 57v-58r.



165	Francisco Ortiz Calderón	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
166	García de Rueda	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
167	Gonzalvo de Jerez	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
168	Juan López de Arévalo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
169	Francisco Ruiz de Medina del Campo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
170	Juan de Palencia	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
171	Alfonso de Sales	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight
172	Pascual López de Pueyo	From the guard of Diego de Vadillo	Knight ³⁷³
173	Juan Carrillo	From the second guard	Knight
174	Juan Delgadillo	From the second guard	Knight
175	Alfonso de Talavera	From the second guard	Knight
176	Gonzalvo de Trujillo	From the second guard	Knight
177	Sancho de Bobón	From the second guard	Knight
178	Gutierre de Torres	From the second guard	Knight
179	Juan de Trigueros	From the second guard	Knight
180	Juan Soriano	From the second guard	Knight
181	Juan de Sada	From the second guard	Knight
182	Antonio de San Juan	From the second guard	Knight ³⁷⁴
183	Pedro de Guzmán y García de Herrera	From the third guard	Knight

373. From the guard of Diego de Vadillo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 59r-v. Among those cited, Juan López de Arévalo appears as the recptor of the salary of two armed horsemen (18th July 1413, Barcelona) in ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 78r.

374. From the second guard. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 60r-v.



184	Gonzalvo de León	From the third guard	Knight
185	Alfonso de Valladolid	From the third guard	Knight
186	Juan de Herrera	From the third guard	Knight
187	Juan Gómez de Valderrama	From the third guard	Knight
188	Alfonso Díez	From the third guard	Knight
189	Francisco Carrillo	From the third guard	Knight
190	García de León	From the third guard	Knight
191	Gonzalvo de Aguilar	From the third guard	Knight
192	Francisco Sánchez de Olmedo	From the third guard	Knight
193	Álvaro de León	From the third guard	Knight
194	Pedro de Peñafiel	From the third guard	Knight
195	Gómez de Moalrío	From the third guard	Knight
196	Martín Pérez	From the third guard	Knight
197	Pedro Sánchez de Cabrera	From the third guard	Knight
198	Orduño de Zamudio	From the third guard	Knight
199	García de Mondragón	From the third guard	Knight ³⁷⁵
200	Juan de Guetxo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	
201	Martín Dordás	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
202	Juan de Valladolid	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
203	Íñigo Vicaíno	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
204	García de Mora	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
205	Pedro de Lupardo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
206	Rodrigo de Pozas	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
207	Sancho Martínez	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
208	Juan de Baracaldo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman

375. From the third guard of Pedro de Guzmán and García de Herrera. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 60v.



209	Lope de Zumárraga	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
210	Martín de Guerra	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
211	Lope de Baxarta	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
212	Juan de Andraqua	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
213	Blasco Gallego	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
214	Gonsalvo de Riaño	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
215	García de Palma	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
216	Alfonso de Trujillo	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
217	Ginés Siurana de Lorca ³⁷⁶	Commandery of Juan de Guecho	Crossbowman
218	Íñigo de Solórzano	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Knight
219	Francisco Alfonso de Córdoba	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
220	Pedro de Oviedo	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
221	Diego del Potro	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
222	Gonzalvo de las Mosas	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
223	Martín de Molina	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
224	Juan Romero de Sevilla	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
225	Gonzalvo de Peragrandia	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
226	Martín de Briviesca	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
227	Juan de Valladolid	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman

376. From the commandery of Juan de Guetxo. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 113r-v.



228	Martín de Santiago	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
229	Gonzalvo de Bero	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
230	Diego de Sevilla	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
231	Pedro García de Sevilla	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
232	Martín Prior	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
233	Martín del Faro	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman
234	Juan Gallego	Commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano	Crossbowman ³⁷⁷
235	Juan Toral	From the house of Prince Alfonso ³⁷⁸	
236	Juan de Palencia	From the house of Prince Alfonso	
237	Juan de Medina del Campo	From the house of Prince Alfonso	Crossbowman
238	Fernando de Burgos	From the house of Prince Alfonso	Crossbowman
239	Pedro de Boral de Castilla	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman ³⁷⁹
240	Alfonso de Palacios	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
241	Juan de los Arcos	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
242	Juan de Sevilla	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman

377. From the commandery of Íñigo de Solórzano. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 114r-v.

378. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 119r.

379. From the commandery of Juan de Palencia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 119r-v.



243	Martín de los Arcos	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
244	Diego de Jaén	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman ³⁸⁰
245	Pedro de Requena, from the kingdom Castile	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
246	Juan de Butrón de Vizcaya	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman
247	Juan de Mayorga, from Vicaya	Commandery of Juan de Palencia	Crossbowman ³⁸¹
248	Antón López Lobato		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
249	Gil García de Antequera		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
250	Gonzalvo Gutiérrez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
251	Gonzalvo de Villadejo		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
252	Juan Pérez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
253	Fernando Conejo de Córdoba		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars ³⁸²
254	Alfonso Fernández de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
255	Marco Ruiz de Lorca		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
256	Rodrigo Alfonso de Baena		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars

380. Also from the commandery of Juan de Palencia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 119v.

381. From the commandery of Jacobo Siciliano. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 126r-v.

382. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 128v.



257	Juan Sánchez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
258	Juan Martínez de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
259	Juan Moreno		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
260	Juan de Córdoba, almocadén ³⁸³		
261	Francisco Sánchez de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
262	Gil Sánchez de Penyola		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
263	Juan García de Jerez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
264	Alfonso de Baeza		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
265	Fernando Alfonso de Salvatierra		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
266	Pedro López		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars ³⁸⁴
267	Alfonso Martínez		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
268	Juan Díez Conejo		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
269	Simón Fernández de Morón		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars
270	Juan Domínguez		Adalid captain 10 almogavars
271	Pedro García de ?		Adalid captain of 10 almogavars ³⁸⁵
272	Fernando de Frómista		Crossbowman

383. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 129r.

384. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 129v.

385. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 130r.



273	Juan Fernández de Toledo		Crossbowman
274	Juan de Sevilla		Crossbowman
275	Miguel Pardo de Palencia		Crossbowman
276	Pedro de Palencia		Crossbowman ³⁸⁶
277	Pedro Sánchez de Logroño		Crossbowman
278	Blás de Moncalvón		Crossbowman
279	Alfonso Gallego		Crossbowman
280	Fernando de Sevilla		Crossbowman
281	Gonzalvo de Palencia		Crossbowman
282	Martín de los Arcos		Crossbowman
283	Fernando de Zamora		Crossbowman ³⁸⁷
284	Luis de la Cerda		Knight
285	Juan de Palma		Crossbowman
286	Juan de Haro		Crossbowman
287	Santo de Elgueta		Crossbowman
288	Fernando de Medina		Crossbowman
289	Lope Vergara		Crossbowman
290	Sancho de Garnica		Crossbowman ³⁸⁸
291	Pedro de Santander		Crossbowman with pavise
292	Juan de Bermeo		Crossbowman with pavise ³⁸⁹
293	Esteban Ruiz		Adalid on foot

386. From the company of Guillermo Gronia. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 134r.

387. From the company of Martín Ruiz. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 136r.

388. From the company of Luis de la Cerda. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 136v.

389. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 137r-v.



294	Simón Hernández		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
295	Juan García de Jerez		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
296	Pedro García de Segura		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
297	Alfonso Hernández de Jerez		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
298	Juan de Camarago		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
299	Juan Martínez		Almogavar with 10, counting himself
300	Marcos de Lorca		Almogavar with 10, counting himself ³⁹⁰
301	Alfonso de Burgos		Knight ³⁹¹
302	Marcos Fernández de Soria		Knight ³⁹²
303	Gonzalvo de Valladolid		Knight ³⁹³
304	Juan de Zamora		Knight
305	Juan de Oviedo		Knight ³⁹⁴

390. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 149r.

391. He is known to have been well armed, lance in hand and a chestnut horse, he was part of the company of Jaime Cerdán. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 165r.

392. He was a member of the company of Juan de Luna. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 167v.

393. From the company of Pedro de Urrea. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 169r.

394. Integrated into the company of Gil Ruiz de Lihori. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 171r-v.



306	Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar		Knight ³⁹⁵
307	Sancho Manuel		Knight
308	Fernando Gonzálvez		Knight
309	Juan de Valladolid		Knight
310	Benedito de Guadalajara		Knight
311	Martín de Jerez		Knight
312	Ruy de Toro		Knight
313	Gonzalvo de Sarria		Knight
314	Pedro de Burgos		Knight
315	Rodrigo de Vallejo		Knight
316	Juan de Vallejo		Knight
317	Rodrigo de Salcedo		Knight
318	Fernando Sánchez de Medina del Campo		Knight
319	Alfonso Dávila		Knight
320	Álvaro Calderón		Knight
321	Martín García de Lugo		Knight
322	Juan de Samaniego		Knight
323	Martín de Baños		Knight
324	Álvaro de Soto		Knight
325	Alfonso Álvarez		Knight
326	Bartolomé Rodríguez		Knight
327	Juan de Olmedo		Knight
328	Rodrigo Alfonso de Villandre		Knight
329	Nuño Carro		Knight

395. The names that follow were part of the company of Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 190r-191r.



330	Alfonso Gonzálvez		Knight
331	Álvaro de Bolaños		Knight
332	Fernando Alfonso de Saavedra		Knight
333	Luis Gonzálvez		Knight
334	García Álvarez de León		Knight
335	Alfonso Ruiz		Knight
336	Alfonso Fernández de Sepúlveda		Knight
337	Juan de San Román		Knight
338	Juan de ¿? Valladolid		Knight
339	Fernando de Valladolid		Knight
340	Juan de Cogollos		Knight
341	Pedro de Palacio		Knight
342	Benedito Sánchez		Knight
343	Rodrigo de Escobar		Knight
344	Pedro de Béjar		Knight
345	Juan de Escobar		Knight
346	Fernando Álvarez de Escobar		Knight
347	Juan de Soria		Knight
348	Nuño de Juara		Knight
349	Juan de Escobar, el Calvo		Knight
350	Fernando de Sotillo		Knight
351	Diego de Villafrades		Knight
352	Diego de Carredos		Knight
353	Juan de Portillo		Crossbowman
354	Martín de Segovia		Crossbowman
355	Alfonso de Medina del Campo		Crossbowman
356	Juan de Bercianos		Crossbowman



357	Rodrigo de Toledo		Crossbowman ³⁹⁶
358	Gonzalvo de Miedes		Knight
359	Suero, nephew of father Suero de Nava		Knight
360	Gonzalo Suárez de la Cabeza		Knight
361	Rodrigo de Pomar		Knight
362	Pedro de Soria		Lancer
363	García de Barroso		Lancer
364	Gonzalvo Gallego		Lancer
365	Juan de Oviedo		Lancer
366	Fernando de Avilés		Lancer
367	Juan de Sevilla		Lancer
368	Gonzalvo de Omaña		Lancer ³⁹⁷
369	Diego de Oviedo		Lancer with pavise
370	Rodrigo de Fiantos		Lancer with pavise
371	Gonzalvo de Salas		Lancer with pavise
372	Fernando de Oviedo		Lancer with pavise
373	Pedro de San Esteban de Gormaz		Lancer with pavise
374	Melendo de Cangas		Lancer with pavise
375	Pedro de Los Arcos		Lancer with pavise
376	Pedro de Santa Marina		Lancer with pavise

396. To here, the members of the company of Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar.

397. From the company of Suero de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 191v-192r.



377	Pedro de Cabranes		Lancer with pavise
378	Rodrigo de Torquemada		Lancer with pavise
379	Pedro de San Vicente		Lancer with pavise
380	Fernando de Torquemada		Lancer with pavise ³⁹⁸
381	Juan de Quirós		With crossbow and quiver
382	Lope de la Mora		With crossbow and quiver
383	Martín de Villarreal		With crossbow and quiver
384	Antón de Villarreal		With crossbow and quiver
385	Alfonso de Cándamo		With crossbow and quiver
386	Juan de Espino		With crossbow and quiver
387	Suero de Miedes		With crossbow and quiver
388	Pedro de Peñaflor		With crossbow and quiver
389	Alfonso de Rodilla		With crossbow and quiver
390	Juan de Gallegos		With crossbow and quiver
391	Álvaro de Quirós		With crossbow and quiver
392	Juan de la Mora		With crossbow and quiver

398. From the company of Suero de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 192v.



393	Fernando de Soria		With crossbow and quiver
394	Miguel de Olmeda		With crossbow and quiver
395	Alfonso de Granda		With crossbow and quiver
396	Antón de Villarroja		With crossbow and quiver
397	Juan de Burgos		With crossbow and quiver
398	Pelegrín de Castrojeriz		With crossbow and quiver ³⁹⁹
399	Diego de Soria		Knight
400	Juan de Roa		Knight
401	Juan de Burgos		Knight
402	Álvaro de Zorita		Knight
403	Lope de Zorita		Knight
404	Juan de Sepúlveda		Knight
405	Jaime de Ágreda		Knight
406	Juan Gallego		Knight
407	Jordán de Zorita		Knight
408	Sancho el Castellano		Knight ⁴⁰⁰
409	Gil Soriano		With crossbow and quiver
410	Sancho de Guadalajara		With crossbow and quiver
411	Juan Álvarez de Sevilla		With crossbow and quiver

399. From the company of Suero de Nava. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 193r.

400. From the company of Juan de Bardají. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 194r-195v.



412	Alfonso de Oropesa		With crossbow and quiver ⁴⁰¹
413	Gutierre de Santa Clara		Knight ⁴⁰²
414	García de Herrera		Knight
415	Gil García de Torija		Knight
416	Antón de Torija		Knight ⁴⁰³
417	Pedro de Guzmán		Knight ⁴⁰⁴
418	Juan Sánchez Salvatierra	Head of the exchequer of the kingdom of Castile ⁴⁰⁵	
419	Álvaro de Escobar ⁴⁰⁶		Knight
420	Gómez Gutiérrez de Ledesma		Knight
421	Pedro Jiménez de Ayllón		Knight
422	Juan Vázquez de Casasola		Knight
423	Ruy González de las Cuevas		Knight
424	Vasco Gómez de Vieja		Knight
425	Juan de Guzmán		Knight
426	Pero Díaz de Sandoval		Knight
427	Fernán Gutiérrez de Sandoval		Knight

401. From the company of Juan de Bardají. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 196v.

402. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 204v.

303. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 205r.

404. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 205v.

405. As taken from ACA., Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 12, n.º 2279, Corrao, Pietro. *Governare un regno. Potere, società e istituzioni in Sicilia fra Trecento e Quattrocento*, Naples: Liguori Editore, 1991: 566, was fighting with Ferdinand I in the siege of Balaguer against James of Urgell.

406. The names from this person onwards are in González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 225-227 and 229-230.



428	Juan de Lución		Knight
429	Pero Gómez de Silva		Knight
430	Juan de Villodre		Knight
431	Gonzalo Gómez de Cumel		Knight
432	Fernán Sánchez de Vallejo		Knight
433	Rodrigo Álvarez de Santoyo		Knight
434	Fernán Gómez de Salcedo		Knight
435	Lope Iñíguez de Arévalo		Knight
436	Juan Ruiz de Sancebrían		Knight
437	Juan Gómez de Valderrábano		Knight
438	Ruy García de Villalón		Knight
439	Pero Rodríguez de Villalón		Knight
440	Ruy Gómez de Vozmediano		Knight
441	Ruy Sánchez de Torres		Knight



Appendix 3. Payments to Castilians in the service of the king of Aragon after the siege of Balaguer

	Captain and lances	Payment
1	Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán for twenty-eight lances	420 flo
2	Pedro de Guzmán for four lances	60 flo
3	Arias Gonzalvo de Rueda for two lances	30 flo
4	Fernando Sancho de Villegas for one lance	15 flo
5	Alonso Álvarez de Bolaños for two lances	30 flo
6	Juan de Pontes for one lance	15 flo
7	Álvaro Rodríguez for two lances	30 flo
8	Díaz de Carrión for one lance	15 flo
9	Pedro de Cilleruelo for one lance	15 flo
10	Juan de Cilleruelo for one lance	15 flo
11	Nuño Gonzalvo de Baños for one lance	15 flo
12	Esteban Sánchez de Ayllón for one lance	15 flo
13	Gonzalvo Rodríguez de Salamanca for one lance	15 flo
14	Gonzalvo Gutiérrez de ¿? for two lances	30 flo
15	Pedro García Gutiérrez (de Medina) for one lance	15 flo
16	Juan de Almazán for one lance	15 flo
17	Item a Luis y a Juan de Soria y Rodrigo Alonso squires to ¿? for three lances	45 flo
18	Juan Sánchez de Ayllón for one lance	15 flo
19	Sancho de Ayllón for Juan Ruiz del Vall for one lance	15 flo
20	Benito Sánchez caballero for two lances	30 flo
21	Ruiz Gonzálvez Berlanga for one lance	15 flo
22	Álvaro Gonzálvez de Sepúlveda for two lances	30 flo
23	Diego Sánchez de Soto for one lance	11 flo
24	Pedro Sánchez de Logroño for one lance	15 flo
25	Juan López de Molina for two lances	30 flo
26	Fernando de Villarreal for two lances	30 flo



27	Vicente Marín de Olmedo for three lances	45 flo
28	Nuño Martínez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
29	Gonzalvo Gonzalbez de Niebla for one lance	15 flo
30	Martín Muñoz for one lance	15 flo
31	Juan Gonzalvez de ¿Arenas? for six lances	90 flo
32	Juan Gonzalvez de Portillo for one lance	15 flo
33	Pedro Fortuny for one lance	15 flo
34	Juan Velázquez de ¿sasola for eight lances	120 flo
35	To Sancho his son for two lances	30 flo
36	Fernán Nuñez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
37	Juan Ramírez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
38	González de Olmedo for three lances	45 flo
39	Item a ¿? Sánchez caballero for two lances	30 flo
40	Juan Martínez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
41	Toribio González for one lance	15 flo
42	Juan Sánchez son of ¿? Nuñez for one lance	15 flo
43	Diego López de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
44	Lope Gonzalvez de Villaferruel for two lances	30 flo
45	Diego Martínez de Olmedo for two lances	30 flo
46	Juan de Valiença for one lance	15 flo
47	Alonso Sánchez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
48	Gonzalvo Esteban de Rocha for one lance	15 flo
49	Pedro Gómez de Ávila for one lance	15 flo
50	Alonso Martínez de Olmedo for one lance	15 flo
51	Juan González el ¿Polno? for one lance	15 flo
52	Ruy González de los ¿Roures? for six lances	90 flo
53	Juan García de los ¿Roures? for two lances	30 flo
54	Juan Sánchez de Carrión for one lance	15 flo
55	Ruy González de Villaferruel for two lances	30 flo
56	Rodrigo Álvarez de Ferrera for three lances	45 flo



57	Pedro Alonso de Salamanca for twelve lances	180 flo
58	Juan de Villaferruel for two lances	30 flo
59	Sancho Díez de ¿Arnenysi? for two lances	30 flo
60	Pedro Fernández Asturiano for two lances	30 flo
61	Tello de ¿Arnenysi? for one lance	15 flo
62	Fernando de la Fuente for one lance	15 flo
63	Gonzalvo García ¿Boraxos? for one lance	15 flo
64	Juan Arias de los ¿? for one lance	15 flo
65	Ferrán Rodríguez de Aguilar for one lance	15 flo
66	Pedro Martínez de Miranda for one lance	15 flo
67	García Álvarez de Vozmediano for one lance	15 flo
68	Juan González de Vozmediano for two lances	30 flo
69	García González ¿Alguazir? for nine lances	135 flo
70	Juan Ruiz de Colmenares for five lances	75 flo
71	Juan de Villapelerín for four lances	60 flo
72	Diego de Escobar for four lances	60 flo
73	Juan Fernández del Moral for two lances	30 flo
74	García Fernández de Moral for one lance	15 flo
75	Sancho Díez de Peñalosa for one lance	15 flo
76	Ruy Gonzálvez de ¿Begna? for two lances	30 flo
77	Juan de Pedrosa for two lances	30 flo
78	Álvaro Gómez de ¿Furones? for one lance	15 flo
79	Juan Fernández de Torre Humos for one lance	15 flo
80	Alonso Fernández de Torre Humos for one lance	15 flo
81	Pedro Fernández de Villalón el Moço for one lance	15 flo
82	Juan García de Revenga for one lance	15 flo
83	Ferrán Alfonso de Villazán for one lance	15 flo
84	Pedro Fernández Serón for one lance	15 flo
85	Alonso Pérez de Vilazán for one lance	15 flo
86	Pedro Fernández de Bovadiella for one lance	15 flo



87	Ruiz Sánchez for two lances	30 flo
88	Gonzalvo Fernández Frechos for one lance	15 flo
89	García Álvarez de ¿? for one lance	15 flo
90	Rodrigo Álvarez de Tiedra for one lance	15 flo
91	Lope de Porras for two lances	30 flo
92	Ferrán Ruyz ¿de Barra? for one lance	15 flo
93	Juan Martínez de Cuencha for one lance	15 flo
94	Ruy Martínez de Villarón for one lance	15 flo
95	Álvaro Fernández de Oviedo for one lance	15 flo
96	Diego de Ceriezcos for one lance	15 flo
97	Alonso González de Villagómez for two lances	30 flo
98	Martín Álvarez de Escobar for two lances	30 flo
99	Gonzalvo Gutiérrez de Villapadierna for one lance	15 flo
100	Fernando de la ¿? for two lances	30 flo
101	Juan Gutiérrez de Villapadierna for two lances	30 flo
102	Arias González de Villaviella for one lance	15 flo
103	Juan González de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
104	Juan de ¿Garo? for two lances	30 flo
105	García Martínez de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
106	Alonso Pérez de Mieres for two lances	30 flo
107	Alonso Martínez Bergando for one lance	15 flo
108	Ruy Fernández de Berlanga for one lance	15 flo
109	Alonso Hernández de Quirós for one lance	15 flo
110	Alonso Fernández de Sant Felices for one lance	15 flo
111	Francisco de ¿Vergara? for one lance	15 flo
112	Juan Bernaldo for one lance	15 flo
113	Álvaro Sánchez de Valbuena for one lance	15 flo
1114	Rodrigo de Prado for one lance	15 flo
115	Alonso Ramírez de Aguilar for one lance	15 flo
116	Fernando González de Sisa for one lance	15 flo



117	Juan Marbán for one lance	15 flo
118	Francisco García de Valderas for one lance	15 flo
119	Alonso González de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
120	Juan Gonzalvez de Vila ¿virenra? for one lance	15 flo
121	Fernando ¿Mellado? for one lance	15 flo
122	Gonzalvo Fernández de ¿Casalo? de Mayorga for one lance	15 flo
123	Pedro Fernández de Valderas for one lance	15 flo
124	Gonzalvo Serón for one lance	15 flo
125	Alonso Álvarez de Vozmediano for two lances	30 flo
126	Lope de Vozmediano for one lance	15 flo
127	Ferrán Álvarez de Vozmediano for one lance	15 flo
128	Alonso de Villaviciosa, García de Vozmediano and Martín ¿? for three lances	45 flo



RELIGIOUS WOMEN IN ANDALUSIA AT THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES: ECONOMIC FOUNDATION AND FAMILY TIES

SILVIA MARÍA PÉREZ GONZÁLEZ
UNIVERSIDAD PABLO DE OLAVIDE
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to study the collectives of religious women who lived at the end of the Middle Ages in Andalusia. Researches about this item multiplied in the last years, but the analysis has been made from an institutional perspective. The novelty of my investigation is based on the analysis of their economic basis and their religious vocation, as on their family ties that their lifestyle allowed them to keep unlike religious women living in enclosed environments. Even they didn't renounce to maternity. Enter into the privacy of religious women's lives has been possible thanks to the information contained in the compilation of Public Notaries' official records preserved at the Municipal Archive of Jerez de la Frontera.¹

KEYWORDS

Religious Women, Walled-up women, Devoted Women, Tertiaries, Economic Activities.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Mulieres Religiosae, Mulieres Inclusae, Mulieres Devotae, Tertiariae, Activitates Oeconomicae.

1. Used Abbreviation: AMJF, Archivo Municipal de Jerez de la Frontera.

The study of women during the Middle Ages is not as easy an area of study as one would wish due to a number of reasons; one of these being, and undoubtedly the most important, the lack of documental proof. Consequently, a global and theoretical view was built and accepted, according to which women stood behind men and were suppressed by them within the late medieval society and only carried out specific tasks of domestic and reproductive nature in accordance with their social group, age and state.² However, this is only a general consideration and does not apply to many women in particular who took crucial decisions for their life direction.

In this paper I study a specific group of women that break with this theoretical impression, the *mulieres religiosas*,³ who carried out unregulated types of religious lives. During the last decade of the past century, research regarding this group has greatly increased and been gathered in excellent publications which have enlightened us about the life of these women. My contribution aims to provide deeper knowledge regarding two essential aspects of their lives: their economic activities,⁴ which allowed them to keep their independence from any kind of men tutelage, and the family ties that their lifestyle allowed them to keep unlike religious women living in enclosed environments. This study was developed through the analysis of the information contained in the compilation of Public Notaries' official records⁵ preserved at the Municipal Archive of Jerez de la Frontera.⁶

1. Religious-laywomen

This topic is immensely interesting as it appears to be very widespread, yet also conflicting. It is widespread because this kind of group of women was found in

2. Del Val Valdivieso, María Isabel. "Las mujeres en el contexto de la familia bajomedieval. La Corona de Castilla", *Mujeres, familia y linaje en la Edad Media*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2004: 105.

3. "Generic name that groups many different realities of women who, without being nuns, had the priority of focusing on the love of God and the desire to live in the first person the evangelical ideals" in García Herrero, María del Carmen. "Mulieres religiosas en Zaragoza (siglos XIII-XVI)", *Artesanas de vida. Mujeres de la Edad Media*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2009: 314.

4. Erikson, Amy Louise. *Women and property in Early Modern England*. London: Routledge, 1993.

5. Studies based on Public Notaries' official records are: Bono y Huerta, José. "Conceptos fundamentales de la diplomática notarial". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 19 (1992): 73-88; Colombo, Octavio. "Los dueños del dinero. Prestamistas abulenses a mediados del siglo XV". *Espacio, tiempo y Forma. Historia Medieval*, 29 (2016): 249-277; De Vijlder, Nicolas; Limberger, Mic. "Public or private interests? The investment behaviour of public officials in Antwerp during the early modern period". *Financial History Review*, 21 (2014): 301-326; García Garcimartín, Hugo. *Articulación jurisdiccional y dinámica socioeconómica de un espacio natural*. Madrid: Complutense, 2005; Pardo, Marisa; Ostos, Pilar. *El notariado andaluz en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la Edad Moderna*. Seville: Colegio Notarial, 1995; Rodríguez Mateos, Joaquín. "Escribanos públicos en Huelva: los protocolos notariales y el Archivo Histórico Provincial". *Huelva en su historia*, 8 (2001): 131-150; Rojas Vaca, María Dolores. "Los inicios del notariado público en el reino de Castilla". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 31/1 (2001): 329-400.

6. City located within the province of Cadiz, Andalusia, in the South-West of Spain.



every territory where Christianity was established and, among those, in the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, I consider this topic to be especially conflicting as it addresses the expression of very specific religious practices carried out by women who live in communities similar to religious orders but do not belong to any religious order in particular; hence we can find many terms which refer to them, but none of them turns out to give an accurate description. Nevertheless, this confusion does not apply only to the communities located in the Iberian Peninsula, but also to the whole European territory: "Who were the beguines? This question is not easy to answer, for the juridical and canonical status of the beguines has never been very clear".⁷

Another point that contributes to this initial confusion is the fact that most traditional explanations of this phenomenon correspond to views with a strong focus on unilateral aspects of the problem; not being studied as a whole but merely as a parallel dimension of other events of economic, social and religious nature.⁸

As I mentioned before, the existence of women who spontaneously decide to live according to religious rules constitutes a frequent and widely spread phenomenon. These groups of women adopt different external forms of expression and belong to different communities such as the 'beguines', 'enclosed women', *deodatas*, 'hermits' and 'hospitalers'. However, I will focus on describing three groups which are characteristic of the Andalusian area: *emparedadas* or 'walled-in women', *terceras* or 'tertiaries' and *beatas* or 'devout women'. They set examples of this particular religious and yet lay lifestyle during the late medieval period, in which religious rules and practices were performed outside enclosed placements, worship increasingly turned to Mary and thus the female figure was promoted, and religious practices focus on mental prayer and inner life instead of worship such as rites, ceremonies, verbal prayers, etc.⁹

In Andalusia, these communities could be found from early stages as they were established as soon as the Christians reconquered the Peninsula from the hands of the Arabs, or at least as soon as the new population took roots there. This lifestyle was soon widespread, since traces of its existence have been found not only in big cities, but also in smaller population centres and even traditional rural areas.

The women studied in this paper have very few common features, we could even say none, with their traditional image we have received from authors of the Church. According to Church sources, these women were old and helpless widows, unable to find their own sources of income and no longer eligible to join a convent, therefore they had to settle for this type of religious lifestyle.¹⁰ We must bear in

7. Olyslager, W. A. *The Groot Begijnhof of Leuven*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1999: 11.

8. Mac Donell, Ernest W. *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture, with special emphasis on the Belgian scene*. New Brunswick-New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1969.

9. This definition was found in Andrés, Melquíades. *Historia de la Iglesia en España*. Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1980: 325-345.

10. Santonja, Pedro. "Mujeres religiosas: beatas y beguinas en la Edad Media. Textos satíricos y misóginos". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 14 (2003-2006): 209-228.



mind that this kind of spontaneous religious communities escaped the strict Church categorization, namely the negative image conveyed by the Church hierarchy.

However, even though this stereotype was certainly the case of many particular women at that time, the cases of women I have analyzed for this study break with that convention. Firstly, these walled-in women, tertiaries and devout women enjoyed a decent standard of living allowing them to have enough resources to pay for the services of a notary public, own properties and carry out lucrative businesses. That said, it is true that the Notary Public Archive only gathers documents coming from the middle to high sectors of society and excludes the poor and lower classes; therefore, we can only assume that there exists a wider socio-economic spectrum within the religious-lay women segment, which is not exclusive of Jerez de la Frontera but also found in other Hispanic areas.¹¹

Secondly, regarding the marital status of the women in the present study, I found the majority of them were unmarried, followed by a few widows and the absence of any married woman.

Thirdly, the documents analyzed do not show any relevant proof of lack of abilities and requirements which would have prevented these women joining a convent—mainly because it was not of interest to the notary public. This could certainly be the case for many other women, but I would rather think that these particular women, who had the means to be independent from male figures and religious institutions, personally chose this specific religious-lay lifestyle in order to own their destiny and businesses while living their lives according to the religious standards.

These three types of religious-lay women share the same spirituality, common to both religious and lay people, even if there are differences among their practices and material aspects. They also established links with members of the regular and secular clergy, who in certain occasions served as their protectors in material and spiritual matters.

All the features described above are shared by other groups of women located in different areas of Western Europe and in Flanders in particular, where they were named ‘beguines’—a term used with a negative tone in Castille—and described as follows:

[...] We can say that the beguines were religious women who were halfway between nuns and laywomen. They lived in community but not in a true convent, and did not make the solemn vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; they maintained control over their own property and earned their living by manual labour [...]¹²

11. Muñoz Fernández, Ángela. *Beatas y santas neocastellanas: ambivalencias de la religión y políticas correctoras del poder (SS. XIV-XVI)*. Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1994: 27-50.

12. Olyslager, W.A. *The Groot...*: 11.



In this paper, I study the three major groups that I have been able to distinguish in accordance with the information contained in the official documents: walled-in women, tertiaries and devout women. Before moving on to the presentation of the separate groups, I offer a common description that applies to all three:

*Se trata de tipos de expresiones religiosas de mujeres enraizadas en un movimiento espiritual más amplio, no son prácticas y reglas religiosas femeninas, sino expresiones religiosas de las mujeres. Dicho esto, tales expresiones religiosas están motivadas por su propio movimiento espiritual, que se centra en la vida interior, el misticismo e incluso el feminismo, y en consecuencia, promueve el poder de las mujeres. Deberíamos llamarlos prácticas religiosas, no prácticas religiosas o espirituales femeninas distinguidas de las masculinas.*¹³

2. Walled-in women

The walled-in women were generally those who:

*Por el amor de Dios, para tener una vida contemplativa o por motivos relacionados con la penitencia, deciden confinarse en celdas, cerrar la puerta y dejar solo una pequeña ventana para que les proporcionen comida y agua, su único medio de contacto con el mundo externo.*¹⁴

Normally, these cells were found attached to either parish or convent churches so that the women could follow the services through a little hole in their cell wall. The walled-in women became a popular example of monastic life.¹⁵

However, this definition¹⁶ requires a few clarifications within the Andalusian area as the religious practices consisting in voluntary confinement were declining and being replaced by new practices in the Western Christian territory during the

13. "These are types of religious expressions of women rooted in a wider spiritual movement, it is not female religious practices and rules but religious expressions of women. That said, such religious expressions are motivated by their own spiritual movement, which focuses on the inner life, mysticism and even feminism – consequently, promoting women power. We should call them religious practices, not female religious or spiritual practices distinguished to male ones." Translation from fragment contained in Miura Andrades, José María. "Algunas notas sobre las beatas andaluzas", *Las mujeres en el Cristianismo medieval. Imágenes teóricas y cauces de actuación religiosa*. Madrid: Al-Mudayna, 1989: 302.

14. "For the love of God, in order to have a contemplative life or due to penance-related reasons, decide to confine themselves in cells, wall up the door and leave only a little window to be provided with food and water, their only means of contact with the external world". Translation from fragment contained in Sánchez Herrero, José. *Las diócesis del Reino de León*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación "San Isidoro", 1978: 332; Sánchez Herrero, José. "La Iglesia andaluza en la Baja Edad Media, siglos XIII-XV", *I Coloquio de Historia Medieval de Andalucía*. Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1982: 321.

15. Miura Andrades, José María. *Frtales, monjas y conventos. Las Órdenes Mendicantes y la sociedad sevillana bajomedieval*. Seville: Diputación Provincial, 1998: 232.

16. Cavero Domínguez, Gregoria. *Inclusa intraparietes: la reclusión voluntaria en la España medieval*. Toulouse: Université Toulouse II-Le Mirail, 2010; Montero Curiel, Pilar. "Los espacios en el poema de Santa Oria de Gonzalo de Berceo". *Anuario de Estudios Filológicos*, 19 (1996): 359-379.



13th century.¹⁷ In Jerez de la Frontera, the walled-in cells were indeed attached to parishes,¹⁸ but the women who lived in them were not confined nor isolated from the external world. The archbishop Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1485-1502) condemned the new walled-in confinement procedure in Seville during the bishops' synod that took place in 1490, c. XXV:

*Sabemos que hay muchos emparedamientos conectados a las iglesias de esta ciudad e incluso de esta diócesis en las que las mujeres no han seguido un estilo de vida confinado adecuado hasta el momento, y esta situación es un mal ejemplo, [...] como solución, les ordenamos que vivan en aislamiento total, no deben abandonar la celda y ninguna otra persona, hombre o mujer de ningún estado, debe ingresar a la celda sin nuestro permiso. Si una persona ingresa en la celda o la mujer la abandona, se le otorgará un juicio de excomunión y se la obligará a abandonar definitivamente su celda.*¹⁹

In any case, this regulation did not come into effect until the middle of the 16th century and the walled-in women I studied certainly did not live according to the archbishop's Hurtado contemplative monastic lifestyle: they did not live in total isolation and were not dependent on charity; on the contrary, they had an active life integrated in society and lived within communities. They enjoyed enough freedom to leave their cells and participate in economic and trade activities, which allowed them to keep in touch with society.

Documentary references to walled-in women are rather scarce during the 15th century. I hold a few testaments²⁰ in which the testator leaves inheritance to non-specified walled-in communities in Jerez;²¹ I have others in which the testators mention specific churches with walled-in communities attached, such as

17. King, Margot. *The Desert Mothers: a survey of the feminine anchoritic tradition in Western Europe*. Saskatoon: Peregrina Publishing, 1989. L'Hermite-Lequercq, Paulette. "La Réclusion volontaire au Moyen Age: une institution religieuse spécialement féminine", *Actas del Coloquio Hispano-Francés. La condición de la mujer en la Edad Media*, Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1986: 139.

18. Mesa Jinete, Francisco. *Historia sagrada y política de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Tarteso, Turdeto, Asta Regia, Asido Cesariana, Asidonia, Gera, Jerez Sidonia, hoy Jerez de la Frontera*. Jerez de la Frontera: Melchor Ga. Ruíz, 1888: 114.

19. "We know there are many walled-in cells attached to the churches of this city and even of this diocese in which women have not followed a proper confined lifestyle so far, and this situation sets a bad example, [...] as a solution, we command them to live in total isolation, they must not leave the cell and no other person, male or female of any status, must enter the cell without our permission. If any person enters the cell or the woman leaves it, an excommunication judgment will be given to her and she will be forced to permanently leave her cell." Sanchez Herrero, José; Pérez González, Silvia María. "El sínodo de Sevilla de 1490". *Archivo Hispalense*, 79/241 (1996): 69-96. Other articles: Cavero Domínguez, Gregoria. "Obispos y sínodos hispanos ante el emparedamiento medieval". *Medievalismo*, 22 (2012): 57-74; Lehfeldt, Elizabeth. *Religious Women in Golden Age Spain: The Permeable Cloister*. Aldersho-Burlington: Ashgate, 2005; Suárez Beltrán, Soledad. "Las emparedadas de Oviedo: Una aportación al estudio de la religiosidad popular en la Baja Edad Media". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985): 467-474.

20. Guillot Aliaga, María Dolores. "La mujer a través de los testamentos valencianos", *Las mujeres en la Edad Media*, Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2013: 153-170.

21. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Juan Ortega Gaitán. 18th November 1490, f. 177v.



the churches of San Miguel,²² San Marcos²³ and El Salvador.²⁴ It was actually a usual habit to give alms to all these parishes so that the walled-in women would pray for the soul of the benefactor or perform the Penitential Psalms for them.²⁵ In these documents I have also registered a special case of donation in which Alfonso de Vanades,²⁶ chaplain of the church of San Miguel, gives a book named *Flos Sanctorum* to the walled-in community attached to this temple. The fact that both the chaplain and the walled-in women lived together in the same chapel and may have developed friendly relationships would explain a gift with such a special value during that time, a book.²⁷

On the other hand, I find numerous references from the first half of the 16th century which describe the freedom of walled-in women living in communities. A good example was María de la Cruz, who lived in the community of walled-in women of El Salvador. She left her cell and visited Alonso de Cuenca, notary public, in order to rent out a few store premises located in Corredera street for the price of eight golden ducats to be paid three times a year (at the end of June, beginning of November and before Lent).²⁸ This short renting period would allow her to rent out her properties again the following year with the possibility of increasing the rent.

However, the fact of being fully integrated in society also brought them disadvantages as they were subject to lawsuits. The case of Juana Cordero Menor, a walled-in woman who lived in an unspecified community, was heard at the Chancery of Granada²⁹ and she was assisted throughout the process by Antón Pérez, solicitor at that same court.³⁰ This woman had also hired an accountant, namely, a person enabled by law to clear accounts. The estate of Juana remains unknown, but it must have been big enough for her to need the services of two experts to help her out. I have analyzed other documents according to which she let the mayor of Jerez know about some private agreements she had reached with people she "had been negotiating with through an iron window grill".³¹ This is certainly an interesting detail as it shows how this walled-in woman dealt with civil matters

22. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Bartolomé de Maya. 13th July 1489, f. 147r.

23. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Juan Ortega Gaitán. 30th March 1491, f. 44v.

24. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Bartolomé de Maya. 3rd September 1489, f. 196v.

25. Fernández Vallina, Emiliano. "Plegarias e invocaciones en la Edad Media Latina", *Las donaciones piadosas en el mundo medieval*, Alfonso García, ed. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 2012, 483-506. Reeves, Andrew. "The Cure of Souls is the Art of Arts: Preaching, Confession, and Catechesis in the Middle Ages". *Religion Compass*, 7 (2013): 372-384.

26. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Bartolomé de Maya. 3rd September 1489, f. 196v.

27. Vives, Juan Luis. *The Education of a Christian Woman*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

28. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales, Escribano Alonso de Cuenca. 7th September 1536, f. 427r.

29. Ruiz Rodríguez, Antonio María. *La Real Chancillería de Granada en el siglo XVI*. Granada: Diputación Provincial, 1987.

30. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso de Cuenca. 5th April 1537, f. 144v.

31. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso de Cuenca. 4th May 1537, f. 195r.



from her religious confinement and how her isolation is purely symbolic since she takes part in the social sphere of the city with all the consequences.

Other walled-in women, due to trust reasons or merely to avoid the service charge, decided to hand over their estate management to a close family member. As was the case of Isabel García, a walled-in woman located within the community of El Salvador, who entrusted her brother with the sale of some properties she had inherited upon her father's death.³²

The social life of these walled-in women did not prevent them from strictly performing their religious practices,³³ as it was known by the rest of the society in Jerez. Their social and religious prestige is evident as shown by the agreements held by Francisca Sánchez, also a walled-in woman in El Salvador, who used to pray Penitential Psalms every day for a whole year in exchange for two golden ducats.³⁴ Besides, other documents prove how these communities served as shelter for women in need. This was the case of Alejo de Fuentes, a surgeon born in Oviedo (a city in the North of Spain), who had to go to war and decided to leave his youngest daughter in the care of the walled-in community of the church of El Salvador. According to their agreement, the "walled-in Mothers" would take care of the child, feed her, bring her up and teach her good manners in exchange for one *cahíz*³⁵ of wheat and grain and 48 Spanish *reales*³⁶ a year. Since he was not sure about how long he would be serving as a surgeon for the troops, he left Sebastián García, a scabbard maker, and his wife money and provision enough to pay the walled-in women for a period of two years.³⁷

3. Tertiaries

The tertiaries were women who, in keeping in touch with the world, chose a life of religious perfection inside their homes following the rules of some religious order. In the documents I analyzed I found tertiaries who belonged to the Franciscans.³⁸

32. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso de Cuenca. 8th August 1537, f. 385r.

33. Aldrin, Viktor. "The Prayer Life of Peasant Communities in Late Medieval Sweden. A Contrast of Ideals and Practices". *Svensk teologisk kvartalskrift*, 87 (2011): 96-106.

34. Shea, Mary Lou. *Medieval Women on Sin and Salvation*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010: 40-58.

35. *Cahíz*, plural *cahíces*, historical Spanish weight measure with its value depending on the region and the product measured.

36. *Real*, plural *reales*, unit of currency in Spain for several centuries after the mid-14th century.

37. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 22th August 1535, f. 721v.

38. Further reading: Moliner, José María. *Espiritualidad medieval: Los mendicantes*. Madrid: Monte Carmelo, 1974. Álvarez Gómez, Jesús. "Los laicos en la Iglesia: las Terceras Órdenes". *Verdad y Vida*, 46 (1974): 7-29; Riquelme Oliva, Pedro. "La Tercera Orden de san Francisco". *XX Siglos*, 25 (1992): 17-29. Graña Cid, María del Mar. "Una tentativa frustrada de autonomía religiosa femenina: las Terceras Franciscanas en Andalucía (Siglos XV-XVI)", *Las mujeres en Andalucía. Actas del 2º encuentro interdisciplinar de estudios de la mujer en Andalucía*. Málaga: Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 2003: 163-188.



The Secular Third Order of St. Francis was born in 1221 and was open for men and women, married or unmarried. This lay Franciscan movement was mentioned for the first time in 1238 by Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241), who sets out in a papal bull the three orders established by St. Francis: the Order of Friars Minor, the Order of Poor Ladies and the Third Order of Brothers and Sisters of Penance. The Third Order was founded under the influence of St. Francis by members of fraternities who desired to pursue the ideal of Franciscan life without leaving their homes.³⁹

St. Francis had hugely promoted this kind of secular associations and had crucially participated in its direction by establishing their code of conduct: wearing simple and austere clothes, never attending feasts, shows or balls, reducing the meat consumption to three times a week, performing the Liturgy of the Hours by praying the *Pater Noster*, paying the tithe, taking care of the family, etc.⁴⁰

Regarding this group, from the documents studied a first conclusion can be reached: the society in Jerez at the end of the Middle Ages, or at least any group of qualified professionals like the public notaries, did not have a definite idea about what a tertiary was. Moreover, they never use this term to name them—I use it according to the consecration they receive—and they are generally called ‘lay sisters’. This fact proves the lack of clarity in relation to this type of religious practices performed by women. The public notaries, and presumably the rest of the society in Jerez, were aware of the decision of these women to choose this peculiar religious lifestyle and they knew exactly to which Order they belonged helped by the type of habit they wore, however, they failed to attach to them an accurate term which described their situation.

These documents have allowed us to know in detail the ordination ritual performed for a Franciscan tertiary, Constanza de la Cruz, a Roman devout woman resident of Jerez.⁴¹ The ceremony took place by Vespers at the main chapel of the convent church of San Francisco and was officiated by ‘Father Guardian’ Jorge in the presence of the rest of the friars. After being interrogated by the Guardian, Constanza declared that she wanted to become a ‘devout sister’ of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, which testifies again to the lack of a specific name for this group of women. She was then informed about her obligations and her duty to obey; she knelt down before the Guardian, who took her hands in his, and she professed out loud her vows to the Virgin, St. Francis and other saints to live according to God’s commandments and to the rules of the Third Order and never leave the Order.

As can be observed, the resemblance between the forms used to join the Third Order and the features of the commendation ceremony between a feudal lord and

39. Roest, Bert. *Religious Orders and Religious Identity Formation, ca. 1420-1620*. Leiden: Brill, 2016: 69-82.

40. Zaremba, Theodore Anthony. *Franciscan Social Reform: A Study of the Third Order Secular of St. Francis as an Agency of Social Reforms According to Certain Papal Documents*. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1947: 175-181.

41. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 7th October 1537, f. 995v.



a vassal is uncanny:⁴² they both contain the *volo* or announcement of submission, the *immixtio manuum* or clasp of hands and the oath of fealty. I do not know if they removed the osculation tradition in the case of tertiaries. Neither can I confirm if all or only some of the tertiaries wore a distinctive habit from the Order they had joined as the information regarding this issue is very limited.

The tertiaries, like the walled-in women, were fully integrated within society.⁴³ Even though they were closely linked to the convent or monastery of the Order they belonged to, these women lived alone in their homes as any other neighbour of the district. On the other hand, their religious lifestyle, filled with good values, conferred them a special social recognition —what we call the social-religious prestige of the tertiaries— that led them to perform civil roles as legal executors of testaments and donations *pro remedio animae*.⁴⁴

However, most of the activities registered in these documents are of economic nature, like the sale of a portion of an olive grove⁴⁵ in exchange for 4,500 Spanish *maravedís* carried out by Isabel de Sierra;⁴⁶ the rental agreement of a land donation signed by Ms. Brianda de Villavicencio⁴⁷ in exchange for an annual rent of nine *cahíces* of wheat to be paid every 25th July⁴⁸ for nine years; or even the practice of credit systems like the purchase of rent.⁴⁹

In the late Middle Ages, Jerez de la Frontera was a large trading centre with noted special developments in monetary economics; however, during the specific period I studied the society was undergoing financial difficulties and suffering a lack of liquidity.⁵⁰ Moreover, this development of monetary economics did not benefit everyone in an equal way, since some residents experienced a dramatic reduction in their purchasing power as prices were rising. The need for money was alleviated by multiple means; one of them was the credit systems.⁵¹

At the end of the 15th century, there were two basic factors which introduced and developed credit systems: a person needing money and the well-off capitalist

42. Bagge, Sverre; Gelting, Michael H.; Lindkvist, Thomas, eds. *Feudalism: new landscapes of debate*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

43. Cohn-Sherbok, Lavinia. *Who's Who in Christianity*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

44. Pérez González, Silvia María. *La mujer en la Sevilla de finales de la Edad Media: solteras, casadas y vírgenes consagradas*. Seville: Servicio Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2005: 113-114.

45. Martín Gutiérrez, Emilio. *La organización del paisaje rural en la Baja Edad media: el ejemplo de Jerez de la Frontera*. Seville: Servicio Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2004.

46. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 30th June 1535, f. 453v.

47. Ruiz Pílares, Enrique. "El mayorazgo del veinticuatro Pedro Camacho de Villavicencio 'el rico' (1507). El patrimonio del caballero jerezano más acaudalado de su tiempo". *En la España Medieval*, 35 (2012): 317-347.

48. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 2nd May 1536, f. 370r.

49. Bourin, Monique. "Peasant Elites and Village Communities in the South of France, 1200-1350". *Past And Present*, 2 (2007): 101-114.

50. Borrero Fernández, Mercedes. "Efectos del cambio económico en el ámbito rural. Los sistemas de crédito en el campo sevillano (fines del siglo XV y principios del XVI)". *En la España medieval*, 5 (1986): 33.

51. Tittler, Robert. "Money-Lending in the West Midlands". *Historical Research*, 164 (1994): 249-263.



who wanted to increase his monetary savings. At the time, the Church regulation regarding excessive profits from economic activities had widely exceeded the limits imposed by Canon law, and even though there were attempts to rectify this situation, we can observe the development of financial formulas in order to provide loans by indirect means and receive that same amount plus interest at a deferred date.⁵² One of these methods was the purchase of rent. According to this contract, a property owner, the loaner, gives away an amount of money on his property, which is only part of the benefits that the borrower would obtain through the exploitation of the property, in exchange for a specific rate that the borrower must pay back annually for the rest of his life i.e. a perpetual annuity. This formula itself cannot be considered a conventional capital loan as it involves the exploitation of benefits and the payment of capital for life instead of the full refund of the initial loaned amount within an established period of time.⁵³

There were many tertiaries who were aware of these activities and practiced this type of loan system, the purchase of rent, on their properties. This was the case of María de la Cruz, who loaned 5,000 *maravedís* located in a few properties within the Parochial District of San Miguel in exchange for 500 *maravedís* to be paid back annually for life, the properties being the guarantee of repayment.⁵⁴

On the other hand, the tertiaries kept a close relationship with their families,⁵⁵ which would have been impossible if they lived in enclosed environments like the nuns from the same Orders. These family connections had many forms of expressions and good examples of them were the cases I mentioned before, Isabel de Sierra, who sold her olive grove⁵⁶ to her brother, and Ms. Brianda de Villavicencio,⁵⁷ who rented her land donation to her relative, the city councilor Bartolomé Núñez de Villavicencio.⁵⁸ Another good example was María Rodríguez, who sent a dowry of 5,000 *maravedís* to her nephew's daughter for her being "an honest maid with little goods" that she would obtain from the profits given by the tertiary's estate upon her death.⁵⁹ This is a particularly interesting example since the tertiary, who chose a lifestyle that differed

52. Clavero Salvador, Bartolomé. "Prohibición de la usura y Renovo: notas y documentos sobre los préstamos usurarios en el reino astur-leonés (siglos X-XI)". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 57-58 (1973), 408-448; Nelson, Benjamin. "The Idea of Usury. From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood". *Social Research*, 61/4, (1994): 955-965. Clavero Salvador, Bartolomé. "Prohibición de la usura y constitución de rentas". *Moneda y crédito*, 143 (1977): 107-131; Clavero Salvador, Bartolomé. "Interesse: traducción e incidencia de un concepto en la Castilla del siglo XVI". *Anuario de historia del derecho español*, 49 (1979): 39-98.

53. De Almeida Costa, Mario Julio. *Raíces do censo consignativo. Para la historia do crédito medieval portugués*, Coimbra: Atlântida, 1961: 78.

54. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 4th January 1537, f. 38r.

55. Loring García, María Isabel. "Sistemas de parentesco y estructuras familiares en la Edad Media", *La familia en la Edad Media*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios riojanos, 2001: 13-38.

56. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 30th June 1535. f. 453v.

57. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 1536. 2nd May 1536, f. 370r.

58. Trillo San José, María del Carmen. *Mujeres, familia y linaje en la Edad Media*, Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2004.

59. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 14th May 1536, f. 421r.



from what society expected of her (a husband, children, a home), contributes to her nephew's daughter fulfilling the traditional role conferred to women.

4. Devout women

The devout women were those who, in keeping in touch with the world, carried out a life of religious perfection within their homes without attachment to any religious institution.⁶⁰ They highlighted the relevance of having an active life within society while following mendicant principles.⁶¹ This strong connection with daily life led them to perform work and assistance activities compatible with their religious life, clearly influenced by the ideal of austerity present at the beginning of the foundation of the institutions.⁶²

The fact that they lived in their houses and not in institutional buildings, unlike the walled-in women, and that they did not belong to any Order, unlike the tertiaries, confused people of late medieval Jerez, who failed to classify these women from the linguistic point of view. The most common term was *beata* or 'devout woman', but in the official documents I have also observed the use of *doncella* or 'maid',⁶³ *doncella beata* or "devout maid",⁶⁴ *doncella honesta* or 'decent maid',⁶⁵ *beata honesta* or "decent devout woman"⁶⁶ and *religiosa* or 'religious woman'.⁶⁷ I know they refer to the same type of religious woman, because all those terms were applied to the same women, who were not sure themselves how to be called as they did not object to the use of such variety of names when the notary public read to them the documents he was

60. Graña Cid, María del Mar. "Beatas y comunidad cívica. Algunas claves interpretativas de la espiritualidad femenina urbana bajomedieval. (Córdoba, Siglos XIV-XV)". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 42/2 (2012): 698; Miura Andrades, José María. "Beatas y beaterios andaluces en la Baja Edad Media. Su vinculación con la Orden de Predicadores", *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236-1492)*. Córdoba: Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1988: 527-535.

61. Makowski, Elizabeth. *A pernicious sort of woman: quasi-religious women and canon lawyers in the later Middle Ages*. Washington: Catholic University Press, 2005: 23-43; Miura Andrades, José María. "Formas de vida religiosa femenina en la Andalucía medieval. Emparedadas y beatas", *Religiosidad femenina: expectativas y realidades (SS.VIII-XVIII)*, Madrid: Al-Mudiyana, 1991: 141. Simons, Walter. *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001. Walters, Barbara. "Women Religious Virtuosae from the Middle Ages: A Case Pattern and Analytic Model of Types". *Sociology of Religion*, 63 (2002): 69-89; Weber, Alison. "Recent studies on women and early modern religion in Spanish". *Renaissance Quarterly*, 52 (1999): 197.

62. Miura Andrades, José María. "Formas de vida religiosa...": 157.

63. Francisca Sánchez de la palomina (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 28th January 1538, f. 81r.).

64. Beatriz López de Lobatón (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo Rus. 8th October de 1533, f.837r.); Francisca Medina (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 7th January 1537, f.94r.).

65. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 8th December 1538, unnumbered.

66. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 3rd April 1533, f. 301r.

67. Catalina de Fuentes (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 1st October 1538, f. 875v).



ratifying. One example was Inés de Orvaneja, who was given the names ‘devout woman’,⁶⁸ ‘maid’⁶⁹ and ‘honest maid’.⁷⁰ Maybe they did not have the need to be classified as some particular type, but required only their particular religious lives to be acknowledged.

A devout women community was established in Jerez de la Frontera, next to the church of San Marcos, which later would become the Convent of Conception,⁷¹ very similar to Flemish beguines communities.⁷² Although the devout women I have studied did not live in these communities but in their own houses, they created some sense of group unity based on their peculiar religious lifestyle within society. Proof of this is one last will and testament by which three ducats were sent to Catalina de Morla so that she and ‘her companions’ would pray the Penitential Psalms for the testator’s soul for the time they considered necessary.⁷³ I am led to think that some devout women met up to pray and perform other kinds of religious activities in groups in public spaces, which may be another reason why they were recognized as a community.⁷⁴ These types of practices have lived on throughout history and, for instance, it was frequent to find female members of the same family or neighborhood reciting the rosary together. In the Convent of St. Francis a devout women grave was found whose origin remains unknown,⁷⁵ although it has been known that not all devout women in the city were buried there.⁷⁶

4.1 Economic foundation of devout women

4.1.1 Housing market

These devout women, as permanent residents of Jerez, actively participated in its housing market.⁷⁷ The fact that they preferred owning real estate located within the

68. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Cuenca. 28th July 1533, unnumbered.

69. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 18th November 1537, f. 845v.

70. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 8th December 1538, unnumbered.

71. Mesa Jinete, Francisco. *Historia sagrada y política de la muy noble y muy leal de Tarteso, Turdeto, Asta Regia, Asido Cesariana, Asidonia Gera, Jerez Sidonia, hoy Jerez de la Frontera*. Jerez de la Frontera: Melchor García Ruiz, 1888: 154.

72. Bennet, Judith M. *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*. Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1989: 240-260; Simons, Walter. *Cities of Ladies. Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries 1200-1565*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

73. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Juan Rodríguez. 30th October 1527, f. 837r.

74. Muessig, Carolyn; Putter, Ad, eds. *Envisaging Heaven in the Middle Ages*. New York: Routledge Publishing, 2006: 103-110.

75. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 28th October 1539, f. 1168v.

76. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 17th September 1539, f. 1194v; 28th September 1539, f. 1223r.

77. Collantes de Terán Sánchez, Antonio. “El modelo meridional, Sevilla”, *Mercado inmobiliario y paisajes urbanos en el Occidente europeo (siglos XI-XV)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2007: 591-630.



city they lived in allowed them to exercise efficient control over their properties as they did not have to travel elsewhere to supervise the contracts compliance and the maintenance of their properties. They would take care of these tasks once they had finished with their duties or even during their duties if it was possible.

The study of the housing operations and its multiple factors, especially the economic dimension, has not been easy for many reasons.⁷⁸ One of them is the lack of sources of information during the 13th and 14th century and the fact that these sources belonged to the Church. Besides, the process behind the economic operations seems to be always incomplete as only the price or rent paid for the house can be known, but not determining factors like the home size.⁷⁹

On the other hand, the official documents do not explain the usual characteristics of the houses either.⁸⁰ I find the term *casas* or “houses”, in plural, with which they refer to a group of spaces including an entrance hall,⁸¹ the main room,⁸² an attic,⁸³ a farmyard and an inner yard behind,⁸⁴ which can be all present or just some of them. Other houses also included a kitchen,⁸⁵ a well and a sink.⁸⁶

For this study, I chose 19 documents in which properties located in different Parochial Districts of the city are mentioned: I found four houses in El Salvador,⁸⁷ one in San Lucas,⁸⁸ four in San Marcos,⁸⁹ seven in San Miguel⁹⁰ and one in Santiago.⁹¹

These details show the location of the devout women’s real estate, scattered throughout the city, not only in the Parochial Districts within the walls (El Salvador, San Lucas and San Marcos), but also in the suburbs (San Miguel and Santiago). The

78. Álvarez Fernández, María; Beltrán Suárez, Soledad. *Vivienda, gestión y mercado inmobiliario en Oviedo en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la Modernidad*. Vitoria: Universidad del País Vasco, 2015.

79. Collantes de Terán Sánchez, Antonio. “Propiedad y mercado inmobiliario en la Edad Media: Sevilla, siglos XIII-XVI”. *Hispania*, 169 (1988): 77-78.

80. Carlé, María del Carmen. “La casa en la Edad media castellana”. *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 67-68 (1982): 165-229.

81. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 22nd February 1539, unnumbered.

82. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 29th September 1537, unnumbered.

83. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 20th June 1536, unnumbered.

84. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 1st January 1537, unnumbered.

85. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 22nd February 1539, unnumbered.

86. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 20th June 1536, unnumbered.

87. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 26th February 1537; 23rd May 1537, f. 456v; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Luis de Llanos, 13th January 1537, f. 169r; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 13th August 1538, f. 682v.

88. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Juan Rodríguez. 5th July 1527, f. 449r.

89. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso de Sarmiento. 29th September 1537; 20th June 1536, unnumbered; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco de Sanabria. 13th December 1537, f. 1027v; 27th December 1537, unnumbered.

90. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 29th June 1535, f. 440v; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 1st January 1537, f. 20v; 15th April 1537, f. 309r; 28th January 1538, f. 81r; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 7th January 1537, f. 94r; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco Román Trujillo. 11th March 1535, f. 619v; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 22nd February 1539, unnumbered.

91. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 10th July 1537, unnumbered.



cause of this distribution is unknown as the documents do not reveal information regarding this issue. Perhaps there are no specific reasons, maybe the devout women bought their properties wherever the purchasing conditions looked favorable; or there is the possibility they simply inherited them. Finally, I registered one example of a property owned by a devout woman located 30 km outside of Jerez in the town of Medina Sidonia.⁹²

In the majority of cases I could not find out about the prior and necessary processes according to which the devout women became the owners of the properties, since there are no documents registering the purchase of the properties or the transfer of ownership to the devout women after their purchase.

Regarding the businesses in which the houses were involved, I have observed a high number of rentals.⁹³ 16 out of these 19 documents are rent agreements, whereas two are property sales and one is a termination of a rent agreement. Those 16 documents allowed the analysis of aspects such as the rental period, the rent paid and the type of rental.

In relation to the rental period, this is the first conclusion: there is a difference between the contracts signed by institutions and the ones signed by individuals. In my doctoral thesis I prove how the institutions tended to rent their properties for a period of three lives, that is, a long-term contract that did not require an annual revision and renewal. On the contrary, individuals like the devout women preferred the annual contract: 68.75% of the documented cases (11 out of 16) are annual contracts, two of them are valid for fixed periods of two and three years, and the one remaining was signed for nine months.⁹⁴ The majority of short-term rental agreements prove the strict control of the devout women over their finances and a mentality motivated by profit, since the annual renewal of contracts would allow them to raise the rent price if the economic conditions were favorable and to adjust to the increase in the cost of living. Besides, their religious occupation left them time enough to personally take care of their businesses and keep detailed accounts.

On the other hand, the majority of short-term rental agreements have an immediate effect that also differentiates the devout women from the institutions and their long-term contracts: the time limit meant no breach of contract. I have registered only one case in which the tenant terminates the agreement he signed.⁹⁵

The high number of rentals and the intense activity of the housing market show how Jerez was experiencing a period of economic prosperity at the end of the Middle Ages. The property owners, institutions and individuals had a wide variety of potential tenants to offer their properties to depending on the most favorable conditions for the owners and how they conducted their business.

92. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco de Sanabria. 6th April 1532, unnumbered.

93. Iradiel, Paulino. "Mercado inmobiliario, crédito y crecimiento urbano medieval en Valencia", *Mercado inmobiliario y paisajes urbanos en el Occidente europeo (siglos XI-XVI)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2007: 377-416.

94. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso de Sarmiento. 29th September 1537, unnumbered.

95. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 15th April 1537, f. 309r.



However, the devout women did sometimes not give away the whole house to rent but only part of it, which may have arisen at times of need. I have registered the renting of a main room;⁹⁶ a main room and an entrance hall with the right to use the washing sink,⁹⁷ the kitchen, the well and the farmyard; an attic with the right to use the well, the sink and the entrance of the house;⁹⁸ or the ground floor of the property.⁹⁹ The rental of separate parts of the house could have generated a feeling of suspicion from the neighbours since the women sometimes had to coexist with a man; however, the religiosity that their lifestyle inspired in others left this issue out of the question.

The devout women set up the rent in the following currencies: *maravedís* (1,166,¹⁰⁰ 1,755,¹⁰¹ 2,298,¹⁰² 3,000¹⁰³), silver *reales*¹⁰⁴ (20¹⁰⁵ and 42¹⁰⁶) and golden ducats¹⁰⁷ (two,¹⁰⁸ three,¹⁰⁹ seven,¹¹⁰ eight¹¹¹ and 12¹¹²). I have not observed cases of payment in kind. I do not consider appropriate to establish an average rent as they are set according to a number of factors inherent to the properties, about which there is no information available. The rent was due mostly every three months; there was only one case in which it was due only twice a year, one half at the beginning of Lent and the other on the 24th June.¹¹³ The devout women must have exercised strict control over the rent payments as I have not observed any document referring to rent debts.

Besides the rental agreements, I have registered two cases of property sales carried out by devout women. Ana García sold her properties in Medina Sidonia

96. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 29th September 1537, unnumbered.

97. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 22nd February 1539, unnumbered.

98. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 20th June 1536, unnumbered.

99. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 23rd May 1537, unnumbered.

100. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Juan Rodríguez. 5th July 1527, f. 449r.

101. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 26th February 1537, unnumbered.

102. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Luis de Llanos. 13th January 1537, unnumbered.

103. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 15th April 1537, f. 309r; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco de Sanabria. 13th December 1537, unnumbered; 27th December 1537. f. 25v; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 7th January 1537, f. 94r.

104. A silver *real* is worth 34 *maravedís*.

105. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 29th June 1535, f. 440v.

106. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 22nd February 1539, unnumbered.

107. A golden ducat is worth 375 *maravedís*.

108. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 20th June 1536, unnumbered.

109. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 29th September 1537, unnumbered.

110. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 23rd May 1537, f. 456v; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Baltasar de Lueña. 28th January 1538, f. 81r.

111. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 1st January 1537, f. 20v.

112. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco Román Trujillo. 11th March 1535, f. 619v.

113. 24th June is the day when some of these rents start (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 7th January 1537, f. 94r; 22nd February 1539, unnumbered; 26th February 1537, unnumbered; 23rd May 1537, f. 456v; AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco Román Trujillo. 11th March 1535, f. 619v.).



in exchange for 30 golden ducats,¹¹⁴ while Catalina Pérez sold a property that she shared with her daughter in the district of El Salvador in exchange for 19,250 *maravedís*.¹¹⁵ Both amounts were paid cash.

4.1.2 Credit systems

The devout women decided to invest their capital by means of the purchase of rents not only in the city but also in the rural areas. Given that they were owners of properties, their real estate was mainly the object of these credit operations and also the guarantee in case of non-payment.

I have registered a total amount of 13 documents regarding perpetual annuity contracts linked to the economic activities of the devout women, in which their motive was purely capitalist, simply to obtain benefits and increase the capital they had been accumulating by means of these type of operations. The documented amounts are as follows, from lower to higher quantities: Constanza Guillén signed a perpetual annuity contract and lent 20,000 *maravedís* in exchange for 2,000 *maravedís* on an annual basis;¹¹⁶ Isabel Riquet lent 30,000 on her properties located next to the butcher's in San Miguel in exchange for 3,000 *maravedís*,¹¹⁷ and Luisa de Santana lent six golden ducats in exchange for 375 *maravedís* annual rate.¹¹⁸

Other documents do not show credit operations but the recognition of the obligation to pay back the loan to the devout woman. Ms. Inés de Hinojosa signed an agreement according to which someone acknowledged his obligations and committed to pay her 1,500 *maravedís* annually in exchange for her properties in the Francos street,¹¹⁹ 1,500 *maravedís* in exchange for her properties in San Miguel¹²⁰ and 500 *maravedís* for other properties in the same district.¹²¹ Similarly, it was acknowledged the payment to Francisca Bernal of a perpetual annuity regarding her properties in Cruz Vieja, which she had inherited upon her uncle's death.¹²²

The dates of payment of the perpetual annuity vary:¹²³ on Christmas Day,¹²⁴ half on Christmas Day and half on St. John's Eve,¹²⁵ on All Saint's Day,¹²⁶ three equal

114. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco de Sanabria. 6th April 1532, f. 179r.

115. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 13th August 1538, f. 682v.

116. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco de Sanabria. 28th September 1537, f. 811v.

117. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco de Sanabria. 15th May 1537, f. 370r.

118. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 12th August 1536, unnumbered.

119. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Cuenca. 13th April 1532, f. 123r.

120. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Cuenca. 5th May 1532, f. 161r.

121. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Cuenca. 5th September 1532, f. 344r.

122. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 24th August 1535, f. 735v.

123. Fontcuberta Díaz, Ángel. "El año litúrgico y los tiempos sagrados". *Toletana: cuestiones de teología e historia*, 29 (2013): 27-60.

124. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Cuenca. 5th September 1532, f. 344r.

125. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco de Sanabria. 28th September 1537, f. 811v.

126. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 24th August 1535, f. 735v.



parts on St. John's Eve, All Saint's Day and Carnival,¹²⁷ half on Michaelmas Day and half on Easter.¹²⁸

The annuity contract becomes a property which is subject to any kind of operation, like any other economic goods.¹²⁹ Therefore, I have frequently found the sale of the annuity amount that the borrower must pay to a third party, thus an exchange for the property ownership takes place. There were devout women who also sold their perpetual annuity contracts in exchange for full amounts in cash which led me to think that they were experiencing a period of need. For instance, Ms. Inés de Hinojosa sold her 500 *maravedís* of perpetual annuity on some properties located in San Miguel in exchange for 4,500 *maravedís*.¹³⁰ In a similar manner, Francisca Íñiguez la Naranja entitled her nephew to sell her 500 *maravedís* of perpetual annuity on her properties for the amount he considered appropriate to either the *Hospital y Cofradía de Nuestra Señora de la Encarnación* (Hospital and Brotherhood of Our Lady of Incarnation) or the *Cofradía de la Cera del Santísimo Sacramento* ("Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament").¹³¹ This same devout woman sold her 1,000 *maravedís* of perpetual annuity on her properties located in San Miguel in exchange for 11,000 *maravedís* to the operating fund of the church of El Salvador.¹³² Finally, Catalina de Fuentes was paid 6,000 *maravedís* for her 600 *maravedís* perpetual annuity on her real estate in San Mateos.¹³³

When they needed money at a specific time, the devout women also became involved in credit systems and thus they became borrowers of a loan that they had to pay for life and their properties —a payment guarantee.¹³⁴

Even though the devout women preferred living within urban areas, some owners from the rural areas turned to them to obtain money in exchange for perpetual annuity. I have also observed documents regarding the acknowledgement of obligation to pay the perpetual annuity to the devout woman. That was the case with Marina Trujillo de Vargas, who asked her perpetual annuity of 1,200 *maravedís* on five *aranzadas* of vineyards located in the land district of Arinala Vieja to be acknowledged.¹³⁵ Sisters Inés de Orvaneja and Catalina de Olando also set an example as they received the acknowledgement regarding an annual payment of 500 *maravedís* on two *aranzadas* of vineyards located in the district of Anorias,¹³⁶ as well as the payment of 780 *maravedís* on three *aranzadas* of vineyards and 60

127. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Cuenca. 5th May 1532, f.161r.

128. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 12th August 1536, unnumbered.

129. Ballester Martínez, Adolfo. "Los censos: concepto y naturaleza". *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie IV, Historia Moderna*, 18-19 (2005-2006): 35-50.

130. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco del Mercado. 7th May 1533, f. 342v.

131. She inherited 500 *maravedís* from her sister as part of a count of 3,000 *maravedís* (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 13th February 1535, f. 129v.).

132. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 10th May 1538, f. 566r.

133. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 1st October 1538, f. 875v.

134. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 10th July 1537, unnumbered.

135. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Francisco del Mercado. 30th January 1532, f. 87v.

136. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 18th November 1537, f. 845v.



*estadales*¹³⁷ located in the district of Cuatro Amorenas.¹³⁸ Inés also obtained the acknowledgement of another perpetual annuity of one golden ducat on two *aranzadas* of vineyards in the district of (by coincidence) Orvaneja.¹³⁹ On other occasions, it is the devout woman who acknowledges the payment; however, I cannot discern if it is a case of credit operation or property purchase with this burden. For instance, Isabel Sánchez committed to pay 750 *maravedís* at an annual rate on a span of fallow land that she owned in the district of Añina.¹⁴⁰

4.1.3 Commercial agent

Besides the exercise of their religious obligations, there were devout women who were also involved in commercial activities.¹⁴¹ They acted as intermediaries in businesses in which some level of expertise was required and was normally taken care of by men, like the cattle market,¹⁴² the trade of boots¹⁴³ or the sale of grape harvest.¹⁴⁴ These activities reveal how, while carrying out a religious lifestyle, these women came to know the local market and did not consider the level of specialization an obstacle. Instead, they became intermediaries to sell the most popular—and most lucrative—local products within trading situations in which the intervention of women used to be minimal.¹⁴⁵ They obtained the specialized knowledge they needed, contacted potential clients and negotiated the sale terms to receive as much profit as possible. For instance, Francisca Sánchez del Clavo participated in several

137. *Estadal*, plural *estadales*, measure of land, 1 *estadal* is equal to 3.334 m.

138. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 25th March 1538, f. 210v.

139. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Baltasar de Lueña. 8th December 1538, unnumbered.

140. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 23rd January 1538, f. 42r.

141. Aurell i Cardona, Jaume. "El universo mercantil bajomedieval: Una propuesta metodológica a través de la documentación notarial", *Aragón en la Edad Media: sociedades, culturas e ideologías en la España bajomedieval*, Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2000: 33-44. Navarro Espinach, Germán. "Los protagonistas del comercio: oficios e identidades sociales en la España bajomedieval", *El comercio en la Edad Media*, Logroño: Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 2006: 147-188.

142. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 25th June 1538, f. 521r.

143. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 14th July 1536, f. 446v.

144. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 3rd July 1532, f. 376v.

145. Researches about feeding in the Middle Ages: Azcona Domínguez, Margarita. "Fuentes documentales para la historia del vino de Jerez", *El vino de Jerez y otras bebidas espirituosas en la Historia de España y América*. Jerez de la Frontera: Ayuntamiento, 2004: 43-60; Block, John; Mossler, Kristen, eds. *Trade, Travel and Exploration in the Middle Ages*. New York: Routledge, 2000; Goicolea, Julián; Francisco Javier. "El vino en el mundo urbano riojano a finales de la Edad Media". *En la España Medieval*, 30 (2007): 217-244; Rodrigo Esteva, María Luz. "Beber vino en la Edad Media. Modos, significados y sociabilidades en el Reino de Aragón". *Patrimonio cultural de la vid y el vino*. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma Madrid, 2013: 141-159; Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. "Vino y fiscalidad en la Edad Media", *Actas del I Simposio de la Asociación Internacional de Historia y Civilización de la Vid y el Vino*. El Puerto de Santa María: Ayuntamiento del Puerto de Santa María, 2001: 403-420.



fields and knew about types, quality and prices of traded products, thus she became a commercial agent in the sale of a mule, wheat and oil.¹⁴⁶

4.1.4 Interest loan

Even though the interest loan was condemned by the Church,¹⁴⁷ I have found cases of devout women who carried out this practice. This fact turns out to be surprising and interesting as their choice of lifestyle would suggest strict following of Church rules.¹⁴⁸ I cannot establish the interest rate¹⁴⁹ as the documents only state, intentionally, the total of debit (10 golden ducats in one document¹⁵⁰ and 60 golden ducats in another¹⁵¹). I cannot confirm either if the powers that some of these women conferred to different solicitors to take care of the collection of that money was motivated by interest loans not cashed yet or by other matters,¹⁵² as the documents dealing with condemned practices are rather cryptic.

I also observed that sometimes they do not lend an amount in money but in kind. Even though the documents reveal absolutely nothing in this respect, we could expect this type of loan to have some benefit to the devout women, paid with the same product that was lent and including the interest rate in the total amount of debt. For instance, Ms. Inés de Villavicencio was owed two¹⁵³ and ten *cahíces* of wheat¹⁵⁴ by two different debtors and I assume that those amounts include the interest rate.

4.2 Family and social ties

The devout women, like any other members of society, kept solid relationships with their family members and other close associates, and these were ties they would have had to give up if they had chosen to join an Order and an enclosed

146. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 5th September 1538, f. 1016.

147. Rabinowitz, Jacob J. "Some Remarks on the Evasion of the Usury Laws in the Middle Ages". *The Harvard Theological Review*, 37 (1944): 49-59.

148. Hernando i Delgado, Josep. "De la usura al interés, crédito y ética en la Baja Edad Media". *Aragón en la Edad Media: sociedades, culturas e ideologías en la España Bajomedieval*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2000: 55-74.

149. Uruburu Colsa, Juan Manuel. "El contrato de préstamo en Madrid a fines de la Edad Media". *Revista jurídica de la comunidad de Madrid*, 18 (2004): 302.

150. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 6th March 1536, unnumbered.

151. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 5th August 1538, f. 643v.

152. Francisca Ferrández empowers Andrés García to collect any outstanding amount of money (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso de Cuenca. 25th June 1536, f. 218v.).

153. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 26th March 1538, f. 378r.

154. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 26th March 1538, f. 391v.



residence to live in.¹⁵⁵ These relationships were established in the same terms as in any other family in the Middle Ages or the 21st century, with the same affection and everyday clashes.

The last will and testaments¹⁵⁶ reveal the warm feelings of the deceased and some living members of the family would request services *pro remedio animae*¹⁵⁷ to help them reach glory and peace. These documents also present one special vocation the devout women could satisfy thanks to their choice of their particular religious lifestyle: motherhood.¹⁵⁸ The fact that they refused to live under male authority did not prevent them from mothering children.¹⁵⁹ Francisca Sánchez del Clavo set a perfect example as she adopted a one year-old child from the orphanage Hospital de la Sangre and raised him as his guardian. Since she became ill when the child was only eight years old, she wrote her last will and testament to guarantee a comfortable future for him. She left him eight golden ducats, two for each year of four of service she had provided, that someone she trusted would multiply until the child reached his marrying age. Besides, she was in charge of raising a girl to whom she left 11,000 *maravedís*, from which the above mentioned person would multiply 6,000. In her last will, she asked her nephews to take care of these children, who she loved as her own, and to teach them the Catholic faith upon her death. She also requested her children be dressed with black clothes, which only highlights the close relationship and affection among the devout woman and these children as this was a tradition that only close family members were supposed to keep upon someone's death.¹⁶⁰

This example contributed to the thesis which is underway in the new perception of medieval childhood based on the recent critical interest in the history of emotions. Against the idea claimed by Philippe Ariès "the idea of childhood didn't exist" during the Middle Ages,¹⁶¹ new studies are demonstrating that children were felt to be valuable and worthy of protection.¹⁶² His idea that childhood was discovered in the 18th century and that medieval children weren't important for

155. However, this was not always followed. Pérez González, Silvia María. *La mujer en la Sevilla de finales de la Edad Media: solteras, casadas y vírgenes consagradas*. Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2005: 190-191.

156. García Herrero, María del Carmen. "En torno a la muerte a finales de la Edad Media aragonesa". *En la España Medieval*, 29 (2006): 159-164.

157. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 5th September 1538, f. 1016r.

158. Cid López, Rosa María. *Maternidades: Representaciones y realidad social. Edades Antigua y Media*, Madrid: Al-Mudayna, 2010.

159. Wilkinson, Louise J., ed. *A cultural history of childhood and family in the middle ages*. Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014.

160. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 5th September 1538, f. 1016r.

161. Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*. New York: Vintage Books, 1962: 128.

162. Atkinson, Clarisa W. *The Oldest Vocation: Christian Motherhood in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 144-193; Classen, Albrecht, eds. *Childhood in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. The Results of a Paradigm Shift in the History of Mentality*. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005: 10-33; Parsons, John; Wheeler, Bonnie. *Medieval Mothering*. New York: Garland, 1999: 313-333.



their parents has been strongly criticized by medieval historians.¹⁶³ Francisca Sánchez del Clavo did it in this way.

Inspired and reassured by the devout women's lifestyle, some parents trusted them with the upbringing of their children when they did not have the means to achieve it. This was the case of Isabel de Cuenca, who raised a four-year old girl called Juana who served as her maid for 20 years. In exchange, Isabel taught her good manners and knowledge about religious matters and covered all her living expenses. Moreover, in return for her services, the devout woman would pay 7,000 *maravedís* to the girl as a dowry upon her marriage.¹⁶⁴ I do not know what happened 20 years after this agreement was written and signed, but either because of the devout woman's life style, the close relationship between them or a personal choice, Juana decided to carry out a life very similar to Isabel's.

However, the devout women's family relationships did not develop exclusively in their own homes but they expanded to other members. I would like to highlight their relationships with their nephews to whom they rewarded with gifts —like two *aranzadas* of vineyards in the district of Solete¹⁶⁵ or 2,500 *maravedís* of perpetual annuity to join the monastery of Santa María de Gracia¹⁶⁶— or with whom they kept long and tough disputes over inheritances.¹⁶⁷ They also filed lawsuits against their parents about legitimacy matters that even reached the Chancellery of Granada.¹⁶⁸

Finally, I would like to point out the close relationship that some devout women kept with different religious institutions in the city. A good example is set by the bond between Francisca Sánchez del Clavo and the monastery of Nuestra Señora de la Merced. She donated 300 *maravedís* from a perpetual annuity contract on some properties she owned;¹⁶⁹ the monastery lent her 60 golden ducats when she was in need, and her spiritual guide was Brother Francisco de Mendoza to whom she donated a canvas altarpiece from her house. Also, on her last will she requested the brothers of the monastery to be present in her funeral cortege, to be buried wearing their typical habit in the monastery, where would also take place the funeral service and the service *pro remedio animae*.¹⁷⁰ Given this close relationship between the devout woman and the monastery, I cannot help but wonder: why

163. Ward, Jennifer. *Women in medieval Europe 1200-1550*. New York: Routledge Publishing, 2016: 33-44.

164. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Antonio Juan Rodríguez. 19th August 1528, f. 639v.

165. Francisca Sánchez del Clavo to her nephew Juan Fernández (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 9th October 1538, f. 929v.).

166. Inés de Orvaneja to her Grand nephews María Márquez y Catalina Riquel (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Cuenca. 28th July 1533, unnumbered).

167. Juana Martínez empowered to collect the inheritance of 12,000 *maravedís* left by her uncle (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 29th April 1529, f. 575r.). Also, the dispute between Francisca Íñiguez "la naranja" with her two nephews over the inheritance of her sister Leonor García "la naranja" was long and arduous, and created several notarial deeds (AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. illegible date, f. 653v; 4th June 1538, f. 706v; 18th June 1538, unnumbered; 3rd August 1538, f. 901v; 27th October 1538, f. 1350r).

168. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 5th September 1538, f. 1016r.

169. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Rodrigo de Rus. 27th April 1538, f. 523v.

170. AMJF. Protocolos Notariales. Escribano Alonso Sarmiento. 5th September 1538, f. 1016r.



did she not join the Third Order of *Merced*? The answer, according to the facts registered in the documents, seems clear: their relationship was established in terms of equality, whereas if she had joined the Order, she would have had to live under the total authority of the institution.

5. Conclusions

The religious-lay lifestyle was certainly the best option for those women who decided to carry out their lives free from male interference and criticism and suspicion from the late medieval society, which believed an independent woman to be dangerous and an endless source of the worst sins.

The official documents I have studied break with some of the stereotypes traditionally associated with these women. At least the ones who broke their anonymity and established contractual relationships within public notaries' offices were not old, were not in desperate need and certainly did not live in poverty. Therefore, these women were not forced to have this religious lifestyle as their only choice for their 'sad existence'. On the contrary, they preferred to live freely outside of enclosed institutions and not relinquish their properties to join an Order. We should see them as an expression of lay spirituality that was intensively active during the late Middle Ages, driven by the new Christian religiosity and definitely not by socio-economic marginalization.

Furthermore, they adopted an integrated role within the late medieval society in which they searched for obtaining economic profits through several practices. Regarding the housing market, they were able to activate the means to be visible while they managed to negotiate rates and prices, looked for the best tenants, developed accountancy skills and supervised their properties within the city to guarantee they obtained wide profits. Such lucrative intentions led these women to choose short-term contracts in order to adjust the rent income to any potential increase of prices. This task required a big effort to exert control over their properties, the renewal of contracts or the termination of contracts, which required searching for new tenants and writing new contracts at the same time. All of the subjects of study showed skills and abilities developed enough to become active and visible agents in the housing market at the late Middle Ages in Jerez.

Their performance within the rural real estate market was similarly impressive. However, their activity in this field is far more limited in comparison with their activity in the urban area, perhaps due to the distance from their residence and the level of specialized knowledge that the countryside area requires.

Regarding the credit and loan field, they revealed an excellent management of the specific mechanisms of finance. These religious women constitute a great example of the new Andalusian society: prosperous and profit-driven. Owning capital significant enough to invest in credit systems, these women became



creditors who made sure they obtained a periodic amount in exchange for the borrowed capital. Since interest loans were condemned by Church, they disguised them as annual rent of properties and this turned out to be a very favorable means, and the one most exploited, to multiply their savings. The risk they took was low, since along with the automatic generation of interests, they counted on the mortgage on their properties, which acted as guarantee of payment and as compensation in case of non-payment. Therefore, we find a group of women whose mentality is clearly market-oriented as they invested their capital in financial mechanisms which allowed them to increase them while enduring low risks. Finally, I would like to emphasize the economic power these women enjoyed with the help of these types of practices.

In relation to their commercial activities, I must highlight again the ability of this group to join the most lucrative sectors of the trading life of the city they lived in. They acquired the specialized knowledge required and worked as commercial agents in the cattle business, which demanded high agility to negotiate the prices and obtain the highest benefits, and whose clients were mainly men. On the other hand, within the food industry they also took part in another emerging sector in Jerez, the wineries. They traded with the raw material as well as with the logistics needed to produce and transport it. Besides, they also focused on the trade of two basics foods, wheat and oil, which were two of the main products of the thriving economy of the Andalusian aristocracy. The religious women became visible as active commercial agents for these two products, they negotiated in enormous quantities and showed accurate knowledge of the sector while attracting the most sought clients.

Lastly, I have also aimed this paper to the study of the family ties of this group of women, which they could keep and care for thanks to their religious and yet lay lifestyle. The walled-in women, tertiaries and devout women forged bonds of affection but also confrontation that in some cases even reached the courts with their next of kin. Furthermore, their web of ties kept on widening with the inclusion of other members of society who joined their close sphere, such as the girls who joined the walled-in communities or, especially significant, the children they adopted from orphanages and raised as their own. These religious women gave up on conception, but not maternity, as I gathered from their loving intentions in their last wishes of their testaments.

We can also say these women turned their main opponent to their lifestyle, religion, into their best ally in the development of their options and individual freedom. They proposed alternative structures to the dominant hierarchies and established a new independent lifestyle from male sovereignty and church institutions. They organized themselves as a social group and reached economic, work and living autonomy.

However, from the second half of the 16th century, the life conditions drastically changed for the *mulieres religiosas*. The Council of Trent did not establish any specific rules over them, but gave the church hierarchies the power to define their authority over them and, thus, to control them. Through this, they restricted



all religious practices to take place only within convents or monasteries, which led to the almost total dissolution of the communities of women who practiced unregulated types of religious lives and put an end to the means for many women to function as a de facto independent group within society, included within the labor and economic spheres of life.



III PART

THE PAST EXPLAINED
AND RECREATED

STATE OF THE QUESTION AND NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE TREATMENT OF THE PATRIMONIAL HERITAGE OF AL-ANDALUS IN CATALONIA

JESÚS BRUFAL SUCARRAT
UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA
SPAIN

To Sonia

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ABSTRACT

Talking about cultural heritage means discussing the material and immaterial inheritance from the cultural past of a society, but from the present. In Europe, all too often, the heritage is managed on an economic and ideological basis in line with what sells (tourism) and what is written in the memory and ideology to reinforce the bases of the Nation-State. In the Middle Ages, Islam as a civilisation reached far beyond the Pyrenees, although for a relatively short period. However, it consolidated itself in a good part of the Iberian Peninsula for at least four centuries. From a critical point of view, and that of research, here the treatment the medieval Islamic heritage has received in Catalonia is dealt with, while also seeking space for debate to improve the understanding of this enormous cultural heritage that has too often been forgotten or has been mythified.

KEY WORDS

Heritage, Medieval Islam, Tourism, Historiography, Media.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Patrimonium, Islam Mediaevalis, Periegesis, Historiographia, Media.

1. Introduction

In Europe, historical legacy in the form of cultural heritage is an appreciated asset for the societies. A clear reflection of this is the generalisation of ministerial organisms or public and private entities managing cultural heritage within the governments of the European states and the European Union. Moreover, from the point of view of legislation, governments continue to regulate the interaction between society and heritage or between research and heritage. Thus, government action responds to the social concerns or the dynamics in the research centres.

Perhaps, if one particular reason has to be highlighted to understand the intervention in cultural heritage by the governments of European nation-states this would be none other than the consolidation and prolongation of the memory and ideology that comprise national identity. The founding myths are understood as the basic essence of social cohesion and inclusion, far beyond knowledge of the historical periods from a rigorous scientific point of view, which always should be neutral and exempt from ideology.

Furthermore, society values the heritage elements where they are found, in a specific territory or country. Whatever the perspective from which the material and immaterial heritage is perceived, it is worth mentioning that European societies have a tradition of critical knowledge about this question and thus, the constant preservation and projection of their own cultural heritage. At the same time, this valuable inheritance is being opened up to the general public through cultural tourism, which all too often dresses up emblematic sites to attract visitors drawn by the scenarios rather than the historical or artistic contents.¹ To a certain extent, this affects the patrimonial policies, the investments behind these and especially which heritage sites receive optimal treatment and which do not. The perspective for analysis is very broad, so here I only focus on the patrimonial inheritance of al-Andalus in a specific territory, Catalonia.

2. The medieval Islamic heritage in Catalonia

From the Islamic conquest of the north-eastern territories of the dismembered Visigoth kingdom between 713 and 714 until the fall of the Islamic territories in the districts of Tortosa and Lleida in 1148 and 1149, Andalusian society forged an extensive and heterogeneous cultural heritage. This, stratified as the society that was building it gradually consolidated or changed, gives us the figure of no less than four and a half centuries during which the territory now known as Catalonia was Islamic. As an example, in the case in Islamic fortresses, like the tower of Ràpita (Vallfogona de Balaguer, Lleida), nowadays we note that reforms continuous were

1. Sabaté, Flocel. "El patrimoni històric afaïçonat sota el criteri econòmic", *El gran valor de les lletres i les humanitats. Homenatge al Dr. Frederic Vilà i Tornos*, Ximo Company, Isidro Puig, Cristina Mongay, Sandro Machetti, eds. Lleida: Edicions i Publicacions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2015: 269-275.



carried out by the same Andalusian society to strengthen the walls. This allows us to affirm that according to the historical context, those walls received the treatment that the society asked for, and that the technology enabled its life and usefulness to be extended.

Undoubtedly, in the Islamic districts of Lleida and Tortosa, everyday life generated an immense quantity of heritage elements, many of which are clearly visible in the archaeological sites. One can highlight the 'Pla d'Almatà Archaeological Park' in Balaguer for the exceptional quality of the material identified. There are various archaeological sites with clearly Islamic artefacts on the surface and in the underlying strata, clearly showing how intensely this territory was settled. At the same time, the landscape also shows the effects of Andalusian culture, mainly in those areas that were on the frontier with Christian-held territories. In the Islamic areas where an intense occupation and exploitation of the lands is identified, as in the case of the so-called Pla del Mascançà,² or in the Tortosa area,³ the landscape still registers this in such notable aspects as the extent of the irrigation network or the layout of the rural hamlets.⁴ Meanwhile, in the frontier area of Aspres (Islamic district of Lleida), the toponymy appears devoid of Arabic names⁵ and both defensive and productive infrastructures.

Thus, as a summary, in our times, we can corroborate the existence of a valuable patrimonial legacy of Islam in the Middle Ages but these tangible and intangible elements are also not very perceptible. Below, a series of casuistics are broken down into sub-sections that can explain the difficulty for visualising the Islamic legacy of al-Andalus in Catalonia.

2.1 The historiographic tradition of medievalism

Various medievalist researchers have published studies about the treatment of the Islamic period in present-day Catalonia.⁶ The excellence of these works shows the notable interest in the current historiography for demystifying myths

2. Modern Pla de Lleida.

3. Negre, Joan. "Poblamiento rural en el distrito islámico de Turtūša: resultados de las campañas de prospección arqueológica en las 'Terres de l'Ebre' (2010-2011)," *Arqueologia Medieval. La Ciutat*, Flocel Sabaté, Jesús Brufal, eds. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2014: 277-298.

4. Brufal, Jesús. *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica (s. XI-XII). Lleida i l'est del districte: Castellans i el Pla del Mascançà*. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2013.

5. Corsà, Jesús. "Toponímia de Tartareu". *Societat d'Onomàstica: butlletí interior*, 119 (2010): 233-246.

6. Sabaté, Flocel. "Frontera speninsular e identidad (siglos IX-XII)", *Las Cinco Villas aragoneses en la Europa de los siglos XII y XIII*, Esteban Sarasa, ed. Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Excelentísima Diputación de Zaragoza, 2007: 47-94. Sabaté, Flocel. *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII): Conquesta o repoblació?* Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 1996: 9-64. García Sanjuan, Alejandro. *La conquista islàmica de la península Ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2013: 27-244. Fierro, Maribel. "Al-Andalus en el pensamiento fascista. La 'revolución islàmica en Occidente' de Ignacio Olagüe", *Al-Andalus/España. Historiografías en contraste, siglos XVII-XXI*, Manuela Marín, ed. Madrid: 2009: 325-349. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2000: 8, 57-67.



and proposing analyses based on scientific methodology to clarify and propose new historical interpretations that shun religious and nationalist ideologies.⁷ So, the lines of research they are developing are fed by new methodological tools⁸ and historiographic currents⁹ that clearly bring the researcher closer to a greater knowledge of the Islamic period in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula and specifically, modern-day Catalonia.

Historically, Catalan medievalism has dedicated greater efforts to research into the late medieval period in detriment to the early medieval era. Specifically, if we take the geographic area of that study as a reference, we can see that the research in the Late Middle Ages mainly focuses on the so-called *Catalunya Vella* ("Old Catalonia"), while the *Catalunya Nova* ('New Catalonia') is studied as a conquest that was consolidated well into the twelfth century.¹⁰ Thus, the lands of the centre-west and south-west of Catalonia is known through and with the process of conquest, while the internal idiosyncrasies of the Andalusian society were ignored until well into the twentieth century.¹¹

For modern and contemporary authors, al-Andalus generated an interest mostly for claims for national and religious roots, highlighting the classical and traditional aspects of identity. The medieval *Reconquista* ('Reconquest') is the backbone that structures a Spain identified with its own system of values and with a specific mission

7. Sabaté, Flocel. "El Nacimiento de Cataluña. Mito y realidad", *Fundamentos medievales de los particularismos hispánicos*. Ávila: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2005: 223-276.

8. Brufal, Jesús. "El reto de la Historia, integrar la tecnología", *Historia y videojuegos: el impacto de los Nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*, Juan Francisco Jiménez, Íñigo Mugueta, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Campobell, 2016: 123-134.

9. Aurell, Jaume; Balmaceda, Catalina; Burke, Peter; Soza, Felipe, eds. *Comprender el pasado. Una historia de la escritura y el pensamiento histórico*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2013: 237-329.

10. Sabaté, Flocel. *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII)*...

11. We highlight some of the main research carried out on Catalan territories: Curto, Albert; Lorient, Ana; Martínez, Charo; Rosa, Elisa. "Excavacions al Castell de La Suda de Tortosa", *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 1 (1984): 141-145; Curto, Albert. "Els nivells islàmics en l'excavació en la Plaça de Ntra. Sra. De la Cinta o de l'Oliviera de la ciutat de Tortosa (Tarragona)", *I Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*. Saragossa: Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 1985-1986: III, 99-112. Balañà, Pere. "Els musulmans a Catalunya (713-1153). Una aproximació bibliogràfica", *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes. Suplementos bibliográficos*, 3 (1986): 287-288; Barceló, Miquel. "Aigua i assentaments andalusins entre Xerta i Amposta (s. VIII-XII)", *II Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*. Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987: 411-420. Barceló, Miquel. "La invasió àrabo-musulmana a Catalunya". *L'Avenç*, 117 (1988): 14-17; Sénac, Philippe. "Notes sur les Husūn de Lérida". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velazquez*, 24 (1988): 53-69; Lorient, Ana. *L'horitzó andalusí de l'antic Portal de Magdalena*. Lleida: Ajuntament de Lleida, 1990; Balañà, Pere. *Els noms de lloc de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Editorial Millà, 1991; Barceló, Miquel; Kirchner, Helena; Martí, Ramon; Torres, Josep Maria. "L'hisn dels Madyuna (Mediona, Alt Penedès): la qüestió dels assentaments berbers a Catalunya", *Catalunya i França Meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil. Actes del Col·loqui Internacional Hug Capet*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1991: 283; Giralt, Josep. "Fortificacions andalusines a la marca superior d'Al-Andalus: aproximació a l'estudi de la zona nord del districte de Lleida", *La Marche Supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident Chrétien*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1991: 67-74; Barceló, Miquel. "Els establiments àrabs i berbers de l'Alt Penedès i els seus noms", *Catalunya Romànica*. Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1992: XIX, 26.

in history.¹² This axis was shared by nineteenth-century intellectuals and politicians as it granted internal cohesion and justified the existence of a prior reality, the idea that before the arrival of Islam, identity national had been forged in the resistance of Sagunto and Numancia to the Roman invader.¹³ Authors like José Álvarez Junco focused their attention on the 'Reconquest' and exalted the main characteristics of the Spanish as a nation when he emphasised the *esencia guerrera y religiosa del pueblo español*.¹⁴ Similarly, in Charlemagne, Catalonia found its own path to identity. Thus, Víctor Balaguer identified Otger Cathaló as the *Pelayo Catalán* and interpreted that Manresa was the *Covadonga Catalana*.¹⁵ For historians of the modern epoch until the nineteenth century, the legend of Otger Cathaló completes the heroic view of the first Catalans, who had to fight ferociously against the Muslims,¹⁶ and at the same time, prepared the arrival of Charlemagne, which is explained as a release.¹⁷ From a geographic point of view, the birth of the Catalan nation is identified with Pyrenean and pre-Pyrenean areas, where the population took refuge fleeing from Islamic domination. These allodial peasants gradually settled the area towards the frontier with al-Andalus.¹⁸

Despite the publication of the first works on Islam in the Iberian Peninsula by Codera¹⁹ and Dozy,²⁰ the truth is that there were no incentives to study the subject, and the historiography continued to repeat the stereotypes with little contrast. That happened in the twentieth century, on one hand omitting the history of al-Andalus and on the other, continuing with the stereotypes of the recovery of Catalan territory usurped by the Muslims, in other words, the 'Reconquest'.²¹ These approaches fitted into and facilitated links with the different elements of the national history.²² In that context, Josep Maria Millàs i Vallicrosa²³ was the reference in the research

12. García Carcel, Ricardo. "La manipulación de la memoria histórica en el nacionalismo español", *Manuscripts*, 12 (1994): 180-181.

13. Fox, Inman. *La invención de España. Nacionalismo liberal e identidad nacional*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1997: 40.

14. "warrior and religious essence of the Spanish people." Álvarez Junco, José. *Mater dolorosa. La idea de España en el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Taurus, 2001: 218.

15. Balaguer, Víctor. *Historia de Cataluña y de la Corona de Aragón*. Barcelona: Librería de Salvador Manero, 1860: 1, 108-407.

16. Riu-Barrera, Eduard. "Els orígens de Catalunya, de la historiografia feudal al medievalisme noucentista. A propòsit de l'obra de Miquel Coll i Alentorn", *El Contemporani*, 4 (1994): 4.

17. Zimmermann, Michel. "Les goths et l'influence gothique dans l'empire carolingien", *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*, 23 (1992): 33-36.

18. Bofarull, Antoni. *Historia crítica civil y eclesiástica de Cataluña*. Barcelona: Biblioteca Clàssica Catalana, 1906: 178.

19. Codera, Francisco. "Límites probables de la conquista árabe en la cordillera pirenaica", *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 48 (1906): 289-311.

20. Dozy, Reinhart. *Historia de los musulmanes de España hasta la conquista de los almorávides*. Madrid-Barcelona: Calpe, 1920-1934.

21. Serra Vilaró, Joan. "Origen d'algunes localitats catalanes", *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, IV (1910): 4.

22. Vicens Vives, Jaume. *Notícia de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 1982; Rovira i Virgili, Antoni. *Història de Catalunya*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopèdia Vasca, 1972-1984.

23. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. "Els textos d'historiadors musulmans referents a la Catalunya carolíngia", *Quaderns d'Estudi*, 14 (1922): 125-161.



and study of the Arab documentation in the Lleida and Tortosa lands. Later, his research marked the trajectory of Catalan Arabist researchers like Dolors Bramon. Almost a contemporary of Millàs i Vallicrosa, Évariste Lévi Provençal²⁴ and his work are references in the research into western Islam in the Middle Ages. His evolutionist interpretation of Andalusian central power in Cordoba and his detailed examinations of the Umayyad family stand out. However, this panorama did not cover all the territories of the frontiers, especially that of the Upper Frontier.

In Catalan Medievalism, with his studies into the phenomenon of expansion, Ramon d'Abadal permits the traditional view to be assumed and reoriented.²⁵ He explained that the Pyrenees full of people would be the base from which the counts pushed the population towards the frontier with al-Andalus. These settlers occupied and exploited the unpopulated frontier territories, as these progressively advanced to the south. This idea displaced the 'Reconquest' and introduced a new one of *Repoblació* ('Repopulation'), as military attacks were only focussed on the cities and key Islamic positions. This interpretation of repopulation culminated with Pierre Bonnassie who explained that the population of the Pyrenees moved for socio-economic reasons, thus reducing the impact of the actions of the counts.²⁶

However, the emptiness of the frontier areas was placed in doubt through specific studies of the Vall de Lord²⁷ and Sant Joan de les Abadesses.²⁸ In a more global outlook, Salrach proposed seeing the phenomenon of the occupation of the space as a slow process, where, on one hand, he saw the appropriation of agricultural land as an economic process,²⁹ and, on the other, the feudal dynamic as leading to an inherent expansionism towards Andalusian society. So, this view did not envisage 'Repopulation' but tended towards the point of view of conquest military but without considering the myths of the heroic deeds of the past.

At the same time as medievalist research advanced towards new ways of interpretation, Andalusian historiography adopts new and renovating approaches. From his multidisciplinary training, Pierre Guichard³⁰ approached the study of al-Andalus from an anthropological, historical and archaeological perspective. In fact, the territory in all its complexity was the subject of his study to understand Andalusian society. His studies focused on the Levantine area led him to claim a

24. Lévi-Provençal, Évariste. *L'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle: institutions et vie sociale*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 1950.

25. D'Abadal, Ramon. *Els primers comtes catalans*. Barcelona: Editorial Vicens Vives, 1983.

26. Bonnassie, Pierre. *Catalunya mil anys enrera (segles X-XI)*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1979.

27. Benet, Albert. "El Solsonès. Marc històric", *Catalunya Romànica*. XIII. *El Solsonès i la Vall d'Aran*. Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1987: 24-31.

28. Feliu, Gaspar. "Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Algunes precisions sobre l'acta judicial del 913 i el poblament de la Vall", *Homenatge a la memòria del prof. Dr. Emilio Sáez. Aplec d'estudis dels seus deixebles i col·laboradors*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989: 421-434.

29. Salrach, Josep Maria. "Repoblament i colonització agrària a l'alta edat mitjana", *Cuadernos de historia económica de Cataluña*, 19 (1978): 17-28.

30. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1998.



notable role for the rural communities, many of them organised from clan groups. To some extent, Guichard proposed a regionalist history of al-Andalus, which would clash with Lévi-Provençal's centralising view. The growth of studies into al-Andalus gaining strength as the last quarter of the twentieth century approached. Miquel Barceló³¹ delved into the study of Andalusian society, especially, from the analysis of the hydraulics in the rural communities. However, despite the rise of Andalusian historiography all over Spain, Catalonia had to wait until the 1990s for the first research that presented an overview of Islam in the Lleida and Tortosa areas.³² The knowledge about al-Andalus was consolidated later with the research by Dolors Bramon into the Arab documentation, which continued on from the work of Millàs i Vallicrosa.³³ Indeed, in that context of the end of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first, the bibliographic output resulting from research with a territorial scope was important,

We can highlight the studies by Giralt in Balaguer area³⁴; the researches about *almunies* by Eritja³⁵; the work on Islamic Tortosa by Esco³⁶; or the innovations around the agrarian and hydraulic landscape in Andalusian Tortosa by Kirchner and Virgili³⁷. Similarly we must add the studies about the rural communities in the Tortosa region by Negre³⁸, the city of Lleida by Lorient³⁹, and the landscape of the ancient district of Lleida by Brufal⁴⁰, as well as the researches around Balaguer by Monjo⁴¹.

The research undertaken by the archaeological methodology coexists with editions and studies of the Arab documentation. Altogether, this contributes a successful bibliographic production that shows us the Andalusian society, economy and identity in both Lleida and Tortosa. Meanwhile, the studies into the expansion of the county society into Andalusian territories have adopted a new framework of

31. Barceló, Miquel. "El diseño de espacios irrigados en al-Andalus: un enunciado de principios generales", *El agua en zonas áridas: Arqueología e Historia*, Lorenzo Cara, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1989: 15-47.

32. Balañà, Pere. *Els musulmans a Catalunya (713-1153)*. Sabadell: AUSA, 1993.

33. Bramon, Dolors. *De quan érem o no musulmans. Textos del 713 al 1010*. Barcelona: Eumo Editorial, 2000.

34. Giralt, Josep. "Fortificacions andalusines a la marca superior d'Al-Andalus: aproximació a l'estudi de la zona nord del districte de Lleida", *La Marche Supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1991: 67-74.

35. Eritja, Xavier. *De l'almúnia a la turris organització de l'espai a la regió de Lleida (segles XI i XII)*. Lleida: Edicions i Publicacions de la Universitat de Lleida, 1998.

36. Esco, Carlos; Giralt, Josep; Sénac, Philippe. *Arqueología Islámica en la Marca Superior de Al-Andalus*. Osca: Diputación de Huesca, 1988.

37. Kirchner, Helena; Virgili, Antoni; Antolín, Ferran. "Un espacio de cultivo urbano en al-Ándalus: Madīna Turṭūša (Tortosa) antes de 1148". *Història Agrària*, 62 (2014): 11-45.

38. Negre, Joan. *De Tortosa a Turṭūša: L'extrem oriental d'al-Tagr al-A'là en el context del procés d'islamització d'al-Andalus*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (PhD Dissertation), 2013.

39. Lorient, Ana. "La vaixella andalusina de la primera meitat del segle X apareguda a la ciutat de Lleida". *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent*, 10 (2000): 293-325.

40. Brufal, Jesús. *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica (s. XI-XII)...*

41. Monjo, Marta. "El naixement de madina Balaguer: el Pla d'Almatà (segles VIII-XII)", *Catàleg de la col·lecció de materials andalusins del Museu de la Noguera*, Carme Alòs, Eva Solanes, eds. Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera, 2010: 21-29.



interpretation, namely the frontier. The concepts of ‘Reconquest’ and ‘Repopulation’ have been outstripped by significant progress in the analysis of the sources, in their diversity, and by the holistic and hermeneutic view. In this sense, Flocel Sabaté⁴² explains the expansive phenomenon of county space in a careful periodisation that begins in the ninth century and goes through to the twelfth. This broad new focus extends the view towards global history, embracing economic, military, fiscal, religious and political history for both the county and Andalusian aspects. So, it seems that the medievalist historiography has assimilated the Andalusian, while approaching shared ways of interpreting the same phenomenon.⁴³

Although the evolution of historiographic studies on the treatment of the expansion of the counties into Islamic territory and on al-Andalus has been synthesised, it is worth mentioning that the ideological weight of a given inherited historiographic tradition means that the recurrent theme of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula has provoked a lot of controversy in both Catalan and Spanish society in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In 2008, the archbishop of Valencia wrote *el cristianismo, la fe católica —se profese o no por las personas y se quiera o no— constituye el alma de España*.⁴⁴ Indeed, this statement is no accidental pronouncement if we take it into context, given that during the second term of José Luís Zapatero (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español* “Spanish Socialist Workers’ Party”), the conservative side of Spanish society feared the loss of identity as a nation, so they went back to the roots of what they consider the origin of the essence of Spain, one that clearly show the theoretical basis of what it is to be Spanish, where the Catholic faith is the pillar, while avoiding explaining the historical influences of other religions like Islam. In the same conservative line, but from his position as ex-leader of the Spanish government, José María Aznar (*Partido Popular* “Peoples’ Party”) gave a speech in 2004 about Islamist terrorism in Georgetown University. He explained that the problem of terrorism in Spain did not start with the Iraq war or al-Qaeda but rather dates back to the Middle Ages, from 711 with the Islamic conquest of the Visigoth Kingdom, or as he called it, the invasion of Spain by the ‘*moros*’.⁴⁵ This terminology responds to the negationist and catastrophist discourse of history, where, ignoring the historical sources, an important phase in the history of Western Europe is intentionally interpreted from a present-day outlook. It explains the present from the past and moreover, with a marked ideological bias. The media close to these conservative theses publish articles that are aligned with the discourse of Spanish identity. Thus, in 2011, Pedro Fernández Barbadillo stated, *cuando los árabes*

42. Sabaté, Flocel. *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII)*. ...; Sabaté, Flocel. *El territori de la Catalunya medieval. Percepció de l'espai i divisió territorial al llarg de l'Edat Mitjana*. Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives i Casajuana, 1997.

43. Sénac, Philippe. *La frontière et les hommes (VIIIe-XIIIe siècles). Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Ebre et les débuts de la reconquête aragonaise*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2000.

44. “Christianity, the Catholic faith —whether professed by the people or not and whether one likes it or not— constitutes the soul of Spain.” Cañizares Llovera, Antonio. *El esplendor visigótico, momento clave en la edificación de España y para su futuro*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2008: 44.

45. See from the second 45 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Zt5h_wbaP4> (Consulted 15th November 2015).



*irrumpieron en España ya existía un país independiente y unas personas que se llamaban a sí mismas españolas.*⁴⁶ Recently, once again Cardinal Cañizares, in an ‘informative breakfast’ entered into the debate about the relation between immigration, basically Syrian, and the loss of the traditional values of Europe, based on Christianity.⁴⁷ The immigration of Syrians, which Cañizares called ‘the invasion’, equivalent to the events of 711, was at the same time interpreted as a dangerous entry of infidels into Christian territory with the obscure aim of invading us. Indeed, once again, the theories based on national-Catholicism impregnate the public debate ignoring the objective facts being studied nowadays by university or liberal experts.

The opposite end of the postulates we have presented arose in the 1980s with a ‘bonist’ or romantic view of medieval Islam in the Iberian Peninsula.⁴⁸ From an ideological point of view, these perceptions are found in both progressive segments and in Andalusian nationalism. The latter see in,

*la civilización andalusí la máxima culminación histórica del ‘pueblo andaluz’. Más recientemente se prolonga como manifestación de una pretendida historia ‘antisistema’, que adopta una pose postmoderna de cuestionamiento de las verdades de la historiografía ‘oficial’, siempre adicta al poder y justificadora de sus manipulaciones.*⁴⁹

The romantic theses about al-Andalus and the Andalusian or Islamic society have gone much further and still have more impact. On one hand, the thesis of the “Muslim Spain” an invented formulation and one that is contradictory in itself that shows the way of doing history at a determined moment. The need to differentiate between the Andalusians and Maghrebians lies behind these postulates, portraying the former as living in an enlightened society of poets and while the latter came from a barbarous place full of dangers.

The romantic ideas did not end there but became accentuated from the Spanish Transition and the marked desire among certain historians and ideological sectors to break away from the official history of the destiny of Spain that had been explained until then. Specifically, the consolidation of the autonomous communities led to the recovery of their own identity traits, and al-Andalus found its place in this project.

46. “when the Arabs burst into Spain, there was already an independent country and people who called themselves Spaniards.” García Sanjuan, Alejandro. *La conquista islámica de la península Ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2013: 52.

47. Levante. El mercantil valenciano. “Cañizares: ‘¿Esta invasión de inmigrantes y de refugiados es del todo trigo limpio?’”. 14 October 2015. 15 June 2016 <<http://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2015/10/14/canizares-invasion-emigrantes-refugiados-trigo/1327304.html>>.

48. Menocal, Maria Rosa. “Al-Andalus and 1492: The ways of remembering”, *Islamic Civilization in Medieval Spain*. Leiden: Brill, 1992: 483-504; Menocal, Maria Rosa. *Culture in the time of tolerance: al-Andalus as a model for our own time*. New Heaven: Yale Law School, 2000; Menocal, Maria Rosa. “The dialogue of cultures in Medieval Spain”, *Le Dialogue des Cultures: est-il possible?*. Rabat: Académie du Royaume de Maroc, 2005: 329-333.

49. “The Andalusian civilisation the maximum historical culmination of the ‘Andalusian people’. More recently it was prolonged as a manifestation of a supposed ‘anti-system’ History, that adopted a post-modern pose of questioning the truths of the ‘official’ historiography, always addicted to power and justifying its manipulations.” García Sanjuan, Alejandro. *La conquista islámica ...* : 24.



Thus, a discourse was generated where the image of al-Andalus was linked to that of an Islamic society where tolerance and coexistence between the three cultures was possible as the result of mutual understanding that was violently eliminated by the Christian conquerors.⁵⁰

Moreover, and in line with Manuela Marín, as a derivation of the idea of tolerance, the virtues of Andalusian life were exalted, comparing them with the Andalusian *arte de vivir* ("art of living").⁵¹ These are related to very varied aspects of everyday life, emphasising the *goces sensuales, el gusto por los perfumes, los jardines, la buena mesa, la música y las belles mujeres*.⁵² However, the myths about Andalusian society should be qualified from the historical analysis by showing up the fallacies from which these are sustained.⁵³

*La 'tolerancia' es una idea relativamente reciente y ajena a los andalusíes (y a cualquier otra colectividad anterior a la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos), o que la única cultura con caracteres dignos de ser considerada como tal, en al-Ándalus, fue la árabe-islámica. Es cierto que las minorías judías y cristianas gozaron en al-Ándalus de un estatuto de "protección" infinitamente mejor que el de los judíos en la Europa medieval, que hubo familias de religión mixta y que los emires musulmanes tuvieron a su servicio administradores y médicos judíos y cristianos. También es cierto que los episodios de persecución a estas minorías religiosas fueron contadísimos en la historia de al-Ándalus, aunque existieron y en algún caso, como en el progromo de Granada del siglo XI, con un número elevado de víctimas. Todo ello no implica, sin embargo, que existiera lo que hoy se califica admirativamente de convivencia modélica.*⁵⁴

However, the myths about the Islamic conquest, the process of Christian conquest, and Andalusian social dynamics persist. Perhaps one should ask why this type of myth survives and we would find the response in a partial ideology or xenophobic and racist groups. In fact, the practice of understanding the past from an idea of the present is taking body and form all over Europe, as Flocel Sabaté shows referring to the presence of the Middle Ages in the current linguistic discourse:

50. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2000: 62.

51. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes...*: 63.

52. "sensual pleasures, the taste for perfumes, gardens, good food and drink, music and beautiful women." Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes...*: 63-64.

53. Fernández-Morera, Darío. *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise. Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic rule in Medieval Spain*. Wilmington: ISI Books, 2016.

54. "Tolerance' is a relatively recent idea and one alien to the Andalusians (and any other group prior to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), or that the only culture with characters worthy of being considered as such in al-Andalus was the Arab-Islamic. It is true that the Jewish and Christian minorities in al-Andalus enjoyed a statute of "protection" infinitely better than that of the Jews in medieval Europe, that there were families of mixed religion and that the Muslim emirs had Jewish and Christian administrators and doctors in their service. It is also true that there were very few episodes of persecution of these religious minorities in the history of al-Andalus, although they existed and in some cases, as in the pogrom in Granada in the eleventh century, with a high number of victims. All this does not, however, imply that there was what would be qualified admirably nowadays as a modelic coexistence". Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes...*: 64-65.



*L'Edat Mitjana és molt present a la societat actual. A penes és a l'escola. Viu, en canvi, en l'ambient: apareix en passar les pàgines del diari, en cercar les ofertes per a l'oci de cap de setmana familiar, en tota mena de discursos, a favor del progrés o del retrobament de la identitat maltractada, en propostes per encertar l'estructuració adient per al món actual. És una mena de fenomen atemporal que no deixa de ser una invocació històrica incrustada en el present i, potser, pretenent condicionar el futur.*⁵⁵

Indeed, it is in education where we find the main transmitter of certain stereotypes and myths⁵⁶ about Islam in the Middle Ages. Flocel Sabaté warned about this when he referred to *generaciones de españoles se han formado bajo una omnipresente Reconquista*.⁵⁷ He was referring to schooling in the times of Franco's dictatorship, which gathered all the myths and stereotypes about the expansion of Christian kingdoms and counties into Andalusian territory. The footprint of this national history where the myths and ideological misrepresentations of the past have an important weight is also reflected in schools in democratic times. Probably the result of the necessity to justify the nature and existence of the autonomous communities, each thought up its own educational curriculum in history. In the case of Catalonia, stereotypes about the Late Middle Ages still survive: they emphasise the overvaluation of the Battle of Covadonga, following with the mythical 'Reconquest' of the territory of the old Visigoth Kingdom, and manifest the Christian essence.⁵⁸ In the end, it is clearly deduced that behind the national formation of Catalonia there is the conquest by force of a usurped territory and that the moral and spirit is Christian. At the same time, these stereotypes coexist with those of the romantic view of Islam. The food, art, the mosque and irrigation networks are the most recurrent themes when explaining al-Andalus.

Indeed, the task and responsibility of historians is enormous when it comes to studying and explaining episodes from history where the historical sources are not abundant. If, on top of that, we add a deep trajectory of historical interpretation, the work of the historian is significantly increased. Undoubtedly, we must continue to study the late medieval frontier, understand it from all the points of view that made

55. "The Middle Ages are very present in current society. It hardly is so in the school. In contrast, it lives in the environment: it appears when turning the pages of the newspaper, in looking at options for leisure activities for the family weekend, in all kinds of discourses, in favour of progress or the reencounter of the mistreated identity, in proposals to ascertain the structure suitable for the modern world. It is a kind of atemporal phenomenon that is a historical invocation encrusted in the present and, perhaps, aiming to condition the future." Sabaté, Flocel. "Medievalismes actuals", *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*. Catarroja: Editorial Afers, 2012: 283-305.

56. Luque, Alberto. "La historia medieval a les escoles: una visió deformada?". *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Catarroja: Editorial Afers, 2012: 243-258.

57. "generations of Spaniards have been educated under an omnipresent Reconquest". Sabaté, Flocel. "Frontera peninsular e identidad (siglos IX-XII)", *Las Cinco Villas aragoneses en la Europa de los siglos XII y XIII*, Esteban Sarasa, ed. Saragossa: Institución "Fernando el Católico" (CSIC)-Excelentísima Diputación de Zaragoza, 2007: 54.

58. García, Margarita; Gatell, Cristina; Llorens, Montserrat; Ortega, Rosa; Pons, Josep; Roig, Joan; Viver, Carles. *Marca 2. Ciències Socials, Geografia i Història*. Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 2006.



it up and especially without arbitrarily excluding any of the elements, and even less, one that is as important as Andalusian society.

2.3 A weak sensitivity about preserving the medieval Islamic heritage. Where do we come from?

The academic and intellectual world has placed the valuation and protection of the cultural heritage on the table, especially that which refers to history and art. The above point is a good example, given that, as we have noted, as mechanisms were sought for interpreting national identity, both Spanish and Catalan, the various elements of the heritage were among the main supporting arguments. To ensure the preservation of the heritage, the *Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes* i la *Dirección General de Bellas Artes* ("Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts and the General Office of Fine Arts") were created in 1900. From then until 1933, the legal bases to protect, preserve, value and regulate Spanish and Catalan cultural heritage were established. Although the law of *Ley Relativa al Patrimonio Artístico Nacional de 13 de mayo de 1933* ("National Heritage of May 13th 1933")⁵⁹ englobed the legislation from 1901⁶⁰ until then, we must go back to the *Decreto de 22 de mayo de 1931* ("Decree of May 22nd 1931")⁶¹ to see the vanguard that prepared the law of 1933. For the first time, this *Decree* contained a listing of properties and artistic, archaeological or historical objects and was designed to avoid the plunder and export of cultural heritage. On this legislative basis, in 1932, work started on what was the first great law on historical heritage in Spain.⁶² After almost a year of preparation, the law was passed and published in May 1933. This law covered the following aspects: the contents and the notion of *Inventario del Patrimonio Histórico-Artístico Nacional* ("Inventory of the National Historical-Artistic Heritage"), the administrative organisation for the protection of patrimonial assets, assigning the police the task of pursuing offences involving the historical heritage, the legal status of the assets,

59. "Ley Relativa al Patrimonio Artístico Nacional". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 25 May 1933: CXLV, 1393-1399 <<http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1933/145/A01393-01399.pdf>> (Consulted 26th October 2016).

60. The Royal Decree of October 18th 1901 approved the regulations for the State Public Libraries. "Reglamento para el Régimen y Servicio de las Bibliotecas Públicas del Estado". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 22 October 1901: CCXCV, 359-360 <<http://boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1901/295/A00359-00371.pdf>> (Consulted 26th October 2016).

61. Alcalá-Zamora, Niceto. "Decretos". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 23 May 1931: CXLIII, 880-881. <<http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1931/143/A00880-00881.pdf>> (Consulted 26th October 2016). From this *Decreto*, we wish to highlight the recognition given in the introduction that all citizens have *pleno derecho al disfrute de las obras de arte y de cultura; derecho que se funda, no solo en el origen e historia e inmuebles y objetos, sino en que su guarda y conservación ha sido y es carga de España* (full right to enjoy the works of art and culture bequeathed by the past; a right based, not only on the origin and history and properties and objects, but also that their protection and preservation has been and is a commitment of Spain).

62. García Fernández, Javier. "La regulación y la gestión del Patrimonio Histórico-Artístico durante la Segunda República (1931-1939)", *Revista electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico*, 1 (2007): 12-14. <<http://www.revistadepatrimonio.es/revistas/numero1/legislacion/estudios/articulo.php>> (Consulted 25th October 2016).



the role of the curators of monuments and the creation of a census of endangered buildings. In international law, it regulated the control of fraudulent exports of heritage. It also included measures to encourage public museums, the new regime for assets that was based on the prohibition of their cession when they were the property of the Administration or the Church, and norms about the *Inventory of the National Historical-Artistic Heritage*.

In this busy legislative context, article 7 of the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia passed by *Ley de 15 de septiembre de 1932* ("Law of September 15th 1932") attributed⁶³ *los Servicios de Bellas Artes, Museos, Bibliotecas, Conservación de monumentos y archivos, salvo el de la Corona de Aragón* ("the Services in Arts, Museums, Libraries, Conservation of heritage and archives, except its of the Crown of Aragon"). In this legislative framework, the following laws referring to the cultural heritage were passed: the *Ley de creación del Consejo de Cultura de la Generalitat de 14 de diciembre de 1933* ("Law of Creation of the Council of Culture of the Generalitat [December 14th 1933]"), the *Ley del Servicio de Bibliotecas, Archivos, Museos y Patrimonio Histórico, Artístico y Científico de Catalunya de 20 de marzo de 1934* ("Law of the Service of Libraries, Archives, Museums and Historical, Artistic and Scientific Heritage of Catalonia [March 20th 1934]"), and the *Ley de Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico, Artístico y Científico de Catalunya de 26 de junio de 1934* ("Law of the Conservation of the Historical, Artistic and Scientific Heritage of Catalonia [June 26th 1934]").

The 1933 Law remained in force during the Franco period despite having been promulgated by the Second Republic. Under Franco's rule, this law was complemented with the Law of December 16th 1954 that regulated the expropriation of land where archaeological remains were detected,⁶⁴ and for the first time, included underwater archaeology (decree 2055/1963 de 25 de septiembre).⁶⁵

From the start of the twentieth century until 1978, there was a well-defined legal framework, but one insufficient to stop the destruction of cultural heritage, especially architectural and archaeological. The Civil War led to notable losses of heritage either on the battlefronts or by the sacking of ecclesiastic heritage, archives, private collections, etc.

We must not forget that with the arrival of mass tourism and uncontrolled urban growth along the Mediterranean coast and in the main cities, the pace of the destruction of archaeological and architectural heritage quickened. The absence of coordination between the institutions that take care of the heritage and the scant material and human resources helped this deterioration. If we refer to Islamic

63. Alcalá-Zamora, Niceto. "Ley. Título II. Atribuciones de la Generalidad de Cataluña". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 21 September 1932: CCXLV, 2091 <<http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1932/265/A02090-02094.pdf>> (Consulted 26th October 2016).

64. Franco, Francisco. "Ley de 16 de diciembre de 1954 sobre expropiación forzosa". *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. 17 December 1954: CCCLI, 8261-8278 <<http://boe.es/boe/dias/1954/12/17/pdfs/A08261-08278.pdf>> (Consulted 26th October 2016).

65. Franco, Francisco. "Decreto 2055/1969, de 25 de septiembre, por el que se regula el ejercicio de actividades subacuáticas". *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. 27 September 1969: CCLII, 15182-15184 <<https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1969/09/27/pdfs/A15182-15184.pdf>> (Consulted 26th October 2016).



archaeological or architectural heritage, the situation was worse due to two factors: the first of these was the ignorance about the material culture of Islam in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, and the second is deliberate neglect of the Andalusian material vestiges. Despite this bleak panorama, the great Cordoban monuments were already being given special treatment in the nineteenth century, as was the Alhambra in Granada.⁶⁶ These great symbolic monuments received careful attention to avoid their loss. Another thing was the historical and artistic interpretation.

In Catalonia, there is no shortage of examples of destruction or deterioration of Islamic archaeological or architectural heritage. For example, in 1905, a tank for drinking water for the town of Balaguer was built inside Castell Formós, one of the most emblematic historical monuments with a clearly Islamic part in the north-east of the Iberian Peninsula. An Islamic citadel first, and then from the fourteenth century, residence of the Counts of Urgell, the fortified site holds a large quantity and quality of historical-archaeological and artistic information that would require specific treatment.⁶⁷ However, the need to build this municipal infrastructure⁶⁸ led to the destruction of a good part of the monument, thus also conditioning future archaeological works. Despite its historical value, in 1905, the ideal legal conditions to prevent the building of the tank and the destruction of most of the inside of the fortress did not exist.⁶⁹ In Balaguer, the site was well enough known, as was its value as a monument. In fact, from the 1960s, this was reflected in various publications by local scholars and European specialists in the theme.⁷⁰ However, the absence of awareness among the political authorities, the non-existence of a law of heritage that safeguarded it and the lack of interest among the population condemned Castell Formós forever.

This context prior to democracy is also recognised as the period when researchers and scholars individually initiated research into very varied themes. Under the umbrella of such institutions as the Provincial Archaeological Museum of Tarragona, the Institute of Tarragona Studies Ramon Berenguer IV of Tarragona Provincial Council, the Ilerdenc Institute of Studies of Lleida Provincial Council, and

66. Rosselló-Bordoy, Guillem. "Introducció a l'estudi de la ceràmica andalusina", *Arqueologia Medieval. Reflexions des de la pràctica*. Lleida: Ajuntament d'Algerri-Pagès Editors, 2007: 21-142.

67. Díez-Coronel, Luis. "La alcazaba de Balaguer y su Palacio árabe del siglo XI". *Ilerda*, 29 (1969): 337-347. Ewert, Christian. *Hallazgos islámicos en Balaguer y la Alfajería de Zaragoza*. Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1979-1980.

68. This type of action occurred in other places in the Lleida area, such as Sunyer Castle, little of which remains nowadays after the building of a municipal water tank.

69. We refer to the Royal Decree of November 29th 1901, which defined the regulations about state archaeological museums, served by a body of archivists, librarians and archaeologists.

70. Sanahüja, Pere. *Història de Balaguer*. Barcelona: ed. Seráfica, 1965. Díez-Coronel, Luis. "El palau dels comtes d'Urgell, fortalesa àrab", *Ilerda*, XLIII (1973): 31-39. Ewert, Christian. *Hallazgos islámicos en Balaguer y la Alfajería de Zaragoza*. Madrid: Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural, 1979. Giralt, Josep. "El Castell Formós (o de Balaguer)", *Catalunya Romànica. La Noguera*. XVII. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1994: 225-238.



these researchers undertook the first historical and archaeological research.⁷¹ They were undoubtedly the pioneers of local history in the Lleida and Tarragona areas. Their work favoured the preservation especially of archaeological sites and their divulgation in scientific circles and among the general public.⁷²

Despite the complexity of safeguarding the cultural heritage, and especially the Islamic, during the twentieth century, it is worth mentioning that one has to recognise the legislation from the early century and that of the Second Republic, as well the interest of many people, either scholars or specialists in cultural heritage, who individually carried out the tasks of documentation and study, a colossal job that we appreciate so highly today.

2.4 The Islamic patrimonial heritage. Where are we?

The appearance of the Spanish democratic system under the Constitution of 1978 meant important progress in the field of cultural heritage for its preservation, consolidation and social projection. Thus, in the legislative field, the *Ley 16/1985 de 25 de junio del Patrimonio Histórico Español* ("Law 16/1985 of June 25th of Spanish Historical Heritage") was passed.⁷³ This opened the way to modernising the concept of cultural heritage and an organisational structure and action to preserve and adapt it to the European context. With the transfer of specific powers in culture, through its Department of Culture, the Generalitat de Catalunya established the Catalan law of cultural heritage.⁷⁴ A review and update for the new times came with the 78/2002 Decree with regulations for the protection of the archaeological and palaeontological heritage of Catalonia.⁷⁵ Clearly, in democratic Spain, the new legislation on cultural heritage propitiated the necessary re-organisation of the administration, especially regarding the types of protection, coordination between administrations, training of personnel, and its representation all over the state through its deployment in each autonomous community. In the case of Catalonia, the Generalitat de Catalunya opened offices of the Department of Culture in Tarragona, Lleida and Girona.

71. Destaquen Luis Díez-Coronel, Rodrigo Pita Mercè, Josep Lladonosa, Enrique Bayerri, Pere Sanahüja.

72. Díez-Coronel, Luis. *La Alcazaba de Balaguer y su palacio árabe del siglo XI*. Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses de la Excelentísima Diputació de Lérida, 1969.

73. Juan Carlos I. "Ley 13/1985, de 25 de junio, del Patrimonio Histórico Español". *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 29 June 1985: CLV, 20342-20352 <<https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1985/06/29/pdfs/A20342-20352.pdf>> (Consulted 27th October 2016).

74. "Llei 9/1993, de 30 de setembre, del Patrimoni Català". *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, 30 September 1993. <http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=92717&language=ca_ES> (Consulted 27th October 2016).

75. "Decret 78/2002, de 5 de març, del Reglament de protecció del patrimoni arqueològic i paleontològic". *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, 5 March 2002. <http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=276664&language=ca_ES> (Consulted 27th October 2016).



This consolidation of democracy in Spain and the definition and deployment of a stable legal framework also coincided with the notable rise in action by the public administrations to recover, consolidate or promote the cultural heritage, including within this, the Andalusian. For the first time, it was accepted that al-Andalus was also another stage in the history of Spain. In this sense, we can highlight the archaeological work in both the urban settings of the city of Lleida, especially the site of the old Portal de Magdalena, as in the various actions in the Suda and the old quarter of Tortosa, and the first archaeological digs in the Pla d'Almatà and Castell Formós in Balaguer. These works on Islamic settlements coincided with various archaeological interventions and the recovery of the Collegiate of Sant Pere in Àger, Siurana Castle, Castellans Castle, the Tossal de Solibernat,AVINGANYA Monastery, Miravet Castle, the Tossal de Vallferosa, the castles of Os de Balaguer, Tartareu, Aitona, Vinatesa hill and Algerri, among others. As the turn of the century approached, an enormous Islamic archaeological and architectural heritage was being discovered in the western and southern areas of Catalonia. Evidently, the Department of Culture, the provincial councils and universities dedicated efforts to managing and preserving this valuable inheritance.

In this aspect, we must highlight the role of the museums of Balaguer, Lleida, Tortosa and Terres de l'Ebre (Amposta). They carry out important and tireless informative and educational work through very visible conceptual messages in the various exhibition venues. Moreover, these installations serve as the logistic base for archaeological projects or restoration and conservation work on the material remains.⁷⁶ In this sense, they are a bridge between university research and dissemination in society. Following this line, mention must be made of the efforts for promotion through publications of notable interest. Thus, two publications about the heritage of Balaguer and the Noguera district between the Late Antiquity and the Late Middle Ages have been edited by the museum of Balaguer.⁷⁷

The Andalusian patrimonial heritage also appears in the history textbooks for the second course of secondary education.⁷⁸ The inclusion of this type of contents gives the students the chance to understand and appreciate the rich cultural heritage, and specifically the Andalusian. Undoubtedly, this is the cornerstone to ensure critical understanding of the shared past, and so promote cultural integration in the present.

76. Another element to highlight in the Catalan museums is the Service of Attention to the Museums (SAM) whose mission is to assess and give support to the museums in its area. Under the Plan of Museums of Catalonia, the Museum of Lleida was the pioneer in offering this service.

77. Giralt, Josep, ed. *La Noguera antiga. Des dels primers pobladors fins als visigots*. Balaguer: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2001; Alòs, Carme; Solanes, Eva. *Catàleg de la col·lecció de materials andalusins del Museu de la Noguera*. Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2012.

78. García, Sebastián, Margarita; Gatell, Arimont, Cristina. *Ciències socials, Geografia i Història*. Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 2013: 4-17.



2.4.1 The treatment of al-Andalus in the field of dissemination among the public

Within this sub-chapter, we consider it right to incorporate a specific section to deal with the question of dissemination among the general public. Certainly, one of the functions of the historian is to transmit historical knowledge processed with scientific methodology to society. Unfortunately, we have lost this important function that justifies the historical science, either through neglect by the historians themselves or through the promotion of other professions. It is undeniable that through the genre of the historical novel set in the Middle Ages, novelists, with Ken Follet as a notable example, have done a great deal to popularise this period.⁷⁹ However, we must be critical of this literary genre for the all too frequent misrepresentation of important historical events, the difficulty of recreating dress, behaviour and, even more so, everything referring to mentality and values. In fact, *tot plegat avança cap a un espai estètic, farcit d'elements aliens a cronologies precises. Cal preguntar-se, doncs, per una Edat Mitjana sense cronologia*.⁸⁰ The popular television series 'Game of Thrones' produced by HBO recreates an imaginary world where seven kingdoms struggle to obtain the precious 'iron throne'. The series aims to recreate the European Middle Ages where a number of dynasties fight for control of each of the kingdoms.⁸¹ This world of 'Game of Thrones' is organised around an economic system inspired in feudalism, and a society divided between those who fight, those who pray and those who work. The buildings that appear most frequently are those of medieval origin, like the cathedral and old quarter of Girona in the most recent season. When it leaves the seven kingdoms and moves to the kingdom of Meeren, we see an attempt to depict the Islamic world. However, the series is far from recreating it given the mixture of a slave-owning society, governed by sovereigns who lived in pyramids, and where capitalism is emerging with the trade in slaves and all kinds of merchandise. Despite the wishes of the author of the books, George R. R. Martin, and the scriptwriters of the series to recreate the Middle Ages, it has to be said that the dialogues, costumes, thought and ways of acting are far from resembling this, and the series seems more an anachronic jumble.

From another aspect, the Catalan public television, TV3, produced and broadcast two seasons of *Sota Terra* ("Under Ground") (2010 and 2012). It aimed to be a 'reality show' for the broad audience, and here, under the direction of the prestigious researcher, Eudald Carbonell, a team of archaeologists had to spend three days working on an emblematic archaeological site in Catalonia. The eighth episode of

79. Bueno, María Luisa. "Los escenarios materiales en 'Los pilares de la tierra'". *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, María Isabel Del Val, Paco Martínez, eds. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León-Universidad de Valladolid, 2009: 147-159.

80. "Everything is moving towards an aesthetic space, filled with alien elements in precise chronologies. One wonders, then, about a Middle Ages without chronology." Sabaté, Flocel. "Medievalismes Actuals". *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Catarroja: Editorial Afers, 2012: 288.

81. Arias, Fernando. "Sentarse en el Trono de Hierro: el poder regio en Juego de Tronos desde una perspectiva medieval". *Jot Down. Contemporary Culture Mag.* November 2011. 8th November 2016. <<http://www.jotdown.es/2016/11/sentarse-trono-hierro-poder-regio-juego-tronos-desde-una-perspectiva-medieval/>>.



the second season (2012) was dedicated to Balaguer,⁸² more specifically to various sites in the old quarter and the valuable archaeological site of the Pla d'Almatà. In Catalonia, this was a groundbreaking television show, where history and archaeology were the main subjects, and an Islamic site was featured, together with others from very distant historical epochs. The aim was to imitate Channel 4's prestigious and popular 'Time Team', which presented various three-month long excavations from 1994 to 2014,⁸³ directed by a well-known archaeologist and presented by the actor Tony Robinson. This programme 'brought archaeology to the masses' according to the Daily Mail,⁸⁴ something previously unheard of in the United Kingdom, although the BBC already had an important archive of programmes on archaeology, with the series 'Chronicle' standing out.⁸⁵

Going back to *Sota Terra*, this televised format undoubtedly brought archaeology and history closer to the wider public, and the aim was to promote the work of historians and archaeologists. However, some of the dialogues between members of the team came as a disagreeable surprise and a shock. We highlight the following: referring to the contributions of Islamic civilisation, the following value judgements are presented: *progrés econòmic i tecnològic* ("economic and technological progress") (11:22-11:27), *el comte d'Urgell no sap gestionar les sèquies, ni els molins ni el sistema de reg* ("Count of Urgell did not know how to manage the drains or mills or irrigation system") (11:56-12:04) and *enderrocar una mesquita islàmica després de la conquesta és una barbaritat* ("demolishing a mosque after the Islamic conquest is an outrage") (26:02-26:04). The following comparison is made regarding the conquest of the Count of Urgell Ermengol VI, *recorda una mica l'època franquista on el general Franco intenta esborrar els trets característics de la cultura catalana* ("somewhat reminiscent of the Franco era when General Franco tried to erase the characteristic traits of Catalan culture") (11:40-11:53), with the presenter ending up stating that *que la reconquesta cristiana ens va fer més mal que bé* ("the Christian reconquest did us more harm than good") (12:35-12:39). Taken together, the dialogues between members of the team are forced and full of value judgements, a bad *praxis* that historians are taught never to use in the first course of their degrees. Despite these very unfortunate comments, that do more harm than good, both Eudald Carbonell and Joan-Eusebi Garcia Biosca contribute some of the most notable scientific values, such as rigour and prudence, in their evaluations of the various archaeological activities carried out.

82. See: TV3 a la carta, "Balaguer: una ciutat musulmana per descobrir", TV3, 11 March 2012, 18 November 2016 <<http://www.ccma.cat/tv3/alacarta/sota-terra/balaguer-una-ciutat-musulmana-per-descobrir/video/3991571/>>.

83. See: Channel4, "The guerrilla base of the king", *Time Team*, 18 November 2016 <<http://www.channel4.com/programmes/time-team>>.

84. Thomas, Liz. "Time Team's final dig: Tony Robinson's series 'that brought archaeology to the masses' is axed by Channel 4 after 20 years". *Mail Online*. 23 October 2012. 2 November 2016. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2221664/Time-Teams-final-dig-Archaeology-series-starring-Tony-Robinson-axed-Channel-4-20-years.html>>.

85. See: bbc, "Chronicle: Archaeology on Television Collection", 2014, 25 October 2016. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/chronicle/>>.



The proliferation of medieval fairs and markets could be another way to bring al-Andalus closer to modern society. The transfer of knowledge would clearly have a high impact in this format of a very well accepted cultural and leisure activity. However, in this kind of event, it is very difficult to differentiate characteristic elements from the medieval period and, even more so, anything from the Islamic times. So, for the Islamic, it is habitual to programme belly dancing, thus recalling the good life of the Andalusian citizens. The modern medieval fairs and markets are great areas for trading, where artisans of all kinds sell their products as pure, ecological and local, and also medieval, the latter understood as an added value.

Multimedia material proliferates on the web to raise the profile of museums, archaeological sites, cultural events, etc. In the specific case of Islamic heritage, there is a large amount of multimedia resources that bring this rich legacy closer to society. Platforms like ‘arqueoxarxa’ are good examples, and in the specific case of Islam, they include various entries both for the Pla d’Almatà⁸⁶ and Castell Formós.⁸⁷ In fact, these two sites have become the visible face of Islamic heritage in Catalonia.⁸⁸

The multimedia industry has seen rising in recent years in the specific field of videogames. Society has understood them from their beginnings as a leisure product aimed at children and teenagers. The ever more sophisticated designs, the quest to create imaginary worlds or to recreate scenarios from the past has also fascinated an adult audience who have entered this world of videogames with a great deal of interest and enthusiasm.⁸⁹ Within this wide field, there has been significant growth in videogames that recreate the past, and that is seen as a great opportunity to educate society about history not only by their producers, but also by historians.⁹⁰ So, the productions seek ever more specific details of the events they want to explain, including thoroughness in the clothing, historically accurate stories, music adapted to the context, etc. Here is where the research centres specialised in the medieval world come into their own to supply the contents with the required accuracy to produce this typology of videogame.

Moreover, another aspect, unknown or less known must be highlighted, namely the ‘serious videogames’. These are especially deployed in the field of pedagogy

86. See: Arcovaleno, “Muralla islàmica del Pla d’Almatà de Balaguer”, 2011, 25 October 2016 <<http://arcovaleno.org/arcovaleno/muralla-islamica-del-pla-dalmata-balaguer/>>.

87. See: Aqueoxarxa, “Castell Formós (Balaguer)”, 2012, 25 October 2016 <<http://www.arqueoxarxa.cat/Jaciments/CASTELL-FORMOS-BALAGUER>>.

88. “Nevertheless, we should analyze if the predilection for some emblematic archaeological sites is the best strategy because behind those iconic places there are many other smaller archaeological sites less promoted and known.” *Caldria valorar si la predilecció per uns jaciments emblemàtics és una bona estratègia, donat que darrera seu, existeixen jaciments arqueològics més petits que avui resten a l’ombra.*

89. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. “The other Possible Past: Simulation of the Middle Ages in Videogames”, *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011): 299-340.

90. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. *De la Edad de los Imperios a la guerra total: Medievo y Videojuegos*. Murcia: Campobell, 2016.



destined for schools and other educational centres.⁹¹ The results of the pioneering experiences have shown that adolescents who have interacted in this type of game have gained knowledge and skills in the subject of history.⁹²

Thus, in the light and shadows within the broad field of dissemination, we should note that there is room for improvement and to bring history of the medieval period and that of al-Andalus in all its breadth to society. Videogames are an excellent example, and moreover, one with a long way still to go.

2.4.2 The research. Stable ways of interpreting the past and for the transfer of the knowledge

Although the cultural past of the Islamic period in the Middle Ages is increasingly assimilated in Catalonia, it is worth mentioning that from the field of research, archaeology plays an important role. In this sense, one of the aspects where there is a long way to go is precisely that of the archaeology of Islamic architecture, especially throughout the Ebro Valley. It is important to research the buildings because we still do not recognise the Islamic constructive typologies,⁹³ while the recognised ones, in the case of the various morphologies of the stretcher and header ashlar, have not yet been contextualised into a global overview of Al-Andalus. One way is undoubtedly to implement an integrating project that deploys a single methodology of analysis that is backed by the theoretical and methodological principles of the archaeology of architecture. Moreover, such an ambitious project has to have architects specialised in heritage and specially trained in the Islamic period. In this sense, Pedro Gurriarán proposes studying the building techniques with ashlar based on those who made them and who placed them, in other words, following the footprints of the Moorish masons and master builders.⁹⁴ This approach is based on the singular nature of the building technique throughout the Ebro Valley. It also suggests taking samples of mortar to analyse its composition, water stress, and its chronology from radio carbon dating. This line has had excellent results in the Tower of La Saira and Alguaire Castle, as both

91. Mugueta Moreno, Íñigo; Manzano Andrés, Ane. "La historia moderna estudiada en el aula a través de un videojuego: 'Age of Empires III'", *Historia y Videojuegos: El impacto de los Nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*. Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Íñigo Mugueta Moreno, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Campobell, 2016: 135-166.

92. Guevara Sánchez, José Manuel. "Jugar aprendiendo. Una propuesta del uso de los videojuegos en el aula de Ciencias Sociales", *Historia y Videojuegos: El impacto de los Nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*. Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Íñigo Mugueta Moreno, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Campobell, 2016: 167-176.

93. Brufal, Jesús. "Identificación y sistematización de las técnicas constructivas andalusíes en el distrito de Lleida", *Nuevas investigacions de joves medievalistas*, Conchita Villanueva, Diego Reinaldos, Jorge Maíz, Inés Calderón, eds. Murcia: Editorial Universidad de Murcia, 2013: 69-80.

94. Gurriarán, Pedro. "Una arquitectura para el Califato: poder y construcción en al-Andalus durante el siglo X". *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa*, 19 (2008): 261-276.



buildings have been contextualised with a narrow margin for error.⁹⁵ A project of these characteristics could illustrate the social and economic aspects that of Andalusian edifications in the Ebro Valley.

Continuing with the field of research into Islam in the Late Middle Ages, nowadays, the most complete and integrating discipline for studying it is the archaeology of the landscape. From a holistic view, this opens interpretative lines given the complexity of the historical landscape. The landscape is configured from anthropic elements (towns, towers, fortresses, cemeteries, mills, mines) and the natural environment (soils, forests, water, stone, minerals). It is this enormous complexity of technological, cultural, agronomic and ethnologic factors, that also opens innovative lines of research, which, cohesively integrated into a multidisciplinary structure, concludes with very specific responses about the historical landscape, in this case, the Andalusian. On an European level, there are various projects where the archaeology of the landscape has opened new interpretative paths. I should highlight the projects APSAT, directed by Gian Pietro Brogiolo, The Ecology of Crusades, directed by Alex Pluwsowski, MEMOlab, directed by José María Martín Civantos, or the various projects carried out by the Research Group on Heritage and Cultural Landscapes directed by José Antonio Quirós. These projects pay special care to the transfer of knowledge to education or cultural tourism. These are well-developed and rigorous final products and highly sensitive to the cultural heritage. In the end, this is an excellent methodology for promoting and building the discourse of the record through the historical memory on a firm scientific basis.

3. Conclusions

In Catalonia, a cultural heritage of Islamic roots has survived protected by the law, as the heritage of everyone, studied scientifically in the research centres, and divulged and conserved through cultural installations like the museums. The path to date has been, and to an extent still is, complex due to the growing number of theories that seek a mythical vision of the history of the country, and where Islam appears as the worst of evils. Moreover, with the growth of so-called 'jihadi terrorism' it seems that recognising this Islamic cultural heritage, the result of being part of al-Andalus for four centuries, is still bothersome or has not yet been assimilated as one more piece of the shared memory.

The Andalusian heritage is seen in a wide range of aspects of our everyday lives: the words, irrigation networks, written documentation, urbanism, food and popular traditions. This Andalusian heritage, which goes beyond the monuments, should, through history and teaching, be used as a lever to bring society closer to a stage

95. Brufal, Jesús. *Memòria de la Intervenció Arqueològica Preventiva: "Recollida de mostres i documentació del Castell de la Ràpita (Vallfogona de Balaguer, la Noguera), el Castell d'Alguaire (Alguaire, el Segrià) i la Torre de la Saira (Almacelles, el Segrià).* (R/N: 494/K121 1-11505/2014), 2014: 9-14.



in history that is still seen with a certain reticence. Moreover, this approach is a democratic and civic exercise in the recovery of the historical memory.

From one extreme to the other, the difficulty with which the history of Al-Andalus has to be faced lies in its irrevocable link to the Spanish or Catalan nations. Spain and Catalonia both confronted al-Andalus and everything seems to indicate that there is no clear way out of the dilemma between rejection and adoption. To cite Manuela Marín:

*Quizá haya que esperar a que se pueda entender que la historia de al-Ándalus no es la de la España musulmana y que tampoco es la historia que debió ser para el presente; es decir, a que se pueda entender al-Ándalus como una historia pròpia, la de una sociedad islámica en el Mediterráneo occidental.*⁹⁶

96. "Perhaps we have to wait for it to be understood that the history of al-Andalus is not that of the Muslim Spain nor is it history that it should have been for the present; in other words, for al-Andalus to be understood as its own history, that of an Islamic society in the western Mediterranean": Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes...*: 66.



THE TV SHOW *GAME OF THRONES* AS AN EDUCATIONAL AXIS TO TEACH MEDIEVAL HISPANIC CULTURES

ÓSCAR PEREA RODRÍGUEZ
PHILOBIBLON PROJECT (UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY)
UNITED STATES

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ABSTRACT

This article shows how I have been lately combining my research in the cultural history of the Spanish Middle Ages and Early Renaissance with the TV show *Game of Thrones* for teaching purposes. I have been able to design a capstone seminar to attract students interested in the popular medievalising TV fiction, proving them that most of the elements of its success are not original, but they can also be found in most of medieval European cultures, including the Iberian Peninsula. In this paper I examine three main examples (Remesal interview between Philip the Handsome and Ferdinand the Catholic as narrated in Bernáldez's *Memorias*; the legend of the Siete Infantes de Lara; and the *Coplas del tabefe*), providing both a methodology and course structure for other colleagues that perhaps might be interested in using *Game of Thrones*, or any other TV show, in order to take advantage in Higher Education of the medieval connection existing in some aspects of contemporary pop culture.¹

KEYWORDS

Game of Thrones, Pop Culture, Medieval Spanish Culture, Medieval Spanish Literature, Teaching Methodology, Siete Infantes de Lara, Andrés Bernáldez, 'Memorias del Reinado de los Reyes Católicos', 'Coplas del Tabefe'.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Thronorum Ludus, Cultura Popularis, Hispaniae Mediaevalis Cultura, Hispaniae Mediaevalis Litteratura, Metodologia Didactica, Septem Infantes Larae, Andrés Bernaldez, Regum Catholicorum Regni Memoriae, 'Coplas del Tabefe'.

1. Introduction

In the Spring term 2012, I taught two university courses on the history, literature, and culture of medieval Spain. One was a seminar for master's and doctoral students, entitled *Occupy Spanish Medieval Literature: Subversion and Protest in 11th and 12th Century Spain* and focused on the most problematic and subversive pieces of medieval Spanish literature.² The other was a survey for undergraduate students, entitled *Women Inside and Outside the Literary Canon of Medieval Spain*; as its title indicates, the latter emphasised the presence/absence of women as authors and agents of cultural life, beyond the historical roles typically considered 'feminine'.³ At the risk of using a cliché, I enjoyed teaching these courses enormously and was very satisfied with the final result: both undergraduate and graduate students attained the objectives of the course and they did so with pleasure, judging from the positive evaluations received at the end of the trimester.

Although convinced —then and now— that both courses covered cultural material from the past that was attractive enough to generate interest in today's students, I must recognise that I was defeated by an unexpected competitor. I became aware of my rival upon frequently overhearing my students' impassioned conversations, as I walked behind them to the next class or on the way to the bus stop, about *Game of Thrones*.⁴ It was precisely their enthusiasm for the series that generated my interest in what, as a mere viewer, attracted me very little or not at all. I am sorry to upset the stereotypes about medievalists, but in my case, even though the period occupies almost all of my time as a professor and investigator, I rarely engage with medieval topics in my free time. I hope the reader will forgive this personal confession, but I must admit that I am not interested in historical novels set in the Middle Ages,⁵ or art exhibitions on medieval themes. Indeed, listening to the complete discographies of Bruce Springsteen, Guns 'N Roses, or The Clash give me much more pleasure than any of Jordi Savall's impeccable albums on late medieval and Renaissance songbooks, despite this being one of the primary fields

1. (OPR_71) I am in debt to my colleague Donna Southard (University of California, Berkeley) and my former students Hannah Dean and Bradley Routh (Lancaster University), for their valuable advice and witty suggestions to the English version of this article. Used Abbreviations: BN, Biblioteca Nacional de España; GoT, Game of Thrones.

2. Syllabus can be read and downloaded for free at my personal profile in Humanities Commons. Perea, Oscar. "Occupy Spanish Medieval Literature: Subversion and Protest in 11th and 12th Century Spain", *Humanity Commons*, May 2017, 19 May 2017 <<https://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:13559/>>.

3. Perea, Oscar. "Women Inside and Outside the Literary Canon of Medieval Spain". *Humanity Commons*. May 2017, 19 May 2017 <<https://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:13557/>>.

4. I will refer to the show by the acronym GoT because this is the more popular hashtag of the TV show in the social network Twitter (#GoT).

5. But this personal opinion notwithstanding, I recognise how useful these historical novels may be as teaching tools, as showed by Andrés Palma Valenzuela. Ministerio de Educacion, Cultura y Deporte, "La Universidad de Granada desarrolla una experiencia pionera de innovación en el aula con la novela histórica". 6 February 2017, 15 April 2017 <<http://www.mecd.gob.es/cultura-mecd/areas-cultura/libro/mc/observatoriolect/redirige/destacados/2017/febrero/autores-letras/novelahistorica-recursoUniversidadGranada.html>>.



of my research. As far as television series go, *House of Cards*, *The Americans*, and *The Walking Dead* awaken my curiosity much more than *Game of Thrones* or any other historical or literary-themed series. Admitting also that spending time in front of a TV screen is not my thing, unless it is a basketball game from NBA or ACB.

In spite of all of the above, watching a few episodes of the first season of *Game of Thrones* radically changed my perception, because I realised GoT's great potential for application in the classroom. After all, it has become much more than a television series: it has really conquered a space in the daily life of millions of people as a global phenomenon,⁶ whose echoes reach much farther than its original intention.⁷

When this happens, journalists, much quicker to take up critical analysis than academics, usually call it—in a way as hedonistic as it is snobbish—*pop* culture.⁸ In this article, I will purposely depart from the postmodern dangers of using the label of *popular culture*,⁹ in favor of the more academic term of “transmedia phenomenon”.¹⁰ The latter term emphasises with precision the ability of a cultural product to capture consumers through different platforms, whether interactive or traditional, to such an extent that the product becomes a point of reference for us all, regardless of our original interest in it, or in this case, whether or not we follow the series.¹¹

To get a better idea of its massive irruption into aspects of daily life in our society—far beyond GoT's diffusion as a series—it will suffice to review the great number of blogs on the Internet—some related to the series, others on George R.R. Martin's novels—,¹² and clips that cut episodes into fragments to comment on favorite scenes or offer theories about the past, present, and future of the series.¹³ This cultural exchange is, in turn, animated by forums on GoT web sites, themselves operating as transmedia spaces.¹⁴

6. For a summary of its impact, see López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier. “‘Juego de Tronos’. En la nueva era dorada del drama televisivo, o ganas o mueres”. *FRAME. Revista de cine de la Biblioteca de la Facultad de Comunicación*, 10 (2014): 144-149.

7. See the pioneer monograph coordinated by Lozano, Javier; Raya, Irene; López, Francisco Javier, eds. *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*. Madrid: Fragua, 2013.

8. D’Arcens, Louise; Lynch, Andrew. *International Medievalism and Popular Culture*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2014.

9. See Bernabé, Daniel. “Contra el mito de la cultura popular”. *La Marea*. 3 May 2017. 4 June 2017 <<http://www.lamarea.com/2017/05/03/mito-la-cultura-popular/>>.

10. As explained by Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture. Where Old and New Media Collide*. New York: New York: University Press, 2008: 25-26.

11. In-depth and recently analysed by Mudan Finn, Kavita. *Fan Phenomena: Game of Thrones*. Bristol: Intellect, 2017.

12. For academic analysis of Martin's novels, see Battis, Jes; Johnston, Susan, eds. *Mastering the Game of Thrones. Essays on George R. R. Martin's ‘A Song of Ice and Fire’*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2015.

13. Barragán Romero, Ana Isabel. “Los banderizos de ‘Juego de Tronos’”. Creación de comunidades y producciones discursivas del ‘fandom’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco Javier López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 453-476.

14. On GoT specifically, see Guerrero, Mar. “Webs televisivas y sus usuarios: un lugar para la narrativa transmedia. Los casos de ‘Águila Roja’ y ‘Juego de Tronos’ en España”. *Comunicación y sociedad*, 21 (2014):



On a more academic level, GoT has deserved the analysis of a few colleagues at conferences —as we shall see further on—, and received attention from some scientific bloggers. Among others, I will mention Carlos Lobato at *Naukas.com*, who began a general blog on biology and genetics in GoT,¹⁵ and, later on, posted entertaining genetic problems —*Throne Genetics*— for readers to resolve.¹⁶ Together with this blog, there is an entire online universe that unpacks the many attractive visual features of GoT, from its purely cinematic components,¹⁷ to the effects that this invented past produces in the transmedia culture of the present.

In the article that follows, I will purposely avoid venturing too far into the aesthetic aspects of the series,¹⁸ which, without a doubt, deserve a more profound analysis than I can provide in the scope of this paper. Rather, my objective here will be to introduce examples which may be useful to any instructor who would like to incorporate the series into courses on the medieval period. In this regard, the most important aspect to highlight is that the themes that captivated both general viewers and my students were not those invented by Martin or the scriptwriters;¹⁹ on the contrary, the success of the series is based on cultural commonplaces that are present in western civilizations, especially those that share a Greco-Latin substratum. For example, the recently published collection of essays that outlines the relationship between GoT scripts and significant philosophers of history share precisely that ground:²⁰ teasing out connections between past and present, universal human concerns.²¹

239-267; and Gómez Aguilar, Antonio; Martínez García, M^a Ángeles. “La arquitectura transmedia de ‘Juego de Tronos’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 537-558.

15. Lobato, Carlos. “La genética de ‘Juego de Tronos’”. *Naukas.com*. 25 February 2013. 23 July 2016 <<http://naukas.com/2014/04/07/genetica-de-tronos-daenerys-nudibranquios-y-epistasia/>>.

16. Lobato, Carlos. “Genética de tronos (I). Daenerys, nudibranquios y epistasia”. *Naukas.com*. 7 Abril 2014. 23 July 2016 <<http://naukas.com/2014/04/07/genetica-de-tronos-daenerys-nudibranquios-y-epistasia/>>.

17. To its theoretical analysis, especially focused on the Middle Ages, see the collective monograph directed by García Mansilla, Juan Vicente; Ortiz Villeta, Áurea. *Del castillo al plató. 50 miradas de cine sobre la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2017.

18. See Barrientos Bueno, Mónica. “Fuentes de inspiración visual en ‘Juego de Tronos’: el referente pictórico”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*. Lozano Delmar, Javier; Raya Bravo, Irene; López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 359-390; and Pérez de Algaba Chicano, Cristina. “Escribiendo fantasía en imágenes. Análisis audiovisual de ‘Juego de Tronos’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*, Lozano Delmar, Javier; Raya Bravo, Irene; López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 391-422.

19. Analysed by López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier; García, Juan A. “De la novela a la pantalla. La adaptación televisiva de ‘Juego de Tronos’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*. Lozano Delmar, Javier; Raya Bravo, Irene; López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 91-114.

20. Owen Jacoby, Henry, ed. *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012.

21. García, Elio M; Antonsson, Linda. “Foreword”, *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: ix-xii, especially xi.



The success of designing a course on medieval history and literature based on a series would there depend on the teacher's capacity to draw on students' emotional connection to an activity they perform outside the classroom, revealing to them—in pedagogical terms—how helpful these personal feelings may be for learning the topics under study.²² Guided by these ideas and thanks to the enthusiastic support of the chair of my former department and colleagues at the University of California at Riverside, I finally decided to embark upon the design of such a course, using GoT video-clips to bond the themes appearing in the series with the same themes in medieval Hispanic cultures. I taught the first version of the course as a capstone seminar in Fall 2012,²³ just when the second season of GoT was ending and fans were counting the days for the return of their favorite medieval characters in the third season, scheduled for release in the spring of 2013. The result I achieved was completely unbelievable—a success without precedents. In my fifteen years of university teaching, never had I taught a course with such a resoundingly positive response. And what was most gratifying for me was the fact that the course's academic content found its way into students' conversations outside the classroom. After that trimester, they continued talking about the series, but now they included readings, scenes, and historical Spanish characters and authors that connected Hispanic medieval texts to GoT plots. It is a perfect example of "If you can't beat 'em, join 'em".

Since that fall in 2012, the reaction to the popularity of GoT in the field of higher education has been uneven and, above all, quite ambiguous. In the United States, always more open to debate audiovisual novelties in academic contexts, the GoT phenomenon received attention from a few academics. As far as I know, aside from my course, the first academic space in which this medievalising fiction found a home was at the International Conference of Medieval Studies of Kalamazoo, Michigan, which took place in 2013,²⁴ one year after my course was taught for the first time. Shortly afterwards, the Department of Film Studies at the University of California at Berkeley offered another course on the series during the summer of 2015,²⁵ and two professors at Northwestern Illinois University designed a similar course that same year,²⁶ demonstrating that the growing popularity of GoT had

22. Grindley, Carl James. "Teaching the Middle Ages", *Mass Market Medieval: Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture*, David W. Marshall, ed., Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2007: 140-153, especially 149.

23. Syllabus of this course can be consulted at my personal profile in the Humanities Commons website. 19 May 2017 <<http://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:13561/>>.

24. "Panel Is Coming: A Game of Thrones Discussion (A Roundtable)", organised by Jason Pitruzzello (University of Houston) and supervised by Shiloh R. Carroll (Middle Tennessee State University). 48th *International Congress on Medieval Studies*. Kalamazoo, 9-12 May 2013.

25. Syllabus by Justin Vaccaro: Vaccaro, Justin. "Film Genre: Game of Thrones". *Department of Film and Media*. 2015. University of California Berkeley. 23 July 2016 <<http://filmmedia.berkeley.edu/course-information/2583428-film-genre-game-of-thrones>>.

26. Dr. Jeff Chown and Dr. Valerie Garver designed a course entitle *Game of Thrones, Television, and Medieval History*. I have been unable to locate a link for the syllabus, whose existence I know by this article: Parisi, Tom. "Power behind the Throne: History, Modern Media Converge in NIU Course on HBO's 'Game of



not gone unnoticed in the North American academy.²⁷ Since then, some colleagues have even announced that we are living a propitious moment for the promotion of such pedagogical tendencies.²⁸ Indeed, even such a prestigious institution of higher learning as Harvard University has recently incorporated a course on the series, taught by Dr. Sean Gilsdorf and Dr. Racha Kirakosian.²⁹

This audiovisual content has been less successful in the stiff-necked British academy, universally recognised for its resistance to change. Besides my course, taught at Lancaster University since 2014,³⁰ the only mention of the series occurred in the title of a panel presented at the Leeds International Conference on Medieval Studies, held the same year.³¹ However, the content did not allude at all to the television series, the reference being reduced to a mere play on words to attract an audience. Aside from this, I have been unable to find any other treatment of the series. Notwithstanding its comfortable landing in the United States, the reader should not be led to think that the popularity of the series has generated a frenzy of academic publications. Current critical analyses center, once again, on the traditional medieval Anglo-Saxon myths, such as King Arthur or Robin Hood.³² And to point out one example, in a very recent monograph on the topic,³³ there is actually not a single article on GoT, the series most responsible for the growing interest in the medieval period in today's television audience.

When it comes to creating new courses, it is true that often the absence of these themes in the classroom is caused by the enormous obstacle of university bureaucracy. University administrators, instead of looking for solutions that would facilitate curricular innovations, usually do just the opposite, this is, objecting to

Thrones". *Newsroom.niu.edu*. 8 April 2015. 19 September 2016 <<http://newsroom.niu.edu/2015/04/08/power-behind-the-throne/>>.

27. A complete list of U.S. colleges in which courses on GoT were or currently are conveyed can be found at this article by Bell, Amanda. "9 Colleges with Actual 'Game of Thrones' Courses". *MTV.com*. 27 October 2015. 19 September 2016 <<http://www.mtv.com/news/2362741/game-of-thrones-college-courses/>>.

28. In words of Jasper Bernes, from Stanford University, "there is a trend in the academy and in the humanities toward offering these sorts of courses". See Martínez, Jack. "'Game of Thrones' and the Changing Curriculum in Modern Universities". *Newsweek.com*. 23 August 2015. 23 September 2016 <<http://www.newsweek.com/game-thrones-college-class-364628>>.

29. Waxman, Olivia B. "An Exclusive Look Inside Harvard's 'New Game of Thrones'-Themed Class". *Time*. 31 May 2017. 1 June 2017 <<http://time.com/4798917/harvard-game-of-thrones-class/>>.

30. The syllabus was modified a bit from its medieval focus in order to include also contemporary Spanish poetry, due to Lancaster University programme requirements <<http://www.lusi.lancaster.ac.uk/CoursesHandbook/ModuleDetails/ModuleDetail?yearId=000117&courseId=017860>> (Consulted 19th June 2016).

31. "An Empire of Buildings, or Simply a Game of Thrones?" organised by Audrey Thorstad (Bangor University), at the *International Medieval Congress 2014*. Leeds (UK), 8 July 2014.

32. As it happens in the monograph edited by Young, Helen. *The Middle Ages in Popular Culture: Medievalism and Genre*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2015.

33. Pagès, Meriem; Kinane, Karolyn, eds. *The Middle Ages on Television. Critical Essays*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2015. However, there are many references to some characters of GoT, especially to the homosexual love relationship between Renly Baratheon and Loras Tyrell, in an essay published there by Gebhardt, Torben R. "Homosexuality in Television Medievalism", *The Middle Ages on Television. Critical Essays*, Meriem Pagès, Karolyn Kinane, eds. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2015: 197-214.



each one of the solutions proposed by instructors. I will not devote time to describing these experiences, which we have all known and suffered. Despite the *Diktatur des Bürokraten* that currently governs higher education on the five continents, it is only fair to recognise that often the blame falls on us, that is, the collective formed by those who are part of the academic machinery. Just as the networks that appear in GoT, when the Academy shows an interest in the popularity of the series, it becomes mired in bizarre and oneiric debates. The most surrealistic one of all had to do with a dispute over a nominalist *boutade*: whether or not the series is ‘medieval’.³⁴ It was indeed one of these false polemics quite often fed by the newspapers, especially those published digitally. Sometimes, this type of media detracts from the quality articles of cultural dissemination by including the phrase *Game of Thrones* in the headline, an abominable practice brazenly used to capture the attention of GoT followers, looking for more visits to the site as innocents readers bite the hook of this miserable practice known as *clickbait*.³⁵ This happened with an excellent article in defense of the often unjust treatment of the Middle Ages in today’s media,³⁶ overshadowed by an inaccurate headline mentioning GoT; just as in another the conclusion —there are reprehensible human characteristics such as racism in GoT, it is because racism does exist in our world today too— is radically different from what the headline proclaims.³⁷

Given these difficulties, it is recommendable to avoid incoherent post-modernities that only illustrate the stubborn bizantine ramblings of a portion of the academy, devoted at all costs to being their —our— own worst enemies.³⁸ Thus, for our purposes here —more propaedeutic than some donnish leaders of the pack are capable of enduring—, it will be more useful to assume that GoT is medieval,³⁹ as 99% of the audience would surely agree after viewing only a few minutes of the series.⁴⁰

34. Byrne, Philippa. “Why Medievalists Should Stop Talking About ‘Game of Thrones’”. *The Conversation*. 15 June 2016. 23 July 2016 <<http://theconversation.com/why-medievalists-should-stop-talking-about-game-of-thrones-61044>>.

35. Restrepo, Hernán. “‘Clickbait’: por qué está mal”. *Ética segura*. Red de ética y periodismo. 2016. 15 April 2017 <<http://eticasegura.fnpi.org/2016/04/05/clickbait-esta-mal/>>.

36. Rodríguez, Ana. “La Edad Media no fue como cuentan en ‘Juego de Tronos’”. *El País*, 12 April 2017. 15 April 2017 <http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2017/04/12/actualidad/1492014207_352187.html>.

37. Young, Helen. “Game of Thrones’ Racism Problem”. *Publicmedievalist.com*. 21 July 2017. 22 July 2017 <<http://www.publicmedievalist.com/game-thrones-racism-problem/>>.

38. Spirit guiding the accurate response to the article mentioned above, written by Palmer, James. “Medievalists Should Talk About ‘Game of Thrones’”. *Merovingian World*. 17 June 2016. 15 April 2017 <<http://merovingianworld.wordpress.com/2016/06/17/medievalists-should-talk-about-game-of-thrones/>>.

39. Further information on medieval historic influences in Martin’s novels can be found at the monographic volume “The Medieval World of George R.R. Martin”. *The Medieval Magazine* 64/2 (2016) <<http://www.joomag.com/en/newsstand/the-medieval-magazine-no64/0017631001460728208>> (Consulted 19th April 2016).

40. On this sterile debate, see Carroll, Shiloh. “Rewriting the Fantasy Archetype. George R. R. Martin, Neomedievalist Fantasy, and the Quest for Realism”, *Fantasy and Science-fiction Medievalisms: From Isaac Asimov to A Game of Thrones*, Helen Young, ed. Amherst-New York: Victoria Press, 2015: 34-43.



Nonetheless, it will be necessary to explain the importance of remaining conscious of GoT's nature as fiction,⁴¹ and therefore, everything in it is allowable, including the indiscriminate mix of historical eras which, even though they seem realistic,⁴² can make some medievalists furrow their brow, surprised by the most imaginative aspects of the series. Thus, perhaps it will be difficult to digest a plot that involves believing in the White Walkers, beings who are capable of returning to life after death.⁴³ Nor is it easy to accept the simultaneous existence in medieval times of an intense polytheism and an incipient monotheism, represented by R'hllor, Lord of Light,⁴⁴ and the social and philosophical consequences derived from these spiritual battles.⁴⁵ It is true that these two aspects of the series do not coincide with the social, economic, and scientific evolution of the Middle Ages in the West,⁴⁶ but other elements, easily identifiable as medieval, offer enough commonalities for us to meet the basic objective of designing a course like this: once captured the interest outside of the college halls, we can use it in our favour—in favour of the students really—in the classroom.⁴⁷

Due to these circumstances, in considering which events of the Medieval past may be included within the course materials, it is obvious that we are on uncertain terrain. Simple logic would indicate that with the necessary knowledge of history and the help of historiographic tools available to instructors, it is not difficult to relate any current event to similar events in the past. For example, the recent activity of the Femen group, with its polemic feminist demands made through the active empowerment of exhibiting their nude bodies can be compared to Godgyfu of Mercia, the legendary Lady Godiva, whose daring horseback ride in the nude

41. Raya Bravo, Irene; García García, Pedro José. "El camino hacia 'Juego de Tronos'. Nuevas tendencias en la fantasía cinematográfica y televisiva del nuevo milenio", *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 33-60.

42. Raya Bravo, Irene. "'Juego de Tronos', una fantasía realista", *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 145-170.

43. It is still useful the classic study on these credences by Patch, Howard R. *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature*. Harvard: University Press, 1950: especially 80-81.

44. Frankel, Valerie Estelle. *Mythology in 'Game of Thrones'*. Williamsburg: Thought & Expression Co., 2010: 112-125 and Rubio Hernández, María del Mar. "Religión y mito en 'Juego de Tronos'", *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 171-200.

45. Treated by Schoone, Jaron Daniël. "'Why Is the World So Full of Injustice?' Gods and the Problem of Evil", *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 154-167.

46. Some recent archaeological findings might modify the traditional assessment on the lack of afterlife fears during the European Middle Ages. See Mattison, Alyxandra. "Archaeological Finds Prove That Fear of the Walking Dead Was Very Real to Medieval Minds". *The Conversation*. 11 Abril 2017. 16 Abril 2017 <<http://theconversation.com/archaeological-finds-prove-that-fear-of-the-walking-dead-was-very-real-to-medieval-minds-76068>>.

47. As maintained by Paden, William D. "I Learned It at the Movies: Teaching Medieval Film", *Postmodern Medievalisms*. Richard Utz, Jesse G. Swan, eds. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004: 79-98.



—more or less—⁴⁸ through the streets of medieval Coventry had a praiseworthy objective: that her husband, Count Leofric, should come to reason and lower taxes on the already afflicted peasants of his estate. It is also a simple matter to establish an analogy with figures living in today's world, such as Edward Snowden or Chelsea Manning and, for example, Doña Marina la Malinche, translator and interpreter for Hernán Cortés, during the harshest years of the Spanish presence in America.⁴⁹ All of these figures share the feature of being considered heroes by some and traitors by others. For all of the above reasons, the essence of designing a course grounded on a series of fiction is locating the theme on which the scene is based that we want to highlight and, later, finding its equivalent in medieval Hispanic culture. The following lines will offer several of the analogies I have been using in the classroom since 2012 and continue to use today.

2. From Gothic Kings to Chubby Kings

Since the initial moments of the TV show one can find scenes which are susceptible to links with the Spanish Middle Ages. The second episode of the first season (SE01 EP02) recreates one of the most complicated aspects of medieval life to show on the small screen: the majesty of the entrance of the kings in the cities, or as is this case, in the castle of Lord Stark, Guardian of the North.⁵⁰ The sequence begins with a succession of low angle and high angle shots, a narrative resource used to show the attitude of submission owed to the visiting monarch, and the grip of the monarchy as a depositary of power.⁵¹ In the moment of the protocol summit, in which the two great men finally see each other face to face, the dialogue that takes place between the king and his vassal varies from ceremonially sumptuous to the comical.⁵² The king, Robert Baratheon, recriminates the Lord of Winterfell for having gained weight with a sonorous 'You've gotten fat!'. The loyal comrade in arms of the king's youth glances at the rotund monarch —much more overweight than him— before joining with him, amid sonorous laughter, in a brotherly embrace.

Although this humorous moment could be seen as a mere narrative anecdote, the scene is key, albeit comedic, to explain the essence of the most well-known

48. Difference between 'being naked' in the Middle Ages and nowadays is explained by Donoghue, Daniel. *Lady Godiva: A Literary History of the Legend*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003: 28-30.

49. Meza, Otilia. *La Malinche, Malinalli Tenepal: la gran calumniada*. Mexico: Edamex, 1994.

50. Further information on this topic in Medieval Castile can be found in de Andrés Díaz, Rosana. "Las entradas reales castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV según las crónicas de la época". *En la España Medieval*, 4 (1984): 47-62.

51. See Fallis, Don. "It Is a Great Crime to Lie to a King", *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 19-32.

52. As analysed by Gómez Rodríguez, Araceli. "Juegos de poder. Poniente como espejo político del mundo real", *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco Javier López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 275-302.



medieval sport: tournaments. In fact, the wargames —or *diversiones aparatosas*, as Jovellanos baptised them— were essential for maintaining the soldiers' physical fitness, a matter of great importance in those times in which their feudal mission was to assure the defence of the whole population.⁵³ Thus, on the occasions that the knights carried a little extra weight, it was a more than obvious symbol of peace: as the friendly talk between King Robert Baratheon and his friend Ned Stark suggests, they must have been in much better shape when they were both young warriors, fighting in the rebellion against Aerys II Targaryen, nicknamed *The Mad King*.⁵⁴

When the scene was shown in class, I put my students to work on a similar dialogue starring none other than one of the most famous Spanish monarchs: Ferdinand II of Aragón and V of Castile, that is, the Catholic King. We owe our knowledge of this event to Andrés Bernáldez, nicknamed *el Cura de los Palacios*, author of a successful chronicle of the Catholic Monarchs' reign. According to Bernáldez, the encounter took place in the Remesal interview, during the summer of 1506, the moment in which Ferdinand the Catholic and the new Castilian King, Philip of Habsburg, met each other in person for the first time:

*Y viéronse en lunes, quince días de julio, entre Sanabria y Esturianos, en un llano, en unos barbechos, en un robledal ralo [...] Venía el rey don Felipe en una mula baya muy hermosa y muy jaezada, y traía una capa francesa encima del sayo, toda de brocado. Iba el rey don Fernando en un caballo alazán claro, muy singular, y un capuz negro vestido. Las trompetas y bastardas, y chirimías y sacabuches, y dulzainas e instrumentos y músicas de ambos reyes eran tantas, y hacían tan grandes solemnidades y melodías, que no parecía sino gloria celestial. Y llegados el uno al otro a las cortesías, [...] se abrazaron, y estuvieron allí un gran rato los reyes.*⁵⁵

Bernaldez's description situates us in the same situation seen in *Game of Thrones*, a royal entry. In addition, it is as if Robert Baratheon is transformed into the Catholic King, for he himself jokes about the physical state of some opulent nobles to whom he is saluting, the same knights who, a few years before, were his soldiers in the military campaigns against the Muslims of Granada:

53. Melchor de Jovellanos, Gaspar. *Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas / Informe sobre la Ley Agraria*, Guillermo Carnero, ed. Madrid, 1997: 128-129.

54. Timm, Chad William. "Stop the Madness! Knowledge, Power, and Insanity in 'A Song of Ice and Fire'", *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 264-277.

55. "And they met on Monday, July 15th, between Sanabria and Esturianos, in a terrain of fallow lands, in a scraggy oak forest. King Phillip was coming on a very beautiful and embellished pale hackney, and he wore a French cloak over his tunic, all in brocade fabric. King Ferdinand rode a quite peculiar chestnut stallion, wearing a black hoodie. And trumpets and division viols, oboes and trombones, Breton bombards and other music played by musicians from both monarchs were so many, and they were playing so solemn melodies that everything seemed nothing but celestial glory. And when they both came to formalities, they hugged each other and remained there for a big while". Bernáldez, Andrés. *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, Manuel Gómez-Moreno Martínez, Juan de Mata Carriazo Arroquia, eds. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962: 498.



Motejó el rey don Fernando al conde de Benavente, yéndole a besar la mano, lo abrazó y le dijo:

- Conde, ¿cómo os habéis hecho gordo?

Él respondió que andando con el tiempo. Y eso mismo, al duque de Nájera dijo ciertas palabras. Y dijo al comendador mayor, don Garcilaso:

- ¿Y aun tú, García, también?

Y él respondió:

- Doy la fe a vuestra alteza que todos venimos así.⁵⁶

As I said, this was a complete surprise to the students: it was not just Robert Baratheon and Ned Stark who made brash comments to each other about those extra kilos due to military inactivity; but even a person of Ferdinand the Catholic's historical importance did just the same. In fact, the scene in *GoT*, although fictitious, is much more useful for the comprehension of what the narrated anecdote signified at that time in history that, without going very far, the representation of this scene in the recent movie entitled *La corona partida*.⁵⁷ In the Spanish film, the already mentioned Remesal interview between Philip I and Ferdinand the Catholic is also recreated, making the latter utter the words that the chronicler Bernáldez has put in his mouth in order to mock the weight of the Castilian noblemen, the same ones who had accompanied him to the Granada war before and who now appear a bit more solid in their armour. The only problem in this film is that the actors who are accused of gaining weight are actually not fat; in fact, they are frankly skinny. Similarly, the actor who plays the Catholic King makes a kind of grimace that looks like a smile. On the contrary then, to the ornamental figures and cheerful laughter of the two *Game of Thrones* characters, who appear to be representing the Remesal interview adjusting the context much more to its historic reality, despite being an audiovisual fiction with nothing to do with Spanish history.⁵⁸

It is clear to me that the witty joke of Ferdinand of Aragón to 'de-tense' a very compromised situation —a peace interview, to which they were all armed to the teeth—⁵⁹ has been absolutely misunderstood by the screenwriters of *La corona partida*. Thus, the anecdote stays in limbo, as is so frequent in the qualitatively

56. "King Ferdinand noticed the count of Benavente was there, so he went to kiss his hand, hugged him and said to him: -My count, how did you got fat? He replied that just as time passed by. And similar words the King said to the duke of Nájera. And the King said to the Great Commander, Lord Garcilaso: -And you too, Lord García? And he replied: -I witness to your highness that we all come in this physical condition". Bernáldez, Andrés. *Memorias del reinado...*: 498-499.

57. Directed by Jordi Frades in 2016. 21 november 2016 <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4634422/>>.

58. According to Professor Garver, "*Game of Thrones* does not claim to be an accurate representation of history, but it ends up conveying some aspects of the Middle Ages [...] far better than do other popular sources that purport to be historically accurate". Parisi, Tom. "Power behind the Throne...".

59. One of the Parliamentary representatives called to an assembly in Burgos, around the same year, bitterly complained on the fact that *todos los señores que están en la corte están acompañados de gentes de armas y usan de algunas formas que parecen más para la guerra y la revuelta de la corte que para sosiego del reyno* ("all lords at the Court are gathering together armed groups and the way they behave makes them appear more inclined to war and rebellion in the Court than to establish peace in the kingdom"). Carretero Zamora, José Manuel. "Representación política y procesos de legitimación", *Orígenes de la monarquía*



deficient treatment of Isabel of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon in the television shows and films about them. In general, the age of the Catholic Monarchs, although it has enjoyed a resurgence of interest on the part of the Seventh Art in the last few years, has suffered fiasco after fiasco in its representation, in which the vain, vacuous, and the superficial prevail, especially the most 'soap opera' ingredients as possible, leaving aside any deeper exploration of topics.⁶⁰

3. Bloody Weddings and Fundamental Betrayals

Let us return to *Game of Thrones* to analyse a key episode (SE03EP09), *The Rains of Castamere*, in which we find what has been considered one of the most intense moments of the series, known as the 'Red Wedding'. Here, a dark and devious nobleman named Walder Frey, secretly united with the Lannisters and with the help of another traitor lineage, the Boltons, assassinates not only Robb Stark, the King of the North, but also his wife Talisa—who, for greater dramatic tension, is pregnant—and also his mother Catelyn Tully-Stark. This horrible slaughter takes place during the wedding banquet celebrating the union between Edmure Tully—Robb Stark's maternal uncle—and Roslin Frey, daughter of the sinister host. Once again, we can find here a commonplace throughout the history of the European Middle Ages: the infamy of not respecting hospitality when attending a wedding where rival families are present to settle a score.⁶¹

The author of the saga, George R.R. Martin has acknowledged that he drew inspiration for what is undoubtedly one of the peak moments of his narrative from two well-known episodes of Scotland's history.⁶² The first one, occurred in Edinburgh during 1440, is called *The Black Dinner*, in which members of the Douglas family were executed by a rival clan, the Crichtons, after being invited to dinner in the presence of the boy-king James II Stewart.⁶³ The second example is not medieval, for it took place in 1692, but it was equally obnoxious: the Glencoe massacre, in which a new Scottish clan, the Campbells, did not respect the hospitality codes and

hispánica: propaganda y legitimación, ca. 1400-1520, José Manuel Nieto Soria, dir. Madrid: Dykinson, 1999: 177-205 (quoted text, page 189, note 29).

60. A collection of lame excuses on this matter provided by one of the scriptwriters of the TV show *Isabel* was reproduced on their study by Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco; Abad Merino, Mercedes. "El pasado como producto de consumo en los medios de ocio", *Historia y videojuegos: el impacto de los nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*, Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Íñigo Mugueta Moreno, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Compobell, 2016: 9-30, especially 20.

61. On hospitality in medieval Castile, see Guglielmi, Nilda. *Marginalidad en la Edad Media*. Buenos Aires: Biblos, 1998: 70-72.

62. Casey, Dan. "George R.R. Martin Explains the Red Wedding's Historical Roots". *Nerdist. Online Magazine*. 5 June 2013. 21 November 2016 <<http://nerdist.com/george-r-r-martin-explains-the-red-weddings-historical-roots/>>.

63. Brown, Michael. *The Black Douglasses: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998: 261-264.



stabbed some members of the MacDonalds, a rival clan, who had shared a meal with them under the illusion of friendship.⁶⁴

Once the coordinates have been set up, it is very simple to relate the Red Wedding to Spanish medieval history and literature, where such dramas are lavishly played out, together with the interesting addition that has come to us through different cultural traditions. Through the Western way, we cannot forget the *bodas y tornabodas* of Ruy Vázquez with Doña Lambra, in which one of the most important legends of medieval Castilian imagery was born: the legend of the *Siete Infantes de Lara*.⁶⁵ As it happens in both GoT and Scottish history, the origin of the myth lies in the enmity of two rival clans in Asturias, the Salas and the Laras,⁶⁶ which legend has amplified and diluted through the mists of historicity so much that it is hard to tell where truth ends and legend begins.⁶⁷ However, the transit of these materials from popular ballads towards historiographical works, especially *Primera Crónica General* and of *Crónica de 1344*,⁶⁸ guarantees us that, at least during the Late Hispanic Middle Ages, the story was considered to be true.

The legend establishes that during the wedding between Ruy Vázquez and Doña Lambra, it took place the most popular game in medieval Castile based upon chivalric skills: the *bohordos*.⁷⁰ It was because of that game when the confrontation arose, as declaimed in the *romance*:

<i>Doña Lambra con fantasía</i>	<i>grandes tablados armara</i>
<i>Allí salió un cavallero</i>	<i>de los de Córdova la llana,</i>
<i>cavallero en un cavallo</i>	<i>y en la su mano una vara.</i>
<i>Arremete su cavallo</i>	<i>al tablado la tirara</i>
<i>diziendo: - 'Amad, señoras,</i>	<i>cada cual como es amada,</i>
<i>que más vale un cavallero</i>	<i>de los de Córdova la llana,</i>
<i>más vale que cuatro ni cinco</i>	<i>de los de la flor de Lara'.⁷¹</i>

64. Prebble, John. *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre*. London: Penguin Books, 1968.

65. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Madrid: Gredos, 1971: especially 302-312.

66. Pedrosa, José Manuel. "Los siete infantes de Salas: leyenda, épica, romance y lírica reconsiderados a la luz de fórmulas y metros". *Memorabilia* 16 (2014): 86-130.

67. Lacarra Lanz, Eukene. "Sobre la historicidad de la leyenda de los 'Siete Infantes de Lara'", *Historicist Essays on Hispano-Medieval Narrative in Memory of Roger M. Walker*, Barry Taylor, Geoffrey West, eds. London: Maney Publishing for the Modern Humanities Research Association, 2005: 201-227. In addition, issue 36 of *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* (2013) is a critical cluster on this legend: Justel, Pablo, ed. *Cahiers d'études hispaniques médiévales* [Les sept infantes de Lara: l'histoire face à la légende], 36 (2013): 11-255.

68. Menéndez Pidal, Ramon. *La leyenda...*: 304.

69. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "Bofordar en el siglo XIII castellano: entre el entrenamiento militar y el espectáculo caballeresco", *El mundo urbano en la Castilla del siglo XIII*, González Jiménez, Manuel, ed. Sevilla: Fundación El Monte-Ayuntamiento de Ciudad Real, 2006, 2: 247-255, especially 251-252.

70. Agudo Romero, María del Mar. "Notas en torno a un juego medieval: los bohordos". *Aragón en la Edad Media. Homenaje a la Profesora Emérita María Luisa Ledesma Rubio*, 10-11 (1993): 17-29.

71. "Lady Lambra with fantasy / build big chivalry stages. / There appeared a knight / of those from Córdova the plain, / the knight on his horse / and on his hand a stick. / Galloping his horse, / to the stage he threw his stick, / saying: -You love, ladies, / each one the way you are loved, / for more valuable



The tragedy unravelled when Gonzalo González, the youngest of the Lara's *infantes* wanted to prove to Doña Lambra and the rest of attendants that they were wrong, showing in turn how good *bohordadores* the brothers were. But this action was considered bluster by Doña Lambra, who declared herself dishonoured. Her husband, Ruy Vázquez, took revenge delivering the father of the *infantes*, Gonzalo Gustioz, to the Moorish enemy, the ferocious Almanzor, whilst his seven children were killed in an ambush. In time, an eighth son, Mudarra, begotten by Gonzalo Gustioz in his brief stage at a Muslim prison, will end up avenging his brothers by capturing Ruy Vázquez without forgetting that *la traición [...] que él fiso fue comenzada [...] en Burgos, quando él casó con Doña Lambra*.⁷² In addition, the fact that in the GoT episode a mysterious melody, entitled *The Rains of Castamere*, was performed as a prelude to betrayal by the musicians who enliven the wedding is a magnificent thread to work on the legend of Lara's Seven *Infantes* in class, emphasising once again how these same events made their way from ballads and oral literature to the narrative texts,⁷³ and through them to the historiography itself.⁷⁴

Nevertheless, the nobiliary and dynastic quarrels in the formation of Castilian feudal territories during the Middle Ages are not the only theme that can be studied in relation to the sequence of GoT's Red Wedding. Coming not from an Eastern but at least an Eastern-like cultural prism, we must remember a similar confrontation in the complicated world of fifteenth-century Muslim Granada.⁷⁵ We have here the same constituent dramatic elements: two opposing sides, Sigriés and Banu Sarrach—hispanicised in Zegríes and Abencerrajes—, and a beautiful lady, the gorgeous Jarifa, in a Romeo-Julietesque tragedy that involved them all.⁷⁶ The historic novel by Ginés Pérez de Hita was published for the first time in 1595,⁷⁷ deafening of the universal fame of the legend that leads us again to a clear parallel we can take advantage of to use in our Literature and History classes.⁷⁸

Betrayal, in fact, is a recurring element in Martin's narrative and, of course, around which are built some of the most brilliant episodes of GoT. I do not think

is a knight / of those from Córdoba the plain, / way more than four or five / from the *crème de la crème* of Lara". Text reproduced from Di Stéfano, Giuseppe. *El romancero*. Madrid: Narcea, 1973: 245-246.

72. "The treason he committed began in Burgos, when he married Lady Lambra". Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *La leyenda...*, p. 312.

73. As expressed by Lathrop, Thomas Albert. *The Legend of the Siete Infantes de Lara (refundición toledana de la 'Crónica de 1344' version)*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972: 15-16.

74. Gómez Redondo, Fernando. "Fórmulas juglarescas en la historiografía romance de los siglos XIII y XIV". *La Corónica*, 15 (1986-1987): 225-239.

75. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *La guerra de Granada, 1482-1491*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2001: 15-19.

76. Analysed by Gimeno Casaldueño, Joaquín. "'El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa': composición y significado", *La creación literaria de la Edad Media y del Renacimiento. Su forma y su significado*. Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1977: 83-112.

77. Carrasco Urgoiti, María Soledad. "Apuntes sobre el mito de los Abencerrajes y sus versiones literarias". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebreos, Sección Árabe-Islam*, 47 (1998): 65-88.

78. See Mimura, Tomoko. "La causa morisca en *Guerras civiles de Granada*: un estudio comparativo entre la primera y segunda parte". *Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía*, 23 (2006): 165-180.



I am mistaken if I take for granted that any viewer of the series will agree that in narrative terms, the turning point of the first season was undoubtedly the betrayal of the character nicknamed *Littlefinger*, Lord Petyr Baelish, to Ned Stark, who was perhaps too much of an idealist always faithful to his principles.⁷⁹ Such perfidiousness ends with the lord of Winterfell beheaded in one of the most shocking scenes ever transmitted on the small screen. As usual, Martin and the writers' merit is to choose the theme of betrayal as the thread of the plot, as betrayals are essential to the creation of identity myths of all Western civilization.⁸⁰ The most famous precedent is, as many readers would recall, the murder of Cylon ordered by the later reviled and banished lineage of Alcmaeonids, in the incipient democracy of Athens.⁸¹ It can be equally found in famous events of the past such as the Trojan War, the violent death of Remus at the hands of his brother Romulus, and in general, in any mythical foundation, especially those that aim to cement any form of national identity.⁸²

The list of texts and events in medieval Spain that could be used here is quite long. I designed for this course a brief historical and literary analysis of some works centered on the legendary betrayal of Julián, count of Tarifa, and it proved to be profitable for the students. As it is well known, the noble count Julián decided to avenge the honor of his daughter Florinda —also known as La Cava—,⁸³ because she was raped by King Rodrigo, the last Visigoth monarch of Spain. Apart from deepening the misogynist conception of these medieval legends,⁸⁴ the different parts of the story, from rape to revenge and the consequent loss of Spain,⁸⁵ establish the coordinates of the Muslim invasion of the Iberian Peninsula in 711 as punishment for King Rodrigo's perfidy which also caused the loss of Spain's first national identity built in the Middle Ages.⁸⁶ But, obviously, it is only one example among the many that could have worked. As far as betrayal is concerned, historical reality is infinitely superior to any fiction. Thus, I am sure that my colleagues will be able to make even much better choices, in accordance to their academic objectives.

79. Hahn, David. "The Death of Lord Stark: The Perils of Idealism", *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 75-86.

80. Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. *Betrayals and Treason: Violations of Trust and Loyalty*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2001: 11-12.

81. Brook Manville, Philip. *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens*. Princeton: University Press, 1997: 73-78.

82. Coates, Geraldine. *Treacherous Foundations. Betrayal and Collective Identity in Early Spanish Epic, Chronicle and Drama*. Woodbridge-Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2009: especially 19-37.

83. Ratcliffe, Marjorie. "Víctima histórica y víctima literaria: La Cava Florinda", *Mujeres épicas españolas: silencios, olvidos e ideologías*. Woodbridge-Rochester: Tamesis, 2011: 17-62.

84. Drayson, Elizabeth. *The King and the Whore: King Roderick and La Cava*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

85. All texts can be read in Di Stéfano, Giuseppe. *El romancero...*: 223-232.

86. Davis, Elizabeth B. *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000: 176-177.



4. The Dangerous Life of a Medieval Minstrel

In recent years, TV series and films set in the Middle Ages have tended to focus more accurately on the musical and literary aspects. Most readers will agree that few, if any, elements are better able to convey the atmosphere of the age than music.⁸⁷ Even though the results achieved by both film and television industries have been somewhat unsatisfactory,⁸⁸ one must recognise that in GoT music serves as a link between the different storylines. In addition, it is essential in the impact that some of its most iconic scenes have had, such as the aforementioned Red Wedding, which is based upon the precisely balanced music which accompanies the action on screen.

Thanks to the recent releases of series and films set in the Middle Ages both on the small and big screens, justice has been done towards the minstrels, bards, troubadours, poets, and, generally speaking, to anyone who can be identified by any other title along with the composers, reciters, and lyric singers in medieval times.⁸⁹ They all played an essential role in the sharing of culture, a role that is nowadays difficult to explain to students.⁹⁰ In regard to the poetry of Castilian *cancioneros*, one idea that I always attempt to convey in my classes is precisely that although much of the lyric of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance is studied today as literature, in fact the enormous volume of songbooks that we have conserved would indicate that such a great impact achieved by *cancionero* poetry was similar to the popularity music has today;⁹¹ otherwise, it is hard to understand its high popularity back then.⁹²

In GoT, as it corresponds to a series framed in medieval times, we can see a minstrel named Marillion. In principle, he seems to play an anecdotal role, but later has his little moment of glory... if you can call that to his last —so far— shocking appearance. The first time we see him (S01E04) he finds himself in one of the typical areas of his craft, a tavern, where he offers his services to Lady Catelyn Stark and her companion, Sir Rodrik Cassell. This happens shortly before the chapter concludes with another scene: the allies of the Stark lineage present in the same tavern, offering the feudal *auxilium* owed to their liege —Lady Catelyn in

87. Haines, John. *Music in Films on the Middle Ages: Authenticity vs. Fantasy*. New York: Routledge, 2013: 14.

88. I briefly dealt with this in my blog: Perea, Oscar. “Música en las series históricas: ¿adorno de rigor prescindible?”. *Harto de tanta porfia...* 17 October 2013. 19 January 2017 <<http://opr71.blogspot.com.es/2013/10/musica-en-las-series-historicas-adorno.html>>.

89. Lacarra Lanz, Eukene. “Espectáculos de la voz y la palabra. Juglares y afines”, *Historia de los espectáculos en España*, Andrés Amorós, José Manuel Díez Borque, eds. Madrid: Castalia, 1999: 405-418.

90. A quite useful first approach to this topic, especially for non-Hispanic students, can be found in Herrero Massari, José Manuel. *Juglares y trovadores*. Madrid: Akal, 1999.

91. Gómez-Bravo, Ana M. “‘Dezir canciones’: The Question of Genre in Fifteenth-Century Castilian ‘Cancionero’ Poetry”, *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, William D. Paden, ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000: 158-189.

92. For further explanation of these numbers, see Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “Pedro I y la propaganda antipetrista en la génesis y el éxito de la poesía cancioneril castellana (I)”. *La Corónica*, 45/2 (2017): 109-132, especially 117-119.



this case—,⁹³ imprisoned Tyrion Lannister under the accusation of engineering the accident that left Bran Stark, son of lady Catelyn and Ned Stark, badly hurt. In this first scene, the bard Marillion does not sing, but only shows the precariousness of his craft: he offers his art to anyone, some and others, even if they are enemies—such as the Stark and the Lannister—, in exchange for a few coins or food and drink, if such were the will of the listener. As it is obvious for any medievalist after reading these lines, the last *topos* given form by Marillion, that of the joy of minstrel-like begging—as coined by Menéndez Pidal—,⁹⁴ immediately recalls that *vaso de bon vino* that Gonzalo de Berceo believed he deserved for having composed his poetry in romance language (*román paladino*).⁹⁵

In the following episode (S01E05), the appearance of Marillion shows us another fundamental aspect of the medieval poets: their double capacity to be both witnesses and narrators of important events of their times. The scene places Tyrion Lannister, hooded and bound, being led on horseback by Lady Stark and her military retinue, to the place where he would be judged by the serious accusations made against him. As the warriors sharpen their weapons and prepare to face the dangerous days that await them by escorting such an illustrious prisoner, Marillion offers a playful contrast. He is depicted tuning his stringed musical instrument, with which he rehearses the lyrics of a song inspired by the events that he has just witnessed, namely the capture of Tyrion Lannister, who is contemptuously referred to as ‘dwarf’.⁹⁶ A sudden attack by the wild tribes of the mountains interrupts the musical tuning of the troubadour, who is hit by a stone sent by a sling at the beginning of a small skirmish. Perhaps this is a joke of the writers based on the well-known custom that made the theatrical spectators likely to throw vegetables at the artists if their performance was not to their liking.⁹⁷

If on that occasion the minstrel was only struck for having dared to be a faithful witness of what he had just seen, the next time we see him enter the scene (S01E10) is to attend his personal tragedy. The starting point is the event presiding over the resolution of the end of the first season: the death of King Robert Baratheon, after an

93. Valdeón Baroque, Julio. “Sobre el feudalismo. Treinta años después”, *Estudios sobre señorío y feudalismo: homenaje a Julio Valdeón*, Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, Eliseo Serrano Martín, eds. Saragossa: Institución ‘Fernando el Católico’, 2010: 9-25.

94. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Poesía juglaresca y juglares. Aspectos de la historia literaria y cultural de España*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1962: 11.

95. “glass of good wine”: Berceo, Gonzalo de. *La vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. Brian Dutton. London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1978: 35. I am not convinced at all that this is a simple allusion to Eucharist. I rather believe it is a word game mixing both religious and social drinking habits in order to create a fun connivance between Berceo and his audience. Gutiérrez Cuadrado, Juan. “El vaso de vino de Berceo (‘Santo Domingo’, 2d)”, *Estudios filológicos en homenaje a Eugenio de Bustos Tovar*. José Antonio Bartol, Javier de Santiago, Juan Felipe García, eds. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1992: I, 423-432.

96. Lyrics are as follows: “On that eve, / the captive Imp / downwards from his horse did limp: / no more would he preen and primp / in garb of red and gold”.

97. It was a well-established custom in the 16th and 17th centuries and possibly decades before as well. Morales, Ramón. “Glosario de alusiones a vegetales en las obras completas de Cervantes”. *Anales Cervantinos*, 37 (2005): 267-295, especially 287-288.



unfortunate hunting accident in which he was mortally wounded by a wild boar.⁹⁸ Leaving aside the chain of betrayals and deaths that follow, in the scene of concern here we see Marillion, sitting in the middle of the great room of the Iron Throne, singing a song while playing his musical instrument. Later on, the camera shows the new king, Joffrey Baratheon, successor of whom everyone believes his father —although the audience already knows that this is not true—, listening attentively to the song that our minstrel composed on the occasion of the death of the previous monarch and that, apparently, he also sang in a tavern to entertain the common people:

The boar's great tusks, they boded ill,
for good King Robert's health;
and the beast was every bit as fat
as Robert was himself.
But our brave King cried: 'Do your worst!
I'll have your ugly head!
You're nowhere near as murderous as
the lion in my bed!'
King Robert lost his battle
and he failed his final test:
the lion ripped his balls off
and the boar did all the rest.

Although the perfidious Joffrey applauds pretending to have enjoyed this song, and although Marillion solemnly swears not to sing it again in public, the poor troubadour will pay dearly for his daring. The reason is quite evident: it is impossible to forgive having composed a burlesque poem about the death of the king and blaming the death of Robert Baratheon to the queen mother, Cersei Lannister —hailed as 'the lion', for such an animal is the heraldic symbol of her lineage. Thus, all the tension in the scene turns into a tragedy when, after a few seconds of enthusiastic applause, the sadistic young monarch, in front of a queen mother —who does nothing to stop her son's cruelty—, asks the minstrel whether he would rather keep his tongue or his hands. Marillion responded innocently on how every man needs his hands, but King Joffrey immediately orders the executioner, Sir Ilyn Payne, to cut Marillion's tongue out with a hunting knife in the crowded court, as a public punishment for the offence committed.

Perhaps we might think that this is an exaggerated scene, the result of the ingenuity of writers imbued in the current trend of crude television realism in the treatment of the Middle Ages that has been baptised as 'dirty medievalism'.⁹⁹ This would be a grave error. There are many medieval Spanish texts and documents that

98. Montoya, María Isabel. "La caza en el medievo peninsular". *Tonos. Revista electrónica de estudios filológicos*, 6. 6 December 2003. 21 April 2017 <<http://www.um.es/tonosdigital/znum6/portada/Cazamur.htm>>.

99. Elliott, Andrew B. R. "'Our Minds Are in the Gutter, But Some of Us are Watching Starz...' Sex, Violence and Dirty Medievalism", *Fantasy and Science-fiction Medievalisms: From Isaac Asimov to A Game of Thrones*, Helen Victoria Young, ed. Amherst-New York: Victoria Press, 2015: 54-63.



allow us to establish not only relevant comparisons between historical reality and television fiction, but also to specify that the scene is very appropriate to show the real danger faced by those authors who dared to compose verses against the Crown or to question the politics of the monarchy.

For all these reasons, the minstrel's representation in GoT fits quite well with the reality of the troubadours in medieval times, perhaps only matched by that of the little-known film *The Castilian* (1963),¹⁰⁰ a story in cinemascope of the legends about Fernán González, first Count of Castile. In this uneven and *sui generis* film, which shares a lot of the quaint features of 'B' movies, Frankie Avalon—a teen idol in the United States at the time—gives shape to the vicissitudes faced by a minstrel who goes by the name Jerifán.¹⁰¹ He performs various songs with a pleasant Spanish tone but with some very poor lyrics, to be generous. What unites the picturesque Jerifán with the daring Marillion in fiction is an incontestable historical reality: the absence of personal security once they had first-hand experience of a capital event lived by the society at large. Their profession forced them to use these famous events in their compositions in order to appeal to their audience; after all, being a minstrel was based on the frenetic activity of adapting to the constant changes of taste of the audience to which they owed their support.¹⁰² However, the risk was quite evident, especially if the protagonists of those events, whether direct or indirect, did not agree with the literary version of the facts narrated, as it happens with the vengeful Joffrey Baratheon and the poor faint, first metaphorical and later literally, Marillion.

Scenes similar to those in the Hall of the Iron Throne, although not generally part of teaching plans or even higher education, are well known to scholars in the Middle Ages. To provide only two examples, I will first mention a poet, named Hernando de Ribera, who accompanied the armies of the Catholic Monarchs in the campaigns of Granada with the aim of writing a chronicle in verse of what was foreseen to be a glorious military victory over the Muslim kingdom.¹⁰³ One of the most striking instances at the beginning of the war was the siege of the fortress of Tájara—present-day Huétor-Tájar, Granada—, in which Enrique Enríquez—maternal uncle of Ferdinand the Catholic—was wounded while carrying out his role as head *majordomo*.¹⁰⁴ It seems that the verses written by Ribera to describe the event were not to the liking of the nobleman, as they did not sufficiently emphasise the bravery that the royal servant had shown during the skirmish. According to the chronicler Bernáldez, the despised Enríquez did not shake his hand in punishing the daring poet, for he *imbió por la corónica, que estaba en un monasterio, y casi por la fuerza*

100. *The Castillian*. 21 Abril 2017 <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0056646/>>.

101. Escalante Varona, Alberto. "La transmisión cinematográfica de la leyenda de Fernán González: 'El valle de las espadas' de Javier Setó". *Cuadernos de Aleph*, 9 (2017): 33-60.

102. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Poesía juglaresca y juglares...*: 245.

103. Deyermond, Alan. "La historiografía Trastámara: ¿una cuarentena de obras perdidas?", *Estudios en homenaje a don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz en sus 90 años*. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-Instituto de Historia, 1986: IV, 161-194, especially 181-182.

104. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. *Estudio biográfico sobre los poetas del "Cancionero general"*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007: 176-178.



la sacó y quitó todo lo que quiso.¹⁰⁵ The fact that no manuscript nor printed version of Ribera's chronicle has been preserved is a good proof of the zeal with which the Catholic King's uncle took to erase the affront. This was not the only case of this: we know several more chroniclers and authors of the fifteenth century who saw their works dismissed and were forced to modify them.¹⁰⁶

The absence of biographical data on Hernando de Ribera prevents us from certifying that he suffered a fate similar to that of Marillion after this incident. However, only a few years later, during the time of the Granada War, we do know a case in which the composers of a poem ended up much worse than our bard of GoT. I am talking of the so-called *Coplas del Tabefe*,¹⁰⁷ composed in 1490 in Jerez de la Frontera.¹⁰⁸ Through this poem, engraved with a slight satirical patina and additions from pastoralist literature,¹⁰⁹ its authors criticised the excessive economic expenditure in the military campaigns against the Muslims and, consequently, the hardships that the Andalusian councils faced to supply the troops operating in the area,¹¹⁰ as can be read in the following excerpt:

*Abre, abre las orejas.
escucha, escucha, pastor;
di, ¿no oyes el clamor
que te hacen tus ovejas?
Sus voces suben al cielo
quejando su desconsuelo:
que las trasquilas a engaño
tantas veces cada año
que nunca las cubre el pelo.*

*Tienes tres trasquiladeros,
cada cual con su tijera,
y dejas tales los cueros
que el ganado desespera;*

105. "Send someone to search for the chronicle, which was in a monastery, and almost by force took it and modify everything he wanted". Bernáldez, Andrés. *Memorias...*: 537.

106. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "'Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos': los conversos en los cancioneros castellanos del tardío medievo (1454-1504)". *La Corónica*, 40/1 (2011): 183-226, especially 205-210.

107. ID 0206 in Dutton's classification of medieval Spanish *cancionero* poetry, unanimously followed by the academy. Dutton, Brian. *El cancionero castellano del siglo XV (c. 1360-1520)*. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad, 1990-1991: II, 243.

108. Ferrer-Chivite, Manuel. "Sobre las coplas llamadas 'del Tabefe', su autor y sus avatares", *Scriptura (=Letradura. Estudios de literatura medieval)*, 13 (1997): 151-172.

109. Elia, Paola. "Le 'Coplas del tabefe' una satira del XV secolo spagnolo". *Studi e Ricerche*, 2 (1983): 137-183.

110. On these financial troubles, see Manuel González Jiménez, "La guerra en su vertiente andaluza: participación de las ciudades, villas y señoríos andaluces", *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla*, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, ed. Granada: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 1993: 651-674.



*y después que has trasquilado
alquilas todo el ganado
a peladores que van,
y si les ladra algún can,
arrójasle tú el cayado [...]*¹¹¹

*Has sacado tanta lana
que si dieres buena maña
hubieras hecho una manta
que cubrieras toda España;
mas como lo has repelado,
el viento te lo ha llevado,
que no era tu intención
dirigida a salvación
ni a provecho del ganado [...]*

*Es tan grande tu codicia
que no hay cosa que te harte,
mas venga de cualquier parte,
bien ganado o con malicia,
que todo cabe en tu seno,
lo mal ganado y lo bueno,
trasquilado o repelado,
mal ganado o bien ganado,
que sea tuyo o ajeno [...]*

*Si dices que fue tu empresa
por servicio de tu ley
y por aumentar tu grey
y acrecentar tu dehesa,
y que lo que has trasquilado
ha sido bien empleado,
pues que allanaste las sierras,
¿para qué quieres las tierras,
si destruyes el ganado?*¹¹²

111. "Open, open your ears. / Listen, listen, shepherd; / tell me, did not you hear the roar / that your flock is doing to you? / Their voices climb to the sky / claiming for their grief: / that you misleadingly shear them / so many times in the year / that the wools never emerge again. / You got three shearmen, / each of them with one scissor, / and you leave their skin so bald / that the entire flock despairs; / and after the shorn is done, / you rent the entire livestock / to hair peelers who go there, / and if they are barked by your sheepdogs, / you silence them by throwing your crook." I take the poem's text, a selection of stanzas 1 and 2, from my own edition at Perea Rodríguez, Oscar. "Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos'...": 207.

112. "You have extracted so much wool / that, if you were skilled enough, / you would have knit a blanket / long enough to cover the entire Spain; / but since you had nothing left but fuzz, / these were gone with the wind / because your intention was never / saving your sheep flock, / nor working towards its profit. / Your



The students on my course had to analyse the fictitious poem composed by Marillion, which the Lannisters found so offensive, and the *Coplas del Tabefe*, which have arrived to us quite late—not by chance—in relation to the date of its composition.¹¹³ Apart from verifying the metaphorical uses of animals and,¹¹⁴ above all, the well-known figurative representation of the king as the good shepherd of his flock¹¹⁵—so important for the formulation of medieval theories of power—,¹¹⁶ what surprised the students again was the timelessness of the criticism conveyed by this poem. The group analysis in the seminars emphasised that, in the first stanza there is a complaint that the king does not listen to the petitions of the common people, especially with regard to the high taxes they pay to sustain the wars; in the second, the complaints refer to the misuse of those taxes; in the third, they refer to the greed of the rulers over the common wealth; and finally, a quasi-pacifist plea about the meaninglessness of all wars. One must simply take a look at the headlines of any newspaper today to see the striking similarities between the current-day concerns and those of a poem composed five hundred years ago.

In addition, students emphasised the absence of causticity and indecency regarding *Coplas del tabefe*, on the contrary that we have just seen in the lyrics composed by Marillion. Due to this fact, I was given the opportunity to explain how Hispanic medieval literatures were largely enriched by these ingredients, especially those Galician minstrels who turned into an art *la difamación por medio de canciones*:¹¹⁷ the literary genre called *cantigas de escarnio y maldizer*.¹¹⁸ In regard to Castilian *cancioneros*, I made a short survey of protest poetry,¹¹⁹ a somewhat polemic label,¹²⁰

greed is so big / that nothing satiates you, / wherever it may come, / well earned or earned with malice, / for everything fits fine within you, / either good or badly acquired, / sheared or repeatedly peeled, / gained good or gained evil, / either yours or owned by others. / If you say that your intention was / servicing your law / and increasing your flock / and enhancing your meadows, / and what you have sheared / it has been well spent, / since you took the mountains by force, / why you do want the pasturelands / if you destroy the sheep flock?". I take the poem's text, a selection of stanzas 4 and 14, from my own edition at Perea Rodríguez, Oscar. "Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos'...": 207-208.

113. All materials witnesses of this text (Texid 10476) can be found at the database and research project directed by Charles Faulhaber *PhiloBiblon*—BETA: *Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos*. 23 February 2017 <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/index_es.html>.

114. Martín Pascual, Llúcia. *La tradició animalística en la literatura catalana medieval*. Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència-Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1996: 18-21.

115. See Irigoyen García, Javier. *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain*, Toronto: Toronto Iberic, 2014: 14-17.

116. Villacañas, José Luis. "Esferas de acción y sistema filosófico. El carácter imprescindible de la metáfora". *Daimon: Revista de Filosofía*, 24 (2001): 111-126.

117. "the defamation by the use of songs". Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Poesía juglaresca y juglares...*, p. 160.

118. See the classic study by Rodrigues Lapa, Manuel. *Cantigas d'escarnio e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*. Lisboa: João Sá da Costa, 1995. More focused on the connection with the Castilian literary tradition is the work by Paredes Núñez, Juan. *Las cantigas de escarnio y maldecir de Alfonso X: problemas de interpretación y crítica textual*. London: Queen Mary University, 2000.

119. Rodríguez Puértolas, Julio. *Poesía de protesta en la Edad Media castellana: Historia y antología*. Madrid: Gredos, 1968.

120. Camillo, Otavio Di. "¿Existe una literatura de oposición en la España de fines de la Edad Media?", *Génèse médiévale de l'Espagne moderne. Du refus à la revolte: les résistances*, Adeline Rucquoi, ed. Nice:



despite the fact that it achieved enormous popularity during the entire 15th century. We first analysed *Coplas de la Panadera* (Dutton ID 1945), composed during the reign of John II shortly afterwards the first battle of Olmedo in 1445;¹²¹ and, of course, both *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* (Dutton ID 2024) and *Coplas del Provincial* (Dutton ID 4119). These two were written against Henry IV and widely disseminated during his reign with the clear objective of undermining the king's authority. This political manoeuvre was quite useful to his sister, the future Catholic Queen Isabella in her aspirations to the Castilian throne.¹²² The tone of *Coplas del tabefe* proves to be quite analogous to that of *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*;¹²³ on the other hand, *Coplas del Provincial* perhaps have more similarities with those from GoT, especially with regard to the impropriety and explicit sexual innuendoes.

Nevertheless, if we are unable to find obscenities in the poetry written during the Catholic Monarchs' reign like those seen in both Marillion's song and *Coplas del Provincial* it is for one reason only: Isabella and Ferdinand were absolutely determined to fiercely punish any troubadour who dared to criticise—even minimally—their government's policies. In fact, the authors of *Coplas del tabefe* are a perfect example on how implacable the execution of justice was in 15th-century Castile in order to censure this sort of poetry. It is no surprise, therefore, that radical measures taken by the Queen of Castile and the King of Aragon against these authors shocked some students, especially because *Coplas del tabefe* is clearly a much more naïve protest than the one recited in GoT, as we are about to see.

In order to calibrate the historical background in which *Coplas del tabefe* were composed, let us recall another barely known text written in this period with similar parameters: the *Consejos que dio el fraile Sanzones*.¹²⁴ This consists of a discreet memorial, with many controversial issues regarding spirituality, in which Queen Isabella is advised on how to approach the economic problems that the Andalusian villages faced as suppliers for the military involved in the Granada War.¹²⁵ Perhaps to avoid any initial rejection, the text is structured as a plea, being thus respectful and obedient to the dedicatee, something logical considering its author was a monk of the royal court.¹²⁶ Even so, any petition, whether in verse or prose, too adventurous to go

Université de Nice, 1991: 145-169.

121. Guglielmi, Nilda. *Marginalidad en la Edad Media...*: 443-456.

122. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "Enrique IV en la poesía de cancionero: algún 'afán' ignorado entre las 'mil congoxas' conocidas". *Cancionero general*, 3 (2005): 33-71.

123. Paolini, Devid. "Los antecedentes bucólicos de las 'Coplas de Mingo Revulgo'". *La Corónica*, 38/1 (2009): 231-246.

124. Recently edited by Peinado Santaella, Rafael G. "Consejos que dio el fraile Sanzones a la reina Isabel I sobre cómo financiar la guerra de Granada (¿1482?)". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos del Reino de Granada*, 27 (2015): 197-203.

125. Azcona, Tarsicio de. *Isabel la Católica, estudio crítico de su vida y de su reinado*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993: 662-665.

126. I do not believe the author is *fray* Alonso de Burgos, bishop of Córdoba between 1476 and 1482, as Peinado Santaella argues (Peinado Santaella, Rafael G. "Consejos que dio el fraile Sanzones..." 197). I do suspect that 'Sanzones' is actually *fray* Juan de Sanzoles, monk of the Trinity Order born in Burgos,



beyond reasonable limits,¹²⁷ was automatically turned into an absolute danger for their authors, because the Castilian laws specifically protected victims of slanders.¹²⁸ If jokes were made for members of the high social class, such as a nobleman, a bishop, or a member of the royal family, the risk for the poets was even higher, as much as they tried to protect themselves by recurring to anonymity.¹²⁹

Returning to *Coplas del tabefe*, the immediate action taken to stop their spread was made without remorse because they feared that an important detail which had played in their favor during the civil war against Henry IV and his heiress, Juana la Beltraneja,¹³⁰ could be turned against them. The Catholic Monarchs were absolutely aware of how the quick diffusion of critiques and burlesques in verse could harm their stability as rulers, for, as another troubadour better explained, poems like these *se asientan mejor e duran más en la memoria que las prosas*.¹³¹ Poetical mockery, as Isabella and Ferdinand knew quite well, was always a powerful political weapon,¹³² reason why the incident related with *Coplas del tabefe* was not the first time in which they reacted with supersonic speed instructing actions of literary censorship in order to protect their interests. Among other examples, I would like to underscore a document issued in Burgos in 1492, that has been preserved in the Municipal Archive of this city. In this document, Isabella and Ferdinand declared having received news of a handful of inhabitants of the city who *con dañado ánimo e intención fazen coplas e dicen cantares e otras palabras desonestas públicamente*, because of the forthcoming arrival to Burgos of the Holy Inquisition Court. As a result, the Catholic Monarchs instructed the *corregidor* in Burgos that *si alguno o algunos las fiziere o dixere [...] los fagades punir e castigar segund debáis de derecho*,¹³³ this is, punishing both the composition and diffusion of these burlesques.

The final stage of this policy of extreme censorship occurred in 1502, when, by means of a *Pragmática Sanción* the Crown obtained the total control of the printing

who served as a chaplain in the Catholic Monarchs' court during the last decades of the 15th century. I am currently preparing a forthcoming paper on his identity.

127. Limits established in another text, a blend of prose and poetry, which I analysed a few years ago. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "La utopía política en la literatura castellana del siglo XV: el 'Libro de los Pensamientos Variables' (BNM, ms. 6642)". *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies*, 2 (2002): 23-62.

128. Further explanation on how Common Laws (*fueros*) used to punish songs with smear contents can be found in Guglielmi, Nilda. *Marginalidad en la Edad Media*...: 456-457.

129. Beltrán, Vicenç. "Anonymity and Opaque Attributions in Late-Medieval Poetic Compilations". *Scriptorium*, 58 (2004): 26-47.

130. Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Claves históricas en el reinado de Fernando e Isabel*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998: 60-61.

131. "settle better and last longer in the memory than prose". I am referring to Gómez Manrique, who expressed this idea on the prologue in prose previous to his successful *Regimiento de Príncipes* (Dutton ID 1872). Manrique, Gómez. *Cancionero*, ed. Antonio Paz y Melia. Madrid: Imprenta de A. Pérez Durrull, 1885: II, 167.

132. As defined by Scholberg, Kenneth R. *Sátira e invectiva en la España medieval*. Madrid: Gredos, 1971: 261-262.

133. "With bad mood and intention compose poems and publicly sing songs and other dishonest words"; "if someone or many compose or tell them [...] punish them as you should by right". Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "'Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos'...": 209.



industry in Castile.¹³⁴ It is therefore quite clear that Isabella and Ferdinand's iron fist in regard to censorship is responsible for the fact that, even though there was a large amount of brilliant literature written during their reign,¹³⁵ it cannot be seriously taken into account with respect to the social and cultural history of those times. The reason is very simple: because by doing that, we would be granting the category of historiographic data to just pure propaganda in favor of their political project.¹³⁶ Thus, however incredible it might seem, among the ties that bind the Catholic Monarchs with the fictional king of the Seven Kingdoms, the bloodthirsty Joffrey Baratheon, the cruelty they showed in judging their courtly minstrels is clearly one, as we shall see.

Those accused of having composed *Coplas del tabefe* were members of the urban oligarchy of Jerez de la Frontera: a public notary named Bartolomé de Ayala; a bachelor whose surname was Trujillo; and an alderman of the city council, Hernando de Vera. The moment in which the very first echoes of gossip and laughter provoked by *Coplas del tabefe* arrived to the monarchs' attention, Ayala and Trujillo were put into custody, judged immediately, and declared guilty of high treason. According to the laws in force then, the *Siete Partidas*, the notary and the bachelor were executed at once for their lèse-majesté betrayal.¹³⁷ This is not a punishment as extreme as cutting out their tongues in the throne room in front of a crowded court, but it surely is more lethal.

What about Hernando de Vera? There is one more astonishing connection between the Catholic Monarchs and GoT in this story of audacious troubadours punished by death for making light of the monarchy. Let us recall that, according to law enforced enquiries, Vera was identified as the author of most of the controversial stanzas, yet he was the only one who saved his life, although in a far-fetched manner.¹³⁸ When in 1490 his two comrades were captured, he managed to travelling at night through Andalucía and escaped on horseback to Portugal.¹³⁹ He lived incognito there for a few years, constantly hiding himself from Isabella's fury: the Queen was so eager to find him that she offered a complete debt forgiveness to any of her subjects that might provide a single clue as to the fugitive's whereabouts.¹⁴⁰ Finally, in 1497 the alderman was allowed to obtain a royal pardon thanks to the mediation of his father, Pedro de Vera, although he was forced to abandon his self-imposed exile in Portugal and joining instead a quite challenging employment: serving one entire year in such a perilous

134. Moll, Jaime. "Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro". *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 59 (1979): 49-107, specifically 50-52.

135. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *La España de los Reyes Católicos*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999: 189-190.

136. To further explanation, see Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "'Este rastro de confeso': Converso Poets and Topics in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish 'Cancioneros'", *Las 'Obras de burlas' del Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo*, Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, Marcial Rubio Árbuez, eds. Santa Bárbara: Publications of eHumanista-University of California, 2015: 141-185, especially 167-170.

137. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "'Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos'...": 207-208.

138. As explained by Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. "Las coplas de Hernando de Vera: un caso de crítica al gobierno de Isabel la Católica". *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, 14 (1968): 365-381.

139. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. "'Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos'...": 208.

140. Ferrer-Chivite, Manuel. "Sobre las coplas llamadas 'del Tabefe'...": 157.



destination as the Gibraltar strait galleys.¹⁴¹ Pedro de Vera intervened to save the life of his wayward son making good use of his chivalric reputation: the Catholic Monarchs held him in high esteem, for he was first a brave conqueror, and later an efficient governor of the Canary Islands, whose lands had recently been incorporated into the Castilian dominions.¹⁴²

Readers interested in medieval history perhaps have enjoyed of this brief and not very-well known story. But if you are also a follower of GoT, I am sure that you already recognised—as my students did—another one of these unexpected analogies that link the Middle Ages in Spain and the fantasy of Westeros. Yes, Hernando and Pedro de Vera are just two Hispanic doppelgängers of Sir Jorah and Sir Jeor Mormont, father and son in GoT, two characters that protagonised a peculiar history of treason, banishment, and family enmity, just like that of the two members of the Vera lineage.

In the instructional design of this lesson, the last activity in class to evaluate student's understanding of the risks threatening medieval minstrels was analysing these two images below. They represent indeed the actors characterised as King and Queen Mother of the Seven Kingdoms in GoT—Joffrey Baratheon and Cersei Lannister—as well as the actors performing the Catholic Monarchs—Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon—in the successful Spanish TV show *Isabel*.



FIGURE 1

141. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. "Las coplas de Hernando de Vera...": 379-381.

142. Sancho de Sopranís, Hipólito. "La familia del gobernador Pedro de Vera". *Revista de Historia. Universidad de La Laguna*, 75 (1946): 260-276.



FIGURE 2

After having taken a look at these pictures, I encouraged the students to compare both stories, that of Marillion and that of the authors of *Coplas del tabefe*, in order to establish which one of the two pair of monarchs may be described as cruel and unmerciful and why. They needed to contrast their ideas with the secondary literature read towards this lesson and the popular characterisation of each one of these pairs. I was obviously trying to warn them against the artistical profiling of historical characters,¹⁴³ especially in shows and films,¹⁴⁴ because the limits between historiography and political propaganda are often unclear outside of the academia. At the same time, we dealt with the consequences of confronting power by critiques against the government, not only in Medieval Iberia, but in our times as well. In regard to Spain, the deplorable lack of freedom of expression this country is suffering nowadays was not unnoticed to my students. In fact, they quickly connected these actions with news they were aware of, such as modest puppeteers incarcerated due to allegedly performing criminal plays,¹⁴⁵ rap singers on trial for composing lyrics

143. There is an evident risk in using the past inadequately, with no separation between what is truthful and what is veracious, as maintained by Rosenstone, Robert. "The Historical Film as Real History". *Film Historia Online*, 5/1 (1995) <<http://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/filmhistoria/article/view/12244/14998>> (Consulted 2nd March 2017).

144. Elliott, Andrew B. R. *Remaking the Middle Ages: The Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2011: 177-191.

145. I am obviously referring to the authors of *Títeres desde abajo*, briefly incarcerated in 2016 due to a play entitled *La bruja y Don Cristóbal*, that was partially based on *Retablillo de Don Cristóbal*, by Federico García Lorca. Meseguer, Marina. "Los titiriteros encarcelados por enaltecimiento del terrorismo se inspiraron en una obra de Lorca". *La Vanguardia*. 8 February 2016. 2 March 2017. <<http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20160207/301972775526/titiriteros-encarcelados-enaltecimiento-terrorismo-inspiraron-lorca.html>>.



against political mechanisms of the State;¹⁴⁶ and law-abiding citizens sentenced to jail for having written a few jokes on Twitter about deceased rulers.¹⁴⁷

5. By way of conclusion

GoT has boundless possibilities for application in higher education, more than can be dealt with the modest space I have in these lines. Thus, I will simply close by pointing out a few of the most salient themes that would lend themselves to application in the classroom and offering some advice for those who would like to explore using GoT as a resource in classroom.¹⁴⁸

First, I do believe that the two fictional languages created for the show, Dothraki and High Valyrian,¹⁴⁹ are a great opportunity to work in class on the evolution of the romance languages in the Iberian Peninsula, by using documents such as *Glosas emilianenses*, *Nodicia de kesos*, and the Orgañá homilies. With a more historical perspective, everything that surrounds the story of the Night's Watch and the Wall built in the North to keep Westeros free of foreign invaders offers an excellent background for the study of border and cross-border societies. Additionally, the plot involving the fight between the legitimate heir to the Iron Throne, Stannis Baratheon, and the illegitimate candidate, his brother Renly, clearly recalls the Castilian civil war of the 14th century between another pair of siblings: Peter I, the legitimate king, and the pretender Henry of Trastámara, future Henry II. A more typical element in all films related to the Middle Ages is that of tournaments, jousts, and courtly games, which is very well treated in GoT and may stimulate the analysis of the medieval chivalric universe using texts such as *Paso Honroso de Suero de Quiñones*, by Pero Rodríguez de Lena. Last but not least, the significant presence of books of lineages describing the main families of the Seven Kingdoms, in which clues can be found even about incestuous relationships inside a certain powerful

146. As it happened to Pablo Hásel, César Strawberry, and some others *Rimadores en el punto de mira* ("rhymers in the hot seat") defined by Cruz, Nando. "Rimadores en el punto de mira de la justicia". *El Periódico*. 21 January 2017. 3 April 2017 <<http://www.elperiodico.com/es/noticias/ocio-y-cultura/cesar-strawberry-pablo-hasel-ayax-prok-valtonyc-5771773>>.

147. I am referring to the one-year prison sentence for the author of some Twitter messages that provoked the sound and unanimous rejection of foreign press on how the so-called Justice in Spain actually works. "Así ve la prensa internacional la condena a Cassandra por sus tuits sobre Carrero Blanco". *Eldiario.es*. 30 March 2017. 21 April 2017 <http://www.eldiario.es/rastreador/condena-Cassandra-Carrero-Blancointernacional_6_627897220.html>.

148. I do not specify documents nor edition of texts that I am enumerating. I trust readers can make it by their own, for they all are of common knowledge and quite popular. I just want to limit myself to showcase a few more examples, among the many possibilities that GoT offers on this regard.

149. In fact, they can be studied in the place in which they were originated, the University of California at Berkeley, in a course administered by the very inventor of them, the linguist David J. Peterson. Maclay, Kathleen. "Dothraki developer, invented-language leader to teach summer class". *Berkeley News*. 21 April 2017. 21 April 2017 <<http://news.berkeley.edu/2017/04/21/dothraki-developer-invented-language-leader-to-teach-summer-class/>>.



family, may serve to initiate students in the analysis of Medieval Spanish narrative classics, such as *Generaciones y semblanzas* by Pérez de Guzmán, *Claros varones* by Pulgar, and most of medieval chronicles and galleries of distinguished ladies and gentlemen.

It is also possible to use GoT for teaching topics that surpass the chronological boundaries of the Middle Ages, such as those pertaining to the Spanish Golden Age. The most evident topic here is the figure of Brienne of Tarth, the warrior woman of GoT, who is so strong and extremely skilled in the art of war that breaks all sort stereotypes for women in the Renaissance. She does have indeed a direct equivalent in Hispanic history and literature: Catalina de Erauso y Pérez de Galarraga y Arce, nicknamed *the Ensign Nun*, title of her controversial memoirs.¹⁵⁰

In sum, while I am skeptical about the impact that GoT's popularity may have on changing the field of medieval research,¹⁵¹ I am indeed convinced that it does have enormous and thought-provoking educational possibilities. Any teacher interested in experimenting this method only needs to be brave, have a bit of imagination, and a clear will to break from routine. If you are convinced of trying it, let us establish a decisive point here: in doing it so, you are not being less academic than others if, for instance, you decide to utilise Jack Sparrow, the main character of the most successful saga of adventure films, as a mean to explain medieval piracy to your students.¹⁵² In fact, this path has been frequently followed in recent times, popularising the academic analysis of audiovisual elements, especially in videogames, and applying it to both research and teaching of global history,¹⁵³ and also to specifically medieval history.¹⁵⁴ In our daily toil, teachers should remain aware of all options we have without spurning any of them, because no matter how hard they appear to be, with the appropriate method, selecting a brand new approach could secure the great success of our educational efforts.

In spite of everything I have said so far, I would like to warn all colleagues about one important fact: designing a course like this one does not guarantee achieving some sort of academic panacea. It would be desirable that teachers dare much more to work with audiovisuals and entertainment industries, especially to get rid of that fear—quite noticeable in the Spanish academy—to be put on the spot by both academic and non-academics accusing us of using gimmicks arguments to curry

150. Mendieta Garrote, Eva. *En busca de Catalina de Erauso: identidades en conflicto en la vida de la monja alférez*. Castellón: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2010.

151. Waxman, Olivia B. "'Game of Thrones' Is Even Changing How Scholars Study the Real Middle Ages". *Time*. 14 July 2017. 22 July 2017 <<http://time.com/4837351/game-of-thrones-real-medieval-history/>>.

152. As Juan Leonardo Soler Milla did in his talk entitled "¿Es Jack Sparrow el modelo histórico de pirata? Mitos y realidades sobre la piratería medieval", *Seminario Internacional El Mar vivido. Perfiles sociales de las gentes del mar en la larga duración (siglos XV-XXI)*. Albacete: Facultad de Humanidades, 21-22 October 2015.

153. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco; Mugueta Moreno, Íñigo; Fabián Rodríguez, Gerardo, eds. *Historia y videojuegos: el impacto de los nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*. Murcia: Compobell, 2016.

154. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. "El otro pasado posible: la simulación del medievo en los videojuegos". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011): 491-517.



favour with young students. Strictly related to this, I would like to add a new piece of advice: in teaching a course like mine on GoT, one must have a very careful academic approach, choosing materials from inside the subjects to the outside, this is, selecting aspects from history, language, literature, etc., towards the audiovisual materials chosen by the teacher. As I mentioned before, I believe it is permissible to start with an impressive scene visualised in GoT attempting therefore to look for an equivalent in the Hispanic cultures. But this cannot be done at any price, for teachers should be absolutely sure that both the historical events narrated are basically the same in both history and TV show.

If I am emphasising this advice that much is precisely because there is a specific danger looming over our educational interests. All departments of any given higher education institution in the world are nowadays under constant pressure to increase the “number of students”, a well-known euphemism which actually means “increasing the amount of tuition money to balance the budget”. Due to this fact, the university authorities often seem interested—at least initially—when a teaching initiative like a course on GoT reaches their ears. Obviously, they trust that the appealing elements of this curriculum design may imply higher enrollment, especially if they also include any other novelty, such as social networks,¹⁵⁵ or technology applied to the classroom.¹⁵⁶

Once you have calibrated everything to reach this point, I must warn my teaching colleagues very seriously about the next step to take: if the only pushing force you have for embarking yourself in this journey is coming from the university bigwigs, it is better that you abandon the boat right away. Two simple reasons will suffice to explain my refusal: firstly, their initial corporative enthusiasm will give way, sooner rather than later, to the most recalcitrant bureaucracy, especially if “the numbers”—a monetary euphemism, once again—end up being not as good as previously expected. Secondly, it is very difficult to fool students, because all of them are digital natives,¹⁵⁷ and therefore they move in these shifting sands of technology and TV *pop* culture much better than ourselves. If they detect that either the syllabus or the educational materials are designed from the outside in, trying to take advantage of the inebriating lullaby of transmedia novelty but with nothing really to offer in academic terms, the course will be doomed to fail since its very beginning.

But this warning notwithstanding, I would like to finish these lines by encouraging my colleagues to exploit the entire gamut of appealing possibilities that

155. In my GoT course, students participate in weekly debates using Twitter and they receive credits for engaging in academic discussions. I am currently writing an article on this educational use, which will be published with the title: “Using Social Networks in Higher Education: Twitter Assignments Will Not Make Disappear the Pillars of Western Civilisation”.

156. Among many other examples, let us underscore the project based on using Siri, the voice recognition application installed in Apple phones, to teach the History of California. See Lamar Prieto, Covadonga. “On Teaching the History of California Spanish to HLL using Siri: Methodology and Procedures”. *New Approaches in Educational Research*, 5/2 (2016): 107-114.

157. In the widest possible meaning of this term, this is, the people to which internet and social networks are not technological novelties, but something so mundane that has been taking part of their lives since they all were born. Prensky, Marc. *Nativos e inmigrantes digitales*. Madrid: Cuadernos SEK, 2010: 5-6.



TV shows like *Game of Thrones* bring to the teaching in higher education, provided that the curriculum design is rigorous. Do not have hesitations in experimenting with courses like that. Only this way you may be able to feel the immense and invaluable reward of seeing how students learn and enjoy at the same time, whilst they extend by themselves their learning processes inside and outside the strict limits of classrooms, books, and TV and computer screens.



ORIGINALS OF THE TEXTS SUBMITTED



INNOVANDO DESDE LA TRADICIÓN. NOTAS SOBRE LA PRODUCCIÓN HISTORIOGRÁFICA DE JACQUES LE GOFF: DESDE LAS MENTALIDADES A SU ANTROPOLOGÍA HISTÓRICA

DIEGO MUNDACA
UNIVERSIDAD DE CONCEPCIÓN

RESUMEN

La escritura y producción historiográfica del Jacques Le Goff que abordaremos en este trabajo, se concentra desde el momento en que la revista *Annales* comienza a tomar un rumbo distinto después de los fundamentales aportes que construyó Fernand Braudel a cargo de la VI Sección de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (EPHE) (1945-1965). El problema es tratar su obra desde los cambios culturales de fines de los años sesenta cuando deja la Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) y se ve impulsado a crear el Groupe d'Anthropologie Historique de l'Occident Médiéval (GAHOM), en el que desarrolló un trabajo intenso entre 1977-1992. La producción de este periodo se puede explicar tratando de hacer dialogar la historiografía y el contexto socio-cultural, caracterizado por el movimiento de mayo del '68 que lo vio nacer. Los cambios e innovaciones que se consignan en la *Nueva Historia* es un reflejo y expresión del lugar desde dónde escribe. Teniendo como horizonte esa búsqueda de un humanismo medieval que se fue materializando con la antropología histórica, sostenemos que lo inteligible de la escritura de Le Goff está en ese permanente diálogo entre, por un lado, una innovación que parte de su contingencia inmediata, y por el otro, el pasado: innovación desde la tradición.¹

1. Aproximaciones a las tendencias culturales y sociales desde el 68: “el malestar de la historia”²

Desde fines de los sesenta, Fernand Braudel,³ Immanuel Wallerstein⁴ y para América Latina el historiógrafo Carlos Aguirre,⁵ han coincidido que el '68 fue una revolución cultural de dimensio-

1. Este texto, ahora rehecho y repensado, se originó en la ponencia titulada “La noción de mentalidad de Jacques Le Goff: entre tradición e innovación”, presentada a las Vº Jornadas de Historia de las mentalidades y la cultura, organizadas por el Departamento de Ciencias Históricas de la Universidad de Concepción, los días 28, 29 y 30 de Octubre de 2015. Este encuentro tuvo como centro de discusión la producción historiográfica de Jacques Le Goff.

2. Parafraseando a Sigmund Freud en su obra: Freud, Sigmund. *El Malestar en la cultura*. Madrid: Alianza, 2006.

3. Braudel, Fernand. “Renacimiento y reforma, 1968: revoluciones culturales de larga duración”. *La Jornadas Semanal*, 226 (1993): 27-32.

4. Wallerstein, Emmanuel. “1968: revolución en el sistema-mundo. Tesis e interrogantes”. *Revista de Estudios Sociológicos*, 20 (1989).

5. Rojas, Carlos. *La historiografía en el siglo XX, historia e historiografía entre 1848 y ¿2025?* Barcelona: Montecinos, 2004: 105-131; Rojas, Carlos. “Tesi sull'itinerario della storiografia del XX secolo. Uno sguardo dalla prospettiva della lunga durata”. *Rivista Internazionale di Storia e della Storiografia*, 45 (2004-2005): 50-70. El autor en ambos textos sostiene la idea siguiendo a Wallerstein de que a partir del mayo del 68, se produce una fractura definitiva, en todas las formas de la reproducción cultural de la vida moderna —por cierto— de la historiografía, además constata la hegemonía que comienza a establecerse desde los *Annales*. El contrapunto del proyecto de Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociales, propone



nes planetarias, juicio que también comparte uno de los jóvenes más visibles de esa época Daniel Cohn-Bendit:

1968 was a planetary revolt. If we consider the late 1960s, we see a revolt in the East and West, as well as the North and South. Almost everywhere there are revolts, occupations of universities or colleges, demonstrations. The proof is that, if we write a book today and we simply put two figures on the cover: 6 and 8 —68— and automatically people (in Turkey, in Latin America, in Prague or Warsaw, in Paris or Berlin, in New York or San Francisco, in Sarajevo or Rio) [...] think about 1968 and the revolt in the late 1960s. We cannot reflect on the significance of this revolt or reduce it to a single country, although we can affirm that France was the place where the revolt was more intense.⁶

Dicha generación que cuestiona el orden imperante en Francia, fue gobernada por Charles de Gaulle, ejemplo de la Resistencia. Esta época coincide con el proceso descolonizador de Argelia en el que Francia no salió victoriosa. El racismo se mantuvo, por mucho tiempo por medio de una convivencia forzada de franceses que vivían hace tiempo en África. El mayor oponente a De Gaulle fue el partido comunista, con un telón de fondo representado por la Cuba de Castro y la revolución cultural china, procesos que removieron las estructuras socioculturales. Los movimientos sociales cuestionaban y también buscaban transformar las formas dominantes de las relaciones de poder establecidas en los ámbitos del saber, la política y la economía. Los jóvenes identificaron allí estructuras rígidas, jerárquicas y centralizadas. La crítica no sólo alcanzó al sistema capitalista imperante, sino también al sistema socialista que gobernaba los territorios del Este.

Por lo tanto, el tema de la juventud y su educación era vital. En este último, la educación superior experimentó un crecimiento impresionante en el número de estudiantes, ya que de 150.000 en 1958, se pasó a 500.000 en 1968 en Francia. A partir de dicho crecimiento se hizo perceptible la desadaptación de las estructuras universitarias frente a la llegada masiva de estudiantes, se agudizaron los problemas de infraestructura, y también en cuanto a los métodos de enseñanza, fue necesario recurrir a las clases magistrales para dar satisfacción a auditorios superpoblados.⁷

La agitación parece universal. Los movimientos de protesta cultural de China desencadenada en 1966; el otoño caliente de los trabajadores italianos en el 1969; los movimientos estudiantiles, populares y obreros de mayo francés de 1968; la revuelta estudiantil trágicamente masacrada en México; la primavera de Praga acallada por la ocupación soviética; las ocupaciones estudiantiles de Nueva York o Berkeley; el movimiento de protesta berlinés; la corta insurrección popular del “cordobazo” en Argentina; las protestas estudiantiles en Chile.

Todos estos acontecimientos fueron conformando un movimiento que se caracterizó por ser políticamente heterogéneo, y su mínimo común fue reivindicar el espacio universitario, como asimismo protestar por las relaciones de poder jerárquicas generadas en las familias, en escuela y

una práctica totalmente interpretativa, problemática, comparativa y crítica. Se preocupa de la singularidad desde los elementos comunes y universales, estrechando la compleja dialéctica de lo particular y general. Asume que no se puede ser objetivo absolutamente de parte del historiador. Ver Rojas, Carlos. “Tesi sull’itinerario della storiogra...” 64-65.

6. “1968 fue una revuelta planetaria. Si uno se pone a pensar en los finales de los años 1960, se discernie una revuelta tanto en el Este como en el Oeste, tanto en el Sur como en el Norte. Casi en todas partes se dan revueltas, ocupaciones de universidades o colegios, manifestaciones. La prueba es que, si hoy escriben un libro, basta con poner en la carátula dos cifras: 6 y 8 —68— y, automáticamente, la gente (en Turquía, en América Latina, en Praga o en Varsovia, en París o en Berlín, en Nueva York o en San Francisco, en Sarajevo o en Río) [...] de una vez piensa en el año 1968, en la revuelta de finales de los años 1960. No se puede reflexionar sobre el significado de esta revuelta reduciéndola a un solo país, aunque sí fue en Francia en donde la revuelta fue más intensa”. Cohn-Bendit, Daniel. *Forget 68*. París: Seuil, 2008.

7. Le Goff, Jean-Pierre. *Mai 68, l’héritage impossible*. París: La Découverte, 2006.



en la Iglesia. La tónica general del movimiento fue acompañado por elementos de liberación de corte hedonista, buscando el placer a través del cuerpo, junto con la liberación de las palabras en todas sus formas. La familia tendió a perder su espacio en tanto núcleo fundamental de la sociedad y su función en la formación de los individuos. Los movimientos feministas trastocaron el rol de la mujer y su función social dentro del núcleo familiar, favoreciendo su independencia económica junto a su libertad de decisiones respecto a su cuerpo, su maternidad, su sexualidad y sus costumbres en general.

Por todos los frentes se apreciaba un enfrentamiento de generaciones. Los temas recurrentes llamaban a liberar todo tipo de ataduras en búsqueda de una autonomía total del “pensamiento”. Los lemas del mayo francés bien lo reflejan: “la imaginación al poder”; “seamos realistas, deseemos lo imposible”. Sumemos a todo lo dicho, el desarrollo del movimiento *hippie* y el festival de Woodstock que congregó a 500.000 jóvenes durante tres días.

Hay que señalar que puede advertirse una cierta unidad en estas manifestaciones, consistente en una contracultura basada en la idea de “generación” —no de clase—, con un basamento ideológico no estrictamente marxista. Un ejemplo clásico, es el caso de la contracultura *hippie* y los jóvenes estudiantes que ocupaban las universidades y los espacios públicos pidiendo “liberación” y “revolución”, leían a Herbert Marcuse, Wilhelm Reich o Erich Fromm.⁸ Los jóvenes y su vehemente impaciencia se toman la palabra y los espacios, y lo popular toma un lugar definitivo. Así, la brecha generacional se hizo más notoria, de hecho la brecha generacional que separa a los hijos de sus padres es mayor que en cualquier otro momento desde la revolución francesa.⁹

Desde la historia se fue profesando un malestar que proviene de, al menos, tres intelectuales que hacen de la historia su materia de reflexión y manifiestan su malestar con el tradicional academicismo: Michel Foucault, Paul Veyne y François Furet. Influenciando a muchos, pero también a nuestro autor, Michel Foucault exaltó a las figuras intelectuales del XIX en una conferencia en Royaumont poco ortodoxa en 1971: *Nietzsche, Freud, Marx*.¹⁰ La interpretación y las miradas tradicionales de la escritura se ven profundamente cuestionadas, tendiendo a que la interpretación misma vaya sobre sí, al mismo tiempo que la palabra de los hombres y mujeres marginales va tomando un protagonismo.

Claro está, en otra de sus obras, *Les mots et les choses*,¹¹ que lo convierte en una estrella para algunos, crítica profundamente la construcción de los saberes establecidos en los siglos XVIII y XIX, las épocas más destacadas del pensar francés. Fue un trabajo desmitificador, Foucault, fue indirectamente posibilitando un acercamiento al Antiguo Régimen y a la misma Edad Media, desde una mirada más positiva.

8. Según Patrick Barr-Melej, sostiene que el problema es generacional y tiene un discurso y prácticas claves: un discurso y práctica de la liberación sexual, la reconceptualización del género y de las relaciones entre hombre y mujer (y hombre y hombre), el consumo de (y la contribución a) una cultura material peculiar, la experimentación con drogas, demanda de democratización política y cultural y la oposición a todo tipo de guerra. Tales jóvenes declararon su enajenación y expresaron con fuerza una sensibilidad revolucionaria y anti-hegemónica basada en el deseo de liberación, varias formas de colectivismo y el desafío directo al sistema “de los viejos”. Ver: Barr-Melej, Patrick. “Siloismo and the Self in Allende’s Chile: Youth, ‘Total Revolution’, and the Roots of the humanist Movement”. *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 86 (2006): 750.

9. Judt, Tony. *Algo va mal*. Madrid: Taurus, 2010: 89, citado por: López, Wladimir. “Malestar en la historia. Tres respuestas al desafío historiográfico de los setenta”. *Historia* 396, 1 (2013): 136.

10. Foucault, Michel. *Nietzsche, Freud, Marx*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1970: 32-41.

11. Foucault, Michel. *Les mots et les choses : une archéologie des sciences humaines*. París: Gallimard, 1966.



Por último, su *L'archéologie du savoir*¹² adquiere una relevancia aún más capital para este malestar en la historia, la discontinuidad, las rupturas, el poder de la ciencia. Los historiadores, dirá, se preocuparon de las “grandes continuidades”, ahora se trata de “detectar la incidencia de las interrupciones”.¹³ Por consiguiente, la arqueología mira las discontinuidades, las incoherencias que se pueden inferir. La genealogía no se contenta con recorrer las suaves curvas de la evolución, de los historiadores que impugna la nitidez de la puramente trascendental, sino que pretende reparar las aristas y sacar a relucir los acontecimientos en toda su singularidad.¹⁴ Todo aquello influenciará en la escritura de Jacques Le Goff, influencia que él mismo repara en una entrevista que trabajamos más adelante.

Sin embargo, no todos los aportes y críticas de aquellos filósofos serán asumidos por *Annales*. Las reflexiones de Paul Veyne son criticadas por los dos más avezados amigos de la revista con basta visión teórica: Raymond Aron y Michel de Certeau.¹⁵ Este último reconocía que la historia es un relato, pero que se apoya en lo real, alejándose de la muchas veces brutal mirada de Veyne: “que la historia no tiene método [...] los hechos no existen; sólo existen intrigas”.¹⁶ Sobre esto, el juicio es muy crítico de parte de ambos, y no hay que confundirlo como un gesto condescendiente, sino que una crítica a la visión de este destacadísimo romanista y arqueólogo marxista. Sin embargo, esto no quiere decir que *Annales* y nuestro autor no haya estado molesto o desconforme con una historia científicista y la asepsia instalada en la enseñanza universitaria, es decir, la escritura y la producción historiográfica de nuestro autor, aunque no llega a afirmación tan categórica como la de Veyne, está en sintonía con muchos otros planteamientos.

Este cumulo de cambios en los saberes de la época permitieron ir en la búsqueda de nuevos modelos pedagógicos, como por ejemplo, el cuestionamiento del principio de autoridad. Mención especial es el nacimiento de la *anti-siquiatría* y la relectura; el “retorno a Freud”, construido por Jacques Lacan, que revolucionó su perspectiva y estuvo dialogando con el ambiente parisino y el mundo universitario durante dos décadas.¹⁷ Lacan fue un revolucionario del pensamiento, postura que le valió la expulsión de la sociedad hegemónica psicoanalítica, aquella que había fundado Anna Freud en el Reino Unido. Intentó hacer una interpretación total de la realidad mental profundizando en tres aspectos: lo imaginario,¹⁸ lo simbólico, lo real (pulsión).¹⁹ De hecho influenció

12. Foucault, Michel. *L'archéologie du savoir*. París: Gallimard, 1969.

13. Foucault, Michel. *La arqueología del saber*. México: Siglo XXI, 2007: 3-7.

14. Foucault, Michel. *Dits et écrits I, 1954-1975*. París: Gallimard, 2001: 1004-1024, citado por: López, Vladimir. “Malestar en la historia...”: 135.

15. Aron, Raymond. “Comment L'historien écrit L'épistémologie: à propos du livre de Paul Veyne”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 26/6 (1971): 1319-1354. De Certeau, Michel. “Une épistémologie de transition: Paul Veyne”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 27/6 (1972): 1317-1327.

16. Veyne, Paul. *Cómo se escribe la historia. Ensayo de epistemología*. Madrid: Fragua, 1972: 5.

17. Caruso, Paolo. *Conversaciones con Lévi-Strauss, Foucault y Lacan*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1969: 110.

18. El concepto de imaginario, simbólico y lo real, bien están explicados en un diccionario de la Historiadora y Psicoanalista francesa: Roudinesco, Élizabéth; Plon, Michel. *Diccionario de Psicoanálisis*. España: Paidós, 2008: 521-523. Respecto al imaginario, para Lacan desde 1953, lo define como el lugar del yo, por excelencia con sus lugares de ilusión, captación y señuelo. Ligado a la experiencia de un clivaje entre *moi* y el *je* (el sujeto). Imaginario como la ilusión del yo, de la alienación y la fusión con el cuerpo de la madre. Simbólico como el lugar del significante y de la fusión paterna. Lo Real, como un resto imposible de simbolizarse.

19. Ver la conferencia inaugural de 1953 para la Sociedad Francesa de Psicoanálisis (SFP): Lacan, Jacques. “El simbólico, el imaginario y el real (1953)”. *Clínica y psicoanálisis*. 25 Abril 2015. Facultad de Psicología Universidad de Buenos Aires. 26 Abril 2018 <<https://clinicapsicoanalisis1.webnode.es/news/el-simbolico-el-imaginario-y-el-real-1953-jacques-lacan/>>.

a Michel de Certeau, especialmente en lo referente a la categoría de imaginario, influencia que alcanzaría a nuestro autor en algunas de sus obras.

Lo imaginario es una pieza fundamental para entender la obra de Jacques Le Goff y la valoración que hace de él cuando define el itinerario de la *Nueva Historia*. Esta categoría ayudó a pensar la historia de forma más profunda tomando el inconsciente y fusionando lo material con lo mental profundo. Al mismo tiempo, influido —y superando— la antropología estructural de Levi-Strauss, se puede decir que la historia se hizo cada vez más etnográfica, y por ello el tema de la temporalidad y la permanencia se destacaban cada vez más, esto es, la gesta cotidiana de una humanidad cuyas pulsiones suelen reducirse a manifestaciones biológicas o familiares de su existencia: el nacimiento, el bautismo, el matrimonio, la muerte.²⁰

Los cambios y triunfos de mayo del '68,²¹ según Fernand Braudel, no fueron de orden políticos, sino que se suscriben en la cultura. De hecho, se pueden entender como una ruptura dentro de la *larga duración* que va desde mediados del siglo XIX hasta la fecha indicada. Luego se da comienzo a una tendencia predominante de hacer historia que provino de la academia francesa en el que uno de sus líderes fue Jacques Le Goff. Aun cuando en el contexto general historiográfico, creemos que por entonces no existía un predominio hegemónico de una escuela sobre otra, no obstante, fue el tiempo más productivo y más multifacético del grupo de *Annales*. El mínimo común fue que produjo un movimiento polisémico marcado profundamente por la interdisciplinariedad. Desde ese momento ya no tendrá su centro sólo en Europa, sino que habrá un intercambio de ideas y circulación de conocimiento más fluido con la academia norteamericana y Europa del Este.

Respecto de su relación con el Este europeo, recordemos que Jacques Le Goff tuvo un contacto muy asiduo con esas zonas. Bien lo ha expresado la historiadora italiana Daniela Romagnoli, muy cercana a nuestro autor,²² destacando su presencia en Polonia por razones familiares y políticas. Además, intenso fue el diálogo con uno de los historiadores polacos más destacados, especialista en la marginalidad y el trabajo, Bronislaw Geremek.

Por el contrario, la recepción de su obra fue tardía en España a causa de la dictadura franquista. Sólo a partir de fines de los ochenta sus textos comenzaron a ser traducidos con mayor intensidad. Y, por último, debe destacarse el impacto de su producción en países y zonas lejanas como Japón, donde su presencia en 1976 marcó, según Shuichi Ikegami, muchas adhesiones y también desató antipatía. Ello parece indicar que hay un antes y un después en la discusión de algunos tópicos propios de la disciplina histórica, y en especial la relectura de la historia social y la consolidación del pensamiento antropológico e histórico, que estaba comenzando a hacerse con intensidad hasta los años ochenta en ese país.

En definitiva, después del proceso largo de descolonización, el espacio de producción científica europeo termina su predominio absoluto y consolida un intercambio fluido con América Latina, India y África. Además, simultáneamente surgen proyectos diversos que consideran las mentalidades —y la Antropología histórica de nuestro autor—, la microhistoria, la historia de género, el

20. Dosse, Franjaís. "Mayo del 68: los efectos de la historia sobre historia". *Sociológica*, 38 (1998): 172.

21. *Che la rivoluzione europea, occidentale, quasi mondiale del 1968 sia fallita politicamente, lo sappiamo tutti, a quasi quindici anni distanza. Ma essa ha trionfato e non retrocederà per ciò che concerne le abitudini, la relazione fra i sessi, la crisi acuta della famiglia* ("que la revolución europea occidental, casi mundial, del 1968 falló políticamente lo sabemos todos a casi quince años de distancia. Pero triunfó y no retrocederá en lo que concierne a los hábitos, las relaciones entre los sexos y la crisis aguda de la familia"). Braudel, Fernand. "Domina la parola 'cambiando'". *Corriere della Sera*, 7 mayo 1982: 53.

22. Romagnoli, Daniela. "Il giro del mondo di Jacques Le Goff". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 8 (2014): 404.



giro lingüístico, las representaciones de Roger Chartier y la historia conceptual e historia de las emociones. Es decir, el movimiento abría y cuestionaba al mismo tiempo las formas típicas en que se había desarrollado la producción historiográfica, dando paso a un mayor número de minorías en el escenario de la historia: niños, brujas, herejes, pobres, marginados en general. Con una combinación de una poderosa reflexión epistémica y una aguda crítica, sus exponentes más destacados fueron Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau,²³ Paul Ricoeur²⁴ (como crítico), Norbert Elias,²⁵ y Roger Chartier²⁶ principalmente. Fue un movimiento que planteó cuestiones epistemológicas subyacentes a las estructuras del saber existentes.²⁷ Obligando a las ciencias sociales en general al por qué de la ausencia de estudios, olvidados como las “minorías”; poblaciones indígenas, grupos con identidades o prácticas sexuales alternativas. Y el nacimiento de unidades de análisis nunca antes mencionadas como, sistema-mundo, por ejemplo.

De este modo, las consecuencias en la forma de la producción cultural cambiaron para siempre, y en consecuencia la forma de escribir y pensar la historia. Se acelera la velocidad de la comunicación acrecentándose la cantidad de información disponible. La cultura se “mediatiza”, potenciando las posibilidades de su circulación y difusión en una dimensión planetaria.

Desde una historia de las “mentalidades” nuestro autor fue quizás uno de los más conocidos, integrante de la llamada “tercera generación de *Annales* (1968-1989).²⁸ Jacques Le Goff fue pionero y muy receptivo en ir tomando los influjos del presente socio-cultural que le tocó vivir, marcado por cambios intelectuales, debates teóricos de sus modelos y paradigmas y de todo el aparataje conceptual²⁹ que hasta ese momento se había construido respecto a la disciplina histórica.

Por ello, la historiografía de nuestro autor toma consciente e inconscientemente algunas tendencias culturales que se habían forjado en aquella época tan agitada y demandante de nuevas perspectivas de cómo enfrentar los nuevos problemas: las inquietudes de mujeres y hombres comunes entran con mayor fuerza en la historia, su sexualidad, la vida cotidiana, las creencias míticas. A todo ello se le fue otorgando un espesor histórico nunca antes visto.

2. La ‘Nueva historia’ y el lugar de Jacques Le Goff: su antropología histórica

Hacia fines de los años sesenta la *Nueva Historia* fue independizándose del paradigma estructuralista de Levi-Strauss. Un relevo generacional se produce en la revista *Annales*, pues el grupo compuesto por André Burguière, Marc Ferro, Jacques Le Goff, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie y Jacques Revel se hace cargo de su publicación hasta finales de los ‘80. El enfoque dado estuvo al amparo de la antropología histórica, promovida por Le Goff desde un primer momento.

23. Certeau, Michel. *La escritura de la Historia*. México: Iberoamericana, 1998.

24. Ricoeur, Paul. *La memoria, la historia, el olvido*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010: 237-258.

25. Elias, Norbert. *El proceso de civilización, investigación, sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987.

26. Chartier, Roger. *Escribir las prácticas: Foucault, de Certeau, Marin*. Buenos Aires: Manantial, 1996; Chartier, Roger. *El Mundo como representación, estudios sobre historia cultural*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2002.

27. Wallerstein, Immanuel. *Análisis de Sistemas-Mundo*. Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2006: 35.

28. Burke, Peter. *La revolución historiográfica francesa, la escuela de los Annales: 1929-1989*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2006. También ver: Barros, Carlos. “La contribución de los terceros Annales y la historia de las mentalidades 1969-1989”. *Iztapalapa*, 36, (1995): 73-75.

29. Masimo, Mostrogregori. “I problema della storia della storiografia”. *Revista di storia della storiografia moderna*, 8 (1987): 2-3; Masimo, Mostrogregori. “Storiografia e tradizione storica”. *Pasato e presente*, 12 (1994): 32.



Annales no fue el único protagonista. En 1971 nació una revista de historia popular en respuesta a la enseñanza de los manuales escolares: *Le Peuple Français*, que llegó a contar con 7500 suscriptores. También lo fue *Forum-Historia*,³⁰ que reunió un centenar de profesores y alumnos en el Instituto Charles V de la Universidad de París VII, en mayo de 1975, que dio como fruto *Cuadernos del Forum-Historia*, con un tiraje de 4.000 ejemplares. Estas iniciativas coincidían en parte con el diagnóstico de la *Nueva Historia* al criticar al menos tres pilares de la historia llamada tradicional: la relación pasado-presente, el estudio y la práctica social, y finalmente los sujetos de la historia.

Vinculado directamente con la obra tan mediática de Jacques Le Goff y los *Annales*, surge el fenómeno de la difusión del conocimiento, es decir, la idea de hacer la historia y de escribirla, de “construir” una historia distinta a la conocida hasta ese momento. Fue imperativo hacer partícipe a los medios de comunicación —la prensa, la radio y la televisión— con el aumento del tiraje en las distintas editoriales. Los rasgos más importante que mostró este tipo de producción fue una *historia-problema*, sin limitaciones cronológicas, más concentrada en la urgencia e interpelación del presente.

La editorial Plon lanza una colección dirigida por Phillipe Ariès y Robert Mandrou sobre *Civilisations et Mentalités*. En Gallimard, Pierre Nora crea la colección *Biblioteca de las Historias* en 1971. Al año siguiente, Emmanuel Leroy-Ladurie toma la sección de Historia en *Le Monde*. Como se ve, esta explosión de producción demuestra que los historiadores fueron cambiando sus prácticas, pues ya no era suficiente trabajar en los archivos, sino que era necesario ser un difusor de los descubrimientos.

Buscando comprender la llamada *Nueva Historia*, y con ella a nuestro autor, en el calor de la discusión, se ubica el libro de Georges Duby³¹ *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*³² Destaca la estrecha relación que establece el autor entre lo mental y lo material sin ninguna diferencia, buscando una armonía en ella y perfilando siempre una historia que tiende a la globalidad y pone el concepto de imaginario en primera plana. Estas categorías, Le Goff las trabajará después con intensidad en varios artículos y libros³³ junto a sus discípulos Jean Claude Schmitt, Jean-Claude Bonne y Jérôme Baschet, dando cuenta de sus conocimientos de psicoanálisis de orden lacaniano que fue tan decidor en aquella época. Hasta los mismos *slogans* de las revueltas y pretendidas revoluciones pidieron una preponderancia mayor al imaginario, a la imaginación en general, en detrimento de lo concreto y material, de lo medible. Este énfasis fue una reivindicación y exaltación para presentar una dimensión del ser humano desde el inconsciente, todavía poco popular.

Le Goff comenta el libro de su colega Georges Duby:

Quel est le rôle des concepts, quel est le rôle de l'idéologie, quel est le rôle de l'imaginaire dans l'histoire? Non pas du tout qu'il l'oppose ou qu'il le sépare du matériel, il montre comment il y a entre l'économie et la société et ces schémas intellectuels un constant dialogue, une imbrication, comment tout ceci se structure au sein de

30. Dosse, Franjáis. “Mayo 1968: los efectos de la historia sobre la historia”. *Sociológica*, 38 (1998) : 165-201.

31. Le Goff, Jacques. “Georges Duby (1919-1996)”. *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 40 (1997): 199-209. Nuestro autor desde siempre ha estado más que atento a la escritura de Duby, ya que él fue uno de los primeros teóricos de las mentalidades junto con Robert Mandrou en la *historia de la civilización francesa*. No obstante, hay que hacer una salvedad el texto las tres órdenes o lo imaginario del feudalismo, quizás no hay que remitirse a Jacques Lacan, sino a Castoriadis, que leyó en el libro: *La institución imaginaria de la sociedad*.

32. Duby, Georges. *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*. París: Gallimard, 1978.

33. Berlioz, Jacques; Le Goff, Jacques; Guerreau-Jalabert, Anita. “Anthropologie et histoire”, *L'histoire médiévale en France. Bilan et perspectives*, Michel Balard, ed. París : Le Seuil : 269-304; Le Goff, Jacques. *L'imaginaire médiéval*. París: Gallimard, 1985.



ce qu'il appelle la révolution féodale, mais une histoire, une époque, un système historique est fait autant d'idées et de concepts qu'il est fait de techniques, d'économie, de classes sociales. D'autre part, dans le titre même de l'ouvrage apparaît un de ces nouveaux objets de l'histoire. Car une des caractéristiques de ce qu'on appelle encore une fois —mettons peut-être des guillemets— la Nouvelle Histoire, c'est d'avoir fait entrer dans le champ de l'histoire, et c'est ce que nous avions déjà essayé de montrer, Pierre Nora et moi, quand nous avons suscité ce rassemblement d'historiens autour de "Faire de l'Histoire", qui a fait entrer de nouveaux objets de l'histoire. Que les historiens ne considéraient pas jusqu'alors, soit parce qu'ils les laissaient aux sociologues, aux ethnologues, parce que c'était tout simplement en dehors de leur champ habituel. Et l'un de ces principaux objets c'est l'imaginaire. Il s'agit de donner à l'imaginaire un statut de témoins et de force agissante de l'histoire. Cette histoire aussi, elle se veut mais non pas d'une façon brouillonne, d'une façon structurée, explicative, une histoire totale. Une histoire justement qui ne prenne pas seulement la surface des événements, qui ne prenne pas seulement les grands hommes et chez ces hommes leurs vies officielles, leurs vies extérieures, Mais qui prenne les sociétés et les hommes tout entiers, depuis leurs vies matérielles, la façon dont ils s'habillent, la façon dont ils mangent, la façon dont ils pensent. Et là encore comment, derrière leurs idées et leurs concepts, ils ont ces façons de penser presque automatiques, quotidiennes que l'on appelle des mentalités. Eh ! bien, il faut dans cette intégration à l'explication du passé d'hommes, de groupes sociaux, de sociétés toutes entières, intégrer, je dirais presque au premier chef, l'imaginaire.³⁴

En relación al libro de Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Le Carnaval de Romans*,³⁵ su apreciación es más sugestiva, ya que por un lado es más enfático en igualar el ejercicio del historiador con la etnografía, y por otro lado exaltar un acontecimiento, el carnaval, como un suceso que nos da cuenta de toda una sociedad. Desde ese momento lo central es que hay intensos diálogos interdisciplinarios en los que la antropología predominó. Lo anterior no sólo trajo avances sino también una constante crítica a los trabajos de la *Nueva Historia* en general, basada en que se fue perdiendo, y con ello desdibujando, lo propio de la historia, por un acercamiento muy estrecho con las ciencias sociales. Encajando el texto en esta corriente de pensamiento, Le Goff comenta:

Mais elle voit dans l'événement l'objet non pas dans lequel s'enfermer, non pas dans lequel voir un facteur essentiel de l'histoire, Mais un révélateur de l'histoire profonde. [...] Et alors là, il [d'Emmanuel Le Roy-Ladurie] appartient aussi si je peux le dire à la nouvelle histoire plus spécialement parce qu'il a uni profondément, et c'est une des tendances importantes de la nouvelle histoire aujourd'hui en tout cas, l'ethnologie, l'anthropologie et l'histoire. Il a montré comment la fête, le carnaval —encore des objets qu'on

34. "¿Cuál es el rol de los conceptos? ¿Cuál es el rol de la ideología? ¿Cuál es el rol del imaginario en la historia? No lo opone o separa de lo material, muestra cómo hay entre la economía y la sociedad y estos esquemas intelectuales un diálogo constante, una imbricación, cómo todo esto se estructura en lo que él llama la revolución feudal. Sin embargo, una historia, una época, un sistema histórico está hecho tanto de ideas y conceptos como de técnicas, de economía, de clases sociales. Por otra parte, en el mismo título de la obra aparecía uno de estos nuevos objetos de la historia. Una de las características de lo que llamamos una vez —tal vez entre comillas— La Nueva Historia, es haber integrado nuevos objetos en el campo de la historia, y es lo que tratamos de mostrar Pierre Nora y yo cuando convocamos esa reunión de historiadores en torno a *Faire de l'Histoire*, esto es, incorporar nuevos objetos en la historia que los historiadores no habían considerado hasta ahora, ya sea porque se los dejaban a los sociólogos, a los etnólogos o porque simplemente estaban fuera de su campo habitual. Y uno de estos principales objetos es el imaginario. Se trata de dar al imaginario un estatus de testigo y de fuerza activa de la historia. Esta historia también pretende ser una historia completa, pero no de forma desordenada, sino de forma estructurada y explicativa. Una historia que precisamente no considere sólo la superficie de los hechos, que no considere solamente a los grandes hombres y en estos hombres sus vidas oficiales, sus vidas exteriores, sino que considere completamente a las sociedades y a los hombres, desde sus vidas materiales, la forma en la que se visten, la forma en la que comen, la forma en la que piensan. Detrás de sus ideas y de sus conceptos hay formas de pensar casi automáticas, cotidianas, que llamamos mentalidades. Dentro de esta integración a la explicación del pasado del hombre, de los grupos sociales, de todas las sociedades, se debe integrar, diría, casi de forma primordial, al imaginario". Transcripción de una entrevista realizada en "La 'nouvelle histoire' présentée par Jacques Le Goff", *Apostrophes*. 2 febrero 1979. Jalons version Découverte. 15 noviembre 2016 <<https://fresques.ina.fr/jalons/fiche-media/InaEdu04625/la-nouvelle-histoire-presentee-par-jacques-le-goff.html>> (Traducción adaptada de la versión hecha por Maritza Nieto en la Universidad de Concepción).

35. Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Le carnaval de Romans : de la Chandeleur au mercredi des Cendres*. París: Gallimard, 1986.



*laissait auparavant à l'imaginaire, qu'on laissait à l'ethnologue— en fait, ont leur place dans l'histoire, dans la vraie histoire, dans la grande histoire.*³⁶

No hay que olvidar que la crítica al movimiento partió desde los '70 y dura hasta hoy, y surge de los espacios universitarios más diversos. Dicha crítica, pensamos que nace por considerar viciada la imbricación entre la producción y la divulgación; las diversidades de historia, nunca antes pensadas por la disciplina, se fueron consolidando. Además, se puede decir que el movimiento de los *Annales*, más que una escuela orgánica y dirigida, fue y es un “espacio de experimentación”, que se fue dando por medio de la innovación metodológica y la cooperación con las ciencias sociales que le permitió esa diversidad de temas tratados, aquí una crítica muy aguda:

...los espectros recorren los campos —crítica Hervé Martin—, Satán multiplica sus maleficios, la bruja es la señora del pueblo, la llegada del Anticristo es inminente (...) la historia francesa se ha convertido en un 'show' permanente. A partir de aquí, la historia queda sometida a la ley del mercado y corre en riesgo de ser víctima de una rápida obsolescencia de los protagonistas y de los conceptos. Los herederos de Dom Mabillon a veces dan la impresión de haber optado, no sin peligro, por el “show business”.³⁷

Esta referencia no nos invita hacer muchas interpretaciones. Es clara la alusión al *show* y *business*, aunque creemos que sea un tanto destemplada, pues no entiende que el grupo en esta época estaba aprovechando, de forma lo más razonable posible, todas las posibilidades a mano para que la historia fuera conocida y discutida por el gran público. Otra crítica menos lapidaria es la que indica que este tipo de historia ha perdido su intensidad de globalidad y estructural, que se diseminó demasiado hasta llegar a las migajas.³⁸ François Dosse en su libro *L'histoire en miettes*,³⁹ crítica a esta generación por haber perdido el horizonte original. Sumado a ello se puede decir que estos *Annales* de los '70 y '80 se fue desvinculando de la historia económica y social de matriz braudeliana y marxista, se fue dando forma a una práctica y objeto de estudios más “individualistas”, por decir una palabra que nos faculte entender el fenómeno. Para los detractores de los *Annales* se vuelve una historia marcada por los intereses del mercado, no obstante, podemos decir que sería mejor decir que vuelve la historia a interpelar las preguntas al hombre actual, dando respuestas con un espesor histórico.

De más está recordar el éxito que tuvo el libro *Montaillou, village occitan, de 1294 à 1324*⁴⁰ de Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, con casi 300.000 ejemplares. Esta obra responde a la valoración de lo cotidiano, de las costumbres, de las relaciones matrimoniales, otorgándole un valor y un lugar en la historia poco recurrente. Por lo tanto, el historiador estaría respondiendo a la discusión social luego del 68, momento en que se producen debates y cambios en la conformación de la familia, los derechos de maridos y esposas, anticoncepción y aborto. Los nuevos valores que van surgiendo se

36. “Pero esta historia ve en el acontecimiento el objeto en el que no se puede encerrar, en el que no se ve el factor esencial de la historia, sino un indicador de la historia profunda (...) Entonces ahora, Le Roy-Ladurie también pertenece, si puedo decirlo, a la Nueva Historia, especialmente porque unió, y esa es una de las tendencias más importantes de la Nueva Historia actualmente, a la etnología, la antropología y la historia. Él demostró cómo la fiesta, el carnaval, objetos que en otro tiempo dejábamos al imaginario, que dejábamos al etnólogo, los posicionamos en la historia, en la verdadera historia, en la gran historia”: en “La ‘nouvelle histoire’ présente...”.

37. Bourdieu, Guy; Martin, Herve. *Las Escuelas Históricas*. Madrid: Akal, 1992: 185.

38. Barros, Carlos. “El ‘tournant critique’ de Annales”. *Revista de História Medieval*, 2 (1991): 193-197.

39. Dosse, François. *L'histoire en miettes: des 'Annales' a 'la nouvelle Histoire'*. París: Pocket, 1997.

40. Le Roy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *Montaillou, village occitan : de 1294 à 1324*, París: Gallimard, 1975.



expresan en las obras. Hay una etnologización del discurso histórico, surgen las pequeñas historias de niños, jóvenes, los humildes, se abre con mayor fuerza el estudio de la cultura material. Tanto es así, que en la revista *Annales* la historia cultural cobra una mayor significación y producción, se pasa de 22.4% entre 1957-1969 al 32.8 % entre 1969-1976. Ejemplos de ello: la sexualidad (Jean-Louis Flandrin, Jean-Paul Aron), la muerte (Michel Vovelle, Phillipe Aries) y el miedo (Jean Delumeau). Estos grandes textos también fueron muy criticados por los detractores de la “escuela”, porque las mentalidades no estaban sujetas al sustrato social; que la *larga duración* borra las tensiones sociales y las integra en una permanencia inmutable de la naturaleza humana; el hombre reducido a lo mental es objeto de su historia más que sujeto de la misma.

También se le reprocha una suerte de posmodernismo por su disgregación y su preocupación por la hegemonía de la historia. En todo caso, es importante subrayar que *Annales*, al preocuparse de la Edad Media y el Antiguo Régimen, estuvieron más libres de la exagerada atracción del cientificismo y de los conceptos de la modernización, que caracteriza a buena parte del pensamiento científico social.⁴¹

A fines de los ‘80 la escuela irá asumiendo las críticas, y reforzará su carácter interdisciplinario, dejando definitivamente la posible pretensión inicial, de poner en el centro a la historia. Ahora la historia, era una más dentro del diálogo interdisciplinario: ninguna disciplina puede pretender la hegemonía intelectual o institucional sobre las ciencias sociales. En el número de *Annales* enero-febrero de 1990,⁴² André Burguière, hace un llamado crítico y va recordando según su visión los pilares de la *Nueva Historia* se ha fundado sobre la base de preferir lo colectivo a lo individual, lo estructural a lo acontecimental, lo económico-social a lo político... Pero también destaca que la concepción de mentalidad no es una invención propia de Lucien Febvre, sino de Bloch en *Les Rois thaumaturges* y en *La société féodale*.⁴³ Le Goff en ningún momento sucumbe a ningún tipo de cientificismo, y hasta se podría decir, que su obra no sólo busco lo colectivo, sino, lo colectivo o global, desde un objeto: el hombre y su vida, la biografía.

Tal es el caso de Le Goff en los artículos⁴⁴ y dos libros de santos de tipo biográficos en que discrepa de una visión sólo colectiva de *Annales*. Recordemos los ejemplos de San Luis y San Francisco, notoriamente criticados hasta por sus colegas cercanos, da respuesta de forma indirecta por medio de entrevistas y conferencias, subrayando la emergencia del sujeto, y que el trabajo histórico de la biografía es la más fiel representación de una historia total y de una antropología histórica: “creo que la biografía está en vías de transformarse en uno de los medios de hacer una historia total del hombre y de los hombres, uno de los más importantes dominios de la antropología histórica”.⁴⁵

41. Iggers, Georg. *La historiografía del siglo XXI, desde la objetividad científica al desafío posmoderno*. Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2012: 107.

42. Burguière André. “De la compréhension en histoire”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 1 (1990): 123-136 <http://www.persee.fr/doc/AsPDF/ahess_0395-2649_1990_num_45_1_278826.pdf> (Consultado el 16 de noviembre de 2016).

43. Bloch, Marc. *Les Rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*. París-Estrasburgo: Librairie Istra, 1924; Bloch, Marc. *La société féodale*, París: Éditions Albin Michel, 1968.

44. Le Goff, Jacques. “Mon ami le saint roi: Joinville et Saint Louis (réponse)”. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 2 (2001): 469-477; Le Goff, Jacques. “La sainteté de Saint Louis: sa place dans la typologie et l’évolution chronologique des rois saints”. *Les fonctions des saints dans le monde occidental (III^e-XIII^e siècle) Actes du colloque de Rome (27-29 octobre 1988)*. Roma: École Française de Rome, 1991: 285-293; Le Goff, Jacques. “Saint Louis”. *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 71/3 (1997): 338-344.

45. Le Goff, Jacques. “Los retornos de la historiografía francesa actual”. *Prohistoria*, 1 (1997): 35-44.

Sigue con ello, indirectamente las sugerencias de Giovanni Levi, uno de los mayores exponentes de la microhistoria italiana,⁴⁶ con respecto al trabajo biográfico, el cual persigue y permite prácticas que nos ayudan a ver entre los intersticios de la sociedad sus vínculos más íntimos, asumiendo su libertad frente a los sistemas normativos vigentes; la importancia de la amplitud de las fuentes de información de una vida, la importancia de la literatura; la importancia de la dimensión del cuerpo dentro de las coordenadas sociales; y, por último, la interpretación ayudada por una hermenéutica que viene de la antropología histórica.

La historiografía se vio interpelada, y uno de los intelectuales que fue participe de este proceso, respondiendo con innovación desde la tradición, fue Jacques Le Goff, líder de una generación. Coincidimos con un estudio hecho en Estados Unidos donde califica a la obra y su práctica intelectual como comprometida; un accionar vinculado a estudios muy serios casi estrictamente académicos y otros trabajos y acciones vinculados a la difusión radial y televisiva, por lo tanto un tipo de historiador, *historien engagé*, como dirían sus compatriotas.⁴⁷

La práctica intelectual nuclear fue el trabajo mancomunado que materializó en conjunto con otros colegas, fueran estos historiadores, economistas, psicoanalistas,⁴⁸ antropólogos, lingüistas, semiólogos⁴⁹ y geógrafos, configurando lo que se llegó a llamar la *Nueva historia*, la cual pretendió abrir un abanico de posibilidades en relación al método, teorías y sujetos históricos; también, recordemos, se confeccionó un diccionario de la *Nueva Historia* que consigno todos los conceptos e ideas afines al proyecto.

Lo anterior provocó con el tiempo una modificación en las prácticas y en la misma producción historiográfica, tomando de hecho una importancia notoria un conocimiento que nace de las periferias de América Latina, África y la India. El más claro ejemplo fue el nacimiento de los estudios subalternos y culturalistas, en los que se inauguran nuevos centros de conocimiento, y por eso, Europa dejó de ser definitivamente el centro. Se establece un contacto mucho más fluido con el mundo anglosajón, y las universidades de los Estados Unidos, del Reino Unido y Escandinavia reciben a historiadores que no necesariamente estaban adscritos a *Annales*, como Michel de Certeau, Carlo Ginzburg, Roger Chartier, Giovanni Levi, y los discípulos directos de Jacques Le Goff, Jean-Claude Schmitt, Jérôme Bachet, y hasta Daniela Romanogli de Italia.

3. El valor de lo singular, en la antropología histórica de Jacques Le Goff

Pero ¿Desde cuándo existe en Le Goff esta afición y curiosidad por estar en permanente comunicación con lo social, el diálogo con otros colegas y su preocupación por temas que no son tan propios de un medievalista? Adherimos a la idea de Alain Boureau⁵⁰ que nos ha hecho entender que Jacques Le Goff, desde un primer momento, presentó en sus primeros libros lo que él llama: “anacronismo metodológico”: *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Age, Marchands et banquiers du moyen age*

46. Giovanni, Levi. “Les usages de la biographie”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 6 (1989): 1325-1336.

47. Joëlle-Rollo, Koster. “Jacques Le Goff (1924)”, *New Historial Whinting in Twentieth-Century France, French Historians 1900-2000*, Philip Daileader, Philip Whalen, eds. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010: 372-373.

48. Aunque Michel de Certeau, religioso Jesuita, no fue un psicoanalista, estuvo muy cercano a la figura de Jacques Lacan, pero hizo desde siempre ese acercamiento entre la teoría de Freud y la historia. Y en esta misma época escribe: Certeau, Michel del. “Ce que Freud fait de L’histoire, apropos de: ‘une névrose démoniaque au XVII^e siècle’”. *Annales économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 25/3 (1970): 654-667.

49. Kristeva, Julia. “La mutation sémiotique”. *Annales Économies Sociétés Civilisations*, 25/6 (1969): 1497-1522.

50. Sales, Veronique. *Los historiadores*. Granada: Universidad de Granada-Universidad de Valencia, 2007: 267-281.



(1956), y por último el gran libro *La civilisation de l'Occident medieval* (1962-1963),⁵¹ de antropología histórica, aunque todavía el concepto no se había acuñado. El contexto cultural y social los medievalistas y los científicos sociales en general estaban tratando de entender las instituciones feudales, los orígenes del capitalismo y los mecanismos de poder de las monarquías. Le Goff, en cambio, respecto a los intelectuales, en el prólogo de la edición de 1984, dirá que el “interés consiste en desplazar la atención de las instituciones hacia los hombres, de las ideas hacia las estructuras sociales, las prácticas y las mentalidades”.⁵²

En efecto, la intuición de los años cincuenta la reelabora desde conceptos desarrollados en su trabajo desde el diálogo intenso con las ciencias sociales, y en especial, como también menciona Boureau, con una práctica intelectual de “des-medievalizar” la Edad Media. Para él, fue una búsqueda que se fue nutriendo por medio de los contactos con historiadores del mundo contemporáneo, modernos y de la Antigüedad. De hecho, el concepto intelectual propiamente tal, lo toma desde el mundo intelectual italiano, y en especial de Gramsci y su idea de intelectual orgánico:

en el extremo final de esta evolución profesional, social e institucional hay un objetivo: el poder. Los intelectuales medievales no escapan del esquema de Gramsci, a decir verdad muy general, pero operante (...) los intelectuales de la Edad Media son ante todo intelectuales “orgánicos”, fieles servidores de la Iglesia y el Estado.⁵³

Esta aseveración quizás debe crispár a los historiadores que piensan que se cae en un anacronismo cuando se utilizan conceptos actuales para procesos tan lejanos. Así, el interés por estos intensos diálogos y el desarrollo de su insaciable curiosidad histórica, le llevó a aceptar de parte de Braudel el cargo en la Vª sección, con treinta seis años, donde fue jefe de trabajo, asistente y director de estudios (1960-1962).

El otro libro aludido, *La civilización del Occidente medieval*,⁵⁴ es fruto de esta intensidad. Hay un trabajo sistemático de las imágenes, de la vida en todas sus más diversas manifestaciones. En la introducción afirma: “revalorizar toda una civilización (...) esclarecer todas sus estructuras en la disposición de la vida material, de la vida biológica y mental”.⁵⁵ Ahí está implícitamente su itinerario que desembocará en la antropología histórica y en los más variados temas que fue incursionando durante su dilatada vida académica. Aquí —por cierto— también está el diálogo con los fundadores. Desde ese tiempo hay un alejamiento de lo serial y una vuelta a la primera generación que tuvo un diálogo más fecundo con la psicología social, la antropología y el naciente psicoanálisis. Y casi una mirada integradora donde la unidad de lo humano es primordial, es por eso, que en ningún caso es una mirada de la civilización medieval en fragmentos y estamentos (historia del arte, historia religiosa, historia de las instituciones, etc.)

En efecto, habría que también destacar que desde un punto de vista de las fuentes y las preguntas que se formulan, ha sido un ejemplo notable. Vale recordar unas fuentes muchas veces tomadas como periféricas y poco confiables como fueron los *exempla* y los relatos hagiográficos, que les

51. Le Goff, Jacques. *Les Intellectuels au Moyen Age*. París: Seuil, 1957; Le Goff, Jacques. *Marchands et banquiers du moyen age*. París: Presses universitaires de France, 1956; Le Goff, Jacques. *La civilisation de l'Occident medieval*. París: Arthaud, 1964.

52. Le Goff, Jacques. *Los intelectuales de la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2008: 11.

53. Le Goff, Jacques. *Los intelectuales...: 14*.

54. Le Goff, Jacques. *La civilización del occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Juventud, 1965.

55. Le Goff, Jacques. *La civilización...: 19*.



otorgó tanta fecundidad con trabajos ejemplares: *La Bourse et la vie*; *San Luis*; *Saint François*.⁵⁶ Esta influencia parece provenir de los antropólogos post-estructuralistas, que con muy pocas huellas sacan conclusiones desde el punto de vista estructural. Como veremos en los años venideros, el ejercicio de trabajos con un mosaico de fuentes no bien consideradas y valoradas para muchos historiadores, él supo construir hipótesis amplias, ejercicio que le caracterizó durante todos sus años, alejándose para siempre de miradas fragmentarias de la sociedad medieval.

Esta influencia de la antropología se fue consolidando y madurando desde mediados de los años sesenta en la dirección de los estudios en la EPHE (VI section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études) después en el EHESS (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales). Ello permite comprender cómo se puede ir consolidando un pensamiento y prácticas determinadas. La antropología histórica ayuda a estudiar la historia desde la *larga duración* y a poner nuevos cuestionarios, a renovar preguntas y respuestas⁵⁷. Someramente, podemos indicar los hitos más importantes de esta trayectoria: en 1972, en una miscelánea a Braudel, escribe el texto "L'historien et l'homme quotidien"; en 1977, en *Pour un autre Moyen Âge*, aparece "Vers une anthropologie historique".⁵⁸ En 1978, André Burguière consagra el estudio de la antropología histórica en *La Nouvelle Histoire*,⁵⁹ y después en un diccionario que él dirigió;⁶⁰ su exposición en Spoleto, 1975, respecto a los símbolos de los ritos vasalláticos;⁶¹ es más que destacable el número de *Annales* de 1974, dedicado a "Pour une histoire anthropologique", donde un grupo notable de historiadores de las más diversas áreas discuten sobre la reciprocidad,⁶² especialmente las reflexiones de Nathan Wachtel en su "La réciprocité et l'État inca: de Karl Polanyi à John V. Murra".⁶³ Lo destacable es que en 1978 se elabora un número dedicado al mundo Andino, bajo la dirección de Jacques Revel, John Murra y Nathan Wachtel.

La antropología histórica de nuestro autor se fue definiendo poco a poco por medio de los grupos de estudios que iba conformando entre 1962-1963: "Historia de la ideas religiosas y de los grupos sociales (siglos XI-XV)"; desde 1963 a 1973 fue "Historia y sociología del Occidente medieval"; en 1973-1974 el programa indica: "Antropología cultural del Occidente medieval", antes de establecer y consolidar el nombre definitivo: *Groupe d'Anthropologie historique de l'Occident Medieval* (GAHOM) (Antropología histórica del Occidente medieval).

Es claro que el tema sociológico y el distanciamiento con las corrientes marxistas más ortodoxas llevó a madurar la idea de crear un coloquio sobre las herejías en 1962, "Herejías y sociedades",

56. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Bourse et la vie. Économie et religion au Moyen Âge*. París: Hachette, 1986 ; Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint Louis*. París: Gallimard, 1996 ; Le Goff, Jacques. *Saint François d'Assise*. París: Gallimard, 1998.

57. Berlioz, Jacques; Le Goff, Jacques; Guerreau-Jalabert, Anita. "Anthropologie et histoire". *L'histoire médiévale en France. Bilan et perspectives*. París: Le Seuil, 1991: 269.

58. Le Goff, Jacques. "L'historien et l'homme quotidien", *L'historien entre l'ethnologie et la futurologie Actes du séminaire international organisé sous les auspices de l'Association Internationale pour la Liberté de la Culture*. París-la Haya: Mouton, 1972: 238-250; Le Goff, Jacques. "Vers une anthropologie historiques", *Pour un autre moyen âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais*. París: Gallimard, 1977: 335-349.

59. Burguière, André. "L'anthropologie historique", *La Nouvelle Histoire*, Jacques Le Goff, ed. París: Retz-CEPL, 1988: 137-165.

60. Burguière André, dir. *Dictionnaire des sciences historiques*. París: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986: 54.

61. Le Goff, Jacques. "Simboli e Simbologia nell' alto Medioevo". *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo*, 23 (1976): 679-788.

62. Veyne, Paul; Augé, Marc; Godelier, Maurice; Duby, Georges; Meillassoux, Claude; Murra, John V. "Fioravanti-Moliné Antoinette. Débat (sur la réciprocité)". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 29/6 (1974): 1358-1380.

63. Wachtel, Nathan. "La réciprocité et l'État inca: de Karl Polanyi à John V. Murra". *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 29/6 (1974): 1346-1357.



inaugurado por Marie-Dominique Chenu, teólogo dominico, que con los años se convertirá en amigo de Jacques Le Goff.⁶⁴ En dicho congreso, Chenu definió la herejía como una elección, y con ello amplió todo el aparato teórico de un concepto que se proyectaba a procesos venideros, e indirectamente aludía a los conflictos que se comenzaban a avizorar entre ese mundo bipolar característico de la guerra fría, en el cual el tema ideológico fue prioritario. Ser o no ortodoxo, en relación a la tendencia ideológica en boga, fue muchas veces decidir.

El problema de la herejía no tan sólo parte de las ideas en abstracto, sino que su preocupación se centra también en el cuerpo social al cual pertenece el personaje. Hay una atención por el grupo, las ideas, y su repercusión en la sociedad.⁶⁵ Si atendemos a sus preguntas, veremos que está mirando el problema influenciado por la sociología: ¿Es el hereje un producto de clase? ¿Qué mantiene el hereje en esta mentalidad colectiva? También hay interrogantes que apuntan al tema psicológico tan en boga en Europa, como por ejemplo: ¿Cae el hereje dentro de cierta psicología, incluso dentro de una cierta patología mental? ¿Un anormal o un neurótico? En resumen, pensamos que con el definidor contacto con el padre Chenu, el tema del siglo XIII y los mendicantes lo perseguirá desde ese momento hasta cuando definió el “hermoso siglo XIII”, que lo fue desvelando a través de todos los actores sociales, desde los mercaderes, intelectuales, herejes, vida urbana, desarrollo tecnológico,⁶⁶ mendicantes y dinero.⁶⁷

En la década que hemos ido tratando, uno de sus pensadores centrales fue Michel Foucault,⁶⁸ y reconoce Le Goff⁶⁹ su influencia, en especial respecto a las preguntas que le fue despertando la lectura y conversaciones con él.⁷⁰ A fines de los años sesenta, en una entrevista muy conocida, el

64. “Al padre Chenu le conocí en unas condiciones muy particulares. En la Escuela Francesa de Roma inicié un estudio sobre las actitudes ante el trabajo extraídas del contenido de los manuales de los confesores. Me pareció tan esclarecedor un trabajo suyo que pedí entrevistarme con él. Acababa de ser condenado por Roma con una sanción suave que le obligó a exiliarse en un convento de Ruán de donde sólo podía salir la última semana de cada mes. Me respondió con mucho humor, diciéndome que sólo podría recibirme una de esas semanas que el Vaticano había considerado que eran las más apropiadas para proseguir sus estudios... Cuando murió, tuve una gran sorpresa: el prior de los dominicos me telefonó para solicitarme un favor especial, pues él quería enterrarle modestamente, pero el cardenal había decidido celebrar sus funerales solemnemente en Notre-Dame de París, siguiendo la estrategia habitual de la Iglesia: la recuperación de alguien condenado varias veces. El prior me dijo que únicamente aceptaría la ceremonia con la condición de que permitiera tan solo un discurso durante la misa y que fuera yo el orador. La cláusula resultaba hábil, podría decir que casi perversa, pues era una manera de impedir que hablara el cardenal. Éste aceptó, y me encontré dirigiéndome a un público religioso y desconocido que llenaba la iglesia. Redacté un texto muy medido, de ocho minutos exactos, que resultó ser uno de los más difíciles que haya escrito en mi vida. Todo me hizo pensar en los condicionantes históricos: ¿qué ha ocurrido para que en las exequias solemnes de un teólogo dominico, uno de los grandes teólogos del Concilio, haya intervenido un laico?”. Ver: Lasège, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff”. *Salud mental y cultura, Revista de la Asociación Española de Neuropsiquiatría*, 20/74 (2000): 271-282 <<http://docplayer.es/233734-Salud-mental-y-cultura.html>> (Consultado el 20 de diciembre de 2016).

65. Le Goff, Jacques. *Herejías y sociedades en la Europa preindustrial, siglo XI-XVIII*. España: Siglo XXI, 1987.

66. Le Goff, Jacques. *Héros du Moyen Âge, le Saint et le Roi*. París: Gallimard, 2005: 1207-1220.

67. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Edad Media y el dinero: ensayo de antropología histórica*. Madrid: Akal, 2012.

68. Foucault, Michel. *Las palabras y las cosas: una arqueología de las ciencias humanas*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2003; Foucault, Michel. *La arqueología del saber*. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI, 2002; Foucault, Michel. *El orden del discurso*. Buenos Aires: Tusques Editores, 1999. Estas obras dejan bien en claro la relación entre discurso científico y poder. Pensamos que la herramienta más útil y necesaria para un historiador como Le Goff es la crítica contra el pensamiento moderno y sus prácticas y métodos.

69. Le Goff, Jacques. *L'imaginaire medieval*. París: Gallimard, 1985; Patlagean, Evelyne. “L'histoire de l'imaginaire”, *La nouvelle histoire*, Jacques Le Goff, ed. Bruselas: Editions Complexe, 1988.

70. Aunque entre Le Goff y Michel Foucault no había una amistad, tuvieron la ocasión de conocerse en París en la biblioteca de los sacerdotes Dominicos. Cito: “La historia es una forma de poder, y en este aspecto me he valido de sus ideas de Foucault... Sin poder decir que fuera especialmente amigo suyo, conocí bien a Foucault y le admiré. El trato con su persona era extremadamente difícil; pero yo hablaba mucho con él, discutimos en emisiones de la radio, y me

filósofo expresaba su preocupación por la historia, junto al reconocimiento de que el aporte de Fernand Braudel había sido notable; coincidía con su visión al rechazar la idea de una historia evolutiva, lineal, consciente de los actores⁷¹. También, en esta entrevista, su argumento lo lleva al extremo, al rechazar la idea de que hablar de historia es hablar de causalidad:

se han dado cuenta de que la relación causal no se puede establecer, no controlar en términos de racionalidad formal; en el fondo, no existe la causalidad [...] y desde ese momento en que el análisis histórico se introducen relaciones de tipo lógico, tales como la implicación, la exclusión, la transformación, etc. es evidente que la causalidad desaparece.⁷²

Con esto queremos decir que este tipo de reflexiones influenciaron varias escrituras, y la de nuestro autor también. Por eso sonaría coherente eso de *faire de l'histoire* ("Hacer historia"), "Nuevos problemas", "Nuevas aproximaciones", "Nuevos objetos", y la aparición, en 1978, de una nueva obra colectiva cuyo título era, todavía más ambicioso: *La nouvelle histoire* ("La nueva historia"),⁷³ dirigida por Jacques Le Goff, Roger Chartier y Jacques Revel. Son obras que están influenciadas por el filósofo. No podemos decir ni tampoco precisar cuánto. Tampoco decir que fue sólo él, ya que no hay que olvidar a Levi-Strauss y Paul Veyne. De Foucault, especial mención su *L'archéologie du savoir* (1969), *Les mots et les choses* (1966), *Naissance de la clinique* (1963),⁷⁴ ya que en estas obras pone en tela de juicio la lógica tradición de los saberes científicos en general y de las ciencias humanas. En definitiva, se puede decir que hace hincapié a una mirada arqueológica del saber que después se catalogará de forma crítica como historia en migajas.

También por esta línea estarían los aportes de Jacques Lacan.⁷⁵ Recordemos que junto a Michel de Certeau y otros intelectuales de renombre, fundó *L'École freudienne de París* (1964),⁷⁶ independiente de la Asociación Psicoanalítica Internacional (IPA). Al mismo tiempo, Jacques Le Goff encarga a Michel de Certeau el primer artículo: *la operación historiográfica*, y dicha ubicación de ese artículo señero —para muchos—, pensamos que no fue improvisada sino pensada con fines también didácticos, en una obra capital como aquella, subrayar cómo hay que entender la historiografía entre historia, psicoanálisis y lingüística.

El resultado de todo aquello es haber desembocado en una síntesis que fue la "antropología histórica", la cual está muy bien presentada por los artículos de fondo (confiados a André Burguière), a igual rango con el de Jacques Le Goff sobre "la nueva historia", el de Michel Vovelle sobre la "Historia de la larga duración", el de Philippe Ariès sobre la "Historia de las mentalidades", y el de Évelyne Patlagean sobre la "Historia imaginaria". Este último título obliga a mencionar a Jacques

influyó. Entre los filósofos era el único historiador propiamente dicho, y fue quizá el único que poseía un criterio sobre las ciencias humanas y sociales que las enjuiciaba en una relativa unidad. Parte de su obra es estrictamente la de un historiador, y no la de un filósofo de la historia. No digo que haya que ser un buen historiador para ser un buen filósofo, aunque con él me sentía en el mismo terreno". Lasége, Charles. "Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...": 290; Belinsky, Jorge. "Aproximación indirecta: Lo imaginario en la perspectiva de Jacques Le Goff". *Intercanvis*, 17 (2000): 23-27. <www.intercanvis.es/pdf/17/17-03.pdf> (Consultado el 15 de agosto de 2016).

71. Caruso, Paolo. *Conversaciones con Lévi-Strauss, Foucault y Lacan*. Barcelona: Anagrama, 1969: 74-75.

72. Caruso, Paolo. *Conversaciones...*: 75.

73. Le Goff, Jacques, ed. *La Nouvelle Histoire*. París: Retz-CEPL, 1988.

74. Foucault, Michel. *L'archéologie du savoir*. París: Gallimard, 1969; Foucault, Michel. *Les mots...*; Foucault, Michel. *Naissance de la clinique*. París: Presses universitaires de France, 1963.

75. Lacan, Jacques. *Scrits*. París: Seuil, 1966.

76. Roudinesco, Élisabeth; Plon, Michel. *Diccionario de psicoanálisis*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 1998.



Lacan y sus discípulos, posición muy dominante en los años 1970-1980, que pudo influir en la historia en general y a la historia medieval en particular: “Imaginario”, “simbólico”, “inconsciente”. También no hay que olvidar los escritos de Michel Certeau que ponen a dialogar los conceptos de inconsciente y la dimensión del yo, con sus trabajos sobre los místicos y la ciudad. Además, Alain Besançon decide dedicar un volumen colectivo (*Mélanges*) a Georges Duby, entendiéndolo como historiador psicoanalista.⁷⁷ Esto no quiere decir que Jacques Le Goff sea un historiador freudiano, pero lo leyó, y esperaba que esta relación fuera cada vez más fructífera, como lo mencionó en una entrevista.⁷⁸

Nuestro historiador se preocupó de la difusión mediática de su obra y de sus colegas a través de los medios de comunicación de masa haciendo partícipe de la revolución cultural⁷⁹ y el cambio de costumbres y *habitus* que modificó para siempre Europa y el mundo. La difusión por radio fue muy querida por él con su programa *los lunes con la historia*.

En estos años, en donde predominó la historia francesa de los terceros *Annales*, asistimos a un cambio de paradigma en la forma de pensar y escribir la historia. No había una “idea matriz única”, y ello provocó la formación de grupos heterogéneos. Se permitió una convivencia en la diferencia, lo que también explicaría el éxito de difusión fuera de Europa y la ampliación del consumo de lectura histórica en las personas comunes. Fue, en este caso, una historia que llegó al gran público que supo quizás mediatizarse o responder a las inquietudes y preguntas del hombre común, y no ser una lectura suscrita sólo al ámbito académico.

Así, a fines de los ochenta se hacen sentir las disidencias metodológicas y epistemológicas de fuera de los *Annales*, y también dentro como ya hemos anotado. Se consolida la microhistoria de Giovanni Levi y Carlo Ginzburg, y su cambio de escala en la mirada de lo micro a lo macro.⁸⁰ Además, surge la idea del paradigma “indiciario” que funda el conocimiento en la recolección y la interpretación de las huellas y no en el procesamiento estadístico de los datos.⁸¹ El “giro” lingüístico o también llamado cultural, predominantemente de corte anglosajón con Hayden White,⁸² Lawrence Stone,⁸³ Hunt Lynn⁸⁴ y Natalie Davis con su *Martin Guerre*.⁸⁵ Estas corrientes constituyen una crítica

77. Besançon, Alain. “De Gibbon à Freid et retour”. *L’Arc*, 72 (1978): 4-8.

78. Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff, “Estoy convencido de que el psicoanálisis es una de las grandes invenciones de finales del siglo pasado y del siglo XX. No lo domino, y por ello no lo utilizo entre mis útiles de historiador. Admiro profundamente a Freud, y pienso además que su método desborda ampliamente al psicoanálisis mismo. Me he atrevido a explorar los sueños en la Edad Media, principalmente en mis seminarios, no en mis libros, porque no me sentía muy seguro. Incluso he comenzado alguno de ellos presentando la *Interpretación de los sueños* de Freud porque me parece un libro fundamental, que no se puede olvidar ni siquiera a la hora de estudiar la evolución de la onorocrítica occidental. Sin embargo, no sé si el psicoanálisis puede aportar mucho a la historia, pero me gustaría mucho que pudiese hacerlo”: Lasége, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...”: 290.

79. Concepto ocupado por: Hobsbawn, Eric. *Historia del siglo XX*. Buenos Aires: Crítica, 1998: 323.

80. Levi, Giovanni. *La enerencia inmaterial: la historia de un exorcista piemontés del siglo XVI*. Madrid: Nerea, 1991.

81. Ginzburg, Carlo. “Spie. Radici di un paradima indiziario”, *Crisi Della ragione. Nuovi modelli nell rapporto tra spare e attitá umana*, Aldo Gargari, ed. Turín: Einaudi, 1979: 56-106.

82. White, Hayden. *La metahistoria, la imaginación histórica*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992.

83. Stone, Lawrence. “The Revival of the Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History”. *Past and Present*, 85 (1979): 74-96.

84. Lynn, Hunt, ed. *The New Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989: 2; Hunt, Lynn; Bonnell, Victoria. *Beyond the cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture*. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University California Press, 1999.

85. White, Hayden. *Metahistoria: la imaginación histórica en la Europa del siglo XIX*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992: 13-93.



mordaz y sistemática a los supuestos de la ilustración, tan propios de los basamentos de nuestro propio oficio y los ideales de la modernidad y el racionalismo entregados por los antecesores.

Los anteriores son inseparables de los movimientos feministas, críticos a la supremacía del Estado, críticos a todas las formas de sociedad burguesa, y reclamaban la subversión de la vida cotidiana, y, en fin, se repensaba el modelo de “cultura occidental”.⁸⁶ En el fondo hay un profundo malestar de la historia, y este grupo de intelectuales son un fiel reflejo de aquello. Jacques Le Goff llegó a ser uno de los representantes más genuinos, principalmente por no ser muy ortodoxo en el grupo de historiadores medievales. Buscaba éste una Edad Media que se sirviera de la relación con las Ciencias Sociales y la búsqueda de nuevas fuentes y conceptos para definir sus problemas, con el firme propósito de encontrar un humanismo propio de la Edad Media.

4. Una antropología histórica: el espacio y del tiempo

Uno de los ejemplos que sean claves para sopesar su antropología historia es que está basado en ideas fundamentales inherentes a nuestra condición de ser humano: tiempo, espacio, trabajo y cuerpo. Notable es el libro respecto al espacio imaginario del purgatorio:⁸⁷ nuestro autor hace un recorrido desde el origen de la palabra, pasando por los textos sagrados de la cultura hebrea hasta llegar al siglo XII y XIII, tiempo en que se sistematiza la idea de *purgatorium*. Une el fenómeno social de los mercaderes, los intelectuales y la razón que podemos llamar “metafísica”, en la cual los hombres sienten la necesidad de establecer una unidad entre los vivos y los muertos. Se trata de una preocupación genuina en una sociedad en que los grupos no cristianos, o a lo menos practicantes del judaísmo y muchas veces usureros, sus hijos y esposas, necesitaban que se convirtieran para salvarlos en este espacio intermedio. Se busca con ahínco mantener vínculos que se expresan en los testamentos, misas de difuntos y múltiples oraciones. Se persigue la comunión “entre la sociedad de los vivos y la sociedad de los muertos”:⁸⁸ aparecen los amigos del purgatorio.

En una entrevista, nuestro historiador hace una reflexión que nos otorga una dimensión moderna del hombre medieval y es el tema de la aparición del yo, de la individualización con la creación del purgatorio:

el Purgatorio ha contribuido mucho a la afirmación del individuo. El individuo, que hasta entonces estaba relativamente disuelto en las colectividades, en las comunidades, empieza a destacar porque el Purgatorio exigía un primer juicio personal en el momento de la muerte, pues a quien Dios envía al Purgatorio después sólo tendrá una dirección posible: el Paraíso. Podrá llegar a él más o menos deprisa, según la gravedad de los pecados y el celo de los oradores en la tierra, pero nadie podría estar allí después del juicio final. Así que el *juicio personal* obligaba a los fieles a un examen de conciencia sobre sus intenciones y no a seguir simplemente un catálogo de faltas, les exigía reflexionar sobre su yo hondamente. El Purgatorio, el intentar alcanzarlo a su muerte, les ponía en vida frente a su yo.⁸⁹

Nace el examen de conciencia, el confesor sería como un psicoanalista.

86. Serna, Justo; Pons, Anacleto. *La historia cultural. Autores, obras, lugares*. Madrid: Akal, 2005: 72.

87. Le Goff, Jacques. *El nacimiento del purgatorio*. Madrid: Taurus, 1989: 57.

88. Le Goff, Jacques. *Lo maravilloso y lo cotidiano en el occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1999: 44.

89. “Lasége, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...”: 278-280.



También podemos insistir que dentro de su vasta reflexión y trabajo documental del purgatorio, una de sus obras más conocidas es *La bolsa y la vida* (1993).⁹⁰ Por medio de los *exempla*, la poesía de Dante y el pensamiento teológico de Santo Tomás, expone magistralmente cómo esa sociedad trató a los usureros, obligando a que la misma teología le otorgara un lugar intermedio y no un acceso directo al lugar de los tormentos y la muerte, el infierno. El usurero medieval, ladrón del tiempo divino, desde el siglo XII comienza a tener un lugar, el purgatorio, que podía acceder sufriendo en un tiempo determinado la penitencia, acompañado de la restitución de los bienes habidos mediante la usura.

En definitiva, nos da cuenta cómo se pueden leer las más variadas fuentes para construir un cuadro social global de lo medieval, en donde lo sagrado y lo profano se unen; se le va otorgando una nueva visión al dinero. Se le podría sumar el texto *La Edad Media y el dinero: Ensayo de antropología histórica* (2012).⁹¹ En estas obras, y quizás en todas aquellas que se engloban en la antropología histórica, tienen un diálogo entre la doctrina elaborada por los teólogos y la descripción de las estructuras y las prácticas sociales que las afirman o las desmienten. Ello nos impulsa a leer los problemas históricos desde diversos planos, y al mismo tiempo no ocupa la mirada tradicional meramente analítica. Cuando Le Goff trabaja un grupo no se olvida de los otros, sino que los va haciendo dialogar en un tejido escritural que tiende siempre a mostrar la globalidad de la época que estudia.

El otro tema recurrente es el tiempo, visto como siempre ha mirado la realidad histórica encarnada. Le Goff nunca se identificó como un hombre teórico,⁹² aunque algunos lo piensan. Pensamos, y el mismo lo ha dicho, todo su pensar histórico no tiene casi nada de filosofía de la historia sino que se ocupa de ejemplos concretos. Desde sus primeros trabajos se da cuenta que el tiempo no viaja para todos de la misma forma. En el artículo “Tiempo de la Iglesia y tiempo de mercaderes en la Edad Media”,⁹³ distingue de forma ejemplar los tiempos de la Iglesia, cíclicos y lentos, marcados por la liturgia, que negocia con el tiempo también agrario de los señores feudales en estado natural, y por último el tiempo cuantificable de los mercaderes.

Notable es otro tema: espacio geográfico y simbólico muy propio de la mentalidad medieval. La idea de “horizonte onírico”, recurrente en la obra de Freud,⁹⁴ está presente. Dedicó algunas sesiones académicas a explicar el sentido del océano índico para la mentalidad medieval, “L’Occident médiéval et l’océan Indien: un horizon onirique”. El texto fue editado para el primer tomo de su obra recopilación.⁹⁵ Este horizonte onírico instalado por nuestro autor lo fue sintetizando con el fin de mostrarnos una mentalidad medieval y su relación con esas tierras que serían la actual India

90. Le Goff, Jacques. *La bolsa y la vida: Economía y religión en la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Gedisa Editorial, 1993.

91. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Edad Media y el dinero: ensayo de antropología histórica*. Madrid: Akal, 2012, originalmente publicado como *Le Moyen Âge et l’argent : essai d’anthropologie historique*.

92. Lasége, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff ...”: 278-280.

93. Le Goff, Jacques. “Au Moyen Age: temps de l’Église et temps du marchand”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 3 (1960): 417-433; Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un Autre Moyen Âge*. París: Gallimard, 1999: 59; Ver: Le Goff, Jacques. “Le Temps du travail dans la ‘Crise’ du XIV siècle: du temps medieval au temps moderne”. *Le Monye*, 69 (1963): 597-613; Le Goff, Jacques. *Tiempo, trabajo y cultura en el Occidente medieval: 18 ensayos*. Madrid: Taurus, 1983.

94. Freud, Sigmund. *La interpretación de los sueños*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu, 1995.

95. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre Moyen Âge. Temps, travail et culture en Occident: 18 essais*. París: Gallimard, 1991: 280-298. Obra que fue publicada en español: *Tiempo, trabajo en el occidente medieval*. Madrid: Taurus, 1993. Los análisis de este tema lo hemos extraído principalmente de un artículo de José Miguel de Toro, recientemente publicado: Toro, José Miguel de. “‘Apud Indos ver est perpetuum’. El extremo Oriente durante la Edad Media: una revisión del horizonte onírico de Jacques Le Goff”. *Revista de Historia*, 23/1 (2016): 73-99.

y Ceylán. Por medio de un número determinado de tópicos que él sistematiza, hombres y mujeres medievales fueron formándose mentalmente un mundo de riquezas, exuberancia fantástica, un mundo libre y sin tabúes, el lugar de lo desconocido y lo infinito: *A travers eux, L'occident fuit la réalité mediocre de ses cinglés: il trouve l'imagination creative inépuisable de la nature de Dieu*.⁹⁶ Cabe hacer notar que este espacio mental y geográfico, se trasladará luego a la mentalidad de los primeros colonizadores españoles en América. Ellos también miran la maravilla o lo maravilloso, razón por la cual su aparato cognitivo todavía no ha cambiado: la idea del buen salvaje (de Bartolomé de las Casas); la idea de la edad de oro, como la descrita por Luciano de Samosatra, la utopía de Vasco de Quiroga en Nueva España, y la descripción de los más variados cronistas (de Indias, reales, encomenderos y misioneros) tratando de entender este *Nuevo Mundo*.⁹⁷ Podemos decir que ha sido la conformación de un imaginario y que nuestro historiador tan bien lo ha retratado.⁹⁸

Por medio de este tipo de pesquisas que aluden a un espacio imaginado y un tiempo detenido, se puede pensar mejor la Edad Media que él siempre propuso, que no termina en el siglo XIV sino que se prolonga hasta siglo XVIII, y quizás hasta el XIX, ya que las mentalidades viajan dentro del tiempo lento de la larga duración. Los hombres que salen de Europa, en su mayoría había escuchado de esos lugares, y su formación clásica los delataba.⁹⁹ No deja de ser interesante bajo este tipo de inquietudes el interés por la ideas imaginadas, respecto al tiempo y a lugares, como, *L'utopie médiévale: Le pays de Cocagne*,¹⁰⁰ relato que no desaparece en la Edad Media sino que se prolonga no sólo en el tiempo sino en el espacio.

Para nuestro autor fue vital presentarnos una Edad Media que no es evidente, que está soterrada en el inconsciente, en lo que no se dijo pero se piensa, o mejor dicho se imagina. Se ve una y otra vez el tema del imaginario. Por ello, de continuo subrayaba que las dimensiones humanas, que son parte de la mentalidad, están en el sustrato que no aparece en los gestos conscientes de las crónicas, de las actas, de los documentos oficiales, de las *summas* y comentarios de los teólogos. Lo anterior nace además de la consideración sobre la larga duración y apela, como decía él mismo, a las creencias, comportamientos y mentalidades, más que a la historia de las ideas.¹⁰¹ Lo "imaginario", lo "utópico", la "otredad", son los conceptos o representaciones que están íntimamente relacionados en el pensamiento del medievalista francés, puesto que la "otra Edad Media" es, precisamente, la Edad Media imaginada, donde caben los sueños, los temores, las pulsiones, las aspiraciones y deseos más íntimos y soterrados, y que muchas veces no se presentan desde una reflexión mesurada. Esto no quiere decir que carezcan de una lógica y estructura. Lo onírico tiene

96. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...*: 291-292.

97. Cantú, Francesca. *Scoperta e conquista di un Nuovo Mondo*. Roma: Viella, 2007.

98. Sabate, Flocel. *El fin del mundo y el nuevo mundo, en encaje ideológico entre la europea medieval y la América Moderna en Nueva España (siglo XVI)*. México: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 2011; San Fuentes, Olaya. *Develando el Nuevo Mundo Imágenes de un proceso*. Santiago: Ediciones de la Universidad Católica de Chile, 2009; Koht, Karl; V. Rose, Sonia V, eds. *Pensamiento Europeo y cultura colonial*. Madrid: Iberoamericana Vervuert, 1997; Le Goff, Jacques. *Lo cotidiano y lo maravilloso en el occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1998.

99. Maravall, José Antonio. *Antiguos y modernos visión de la historia e idea de progreso hasta el renacimiento*. Madrid: Alianza, 1998.

100. Le Goff, Jacques. "L'utopie médiévale: Le pays de Cocagne". *Revue européenne des sciences sociales*, 85 (1989): 271-286. Ver: Goldhammer, Arthur. "Reviewed Work: 'The Medieval Imagination' by Jacques Le Goff". *American Ethnologist*, 3 (1990): 603.

101. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...*: 291-292; ver: Toro, José Miguel de "Apud Indos...": 73-99.



una forma alternativa, pues no remite a las dimensiones entendidas de forma tradicional, espacio y tiempo. En realidad, ambos se presentan de forma simbólica.¹⁰²

El sueño es clara representación de ausencia de tiempo: *elle n'annonce pas un événement à venir, elle révèle et libère une énergie qui tend à créer l'événement*.¹⁰³ No obstante, en la Edad Media oriental se le puede atribuir un tiempo pasado en el que han tenido lugar las grandes intervenciones de Dios en la historia: el Paraíso, la Torre de Babel, la ciudad maligna de Babilonia, entre otros hitos de gran significado para el mundo cristiano. Pero al mismo tiempo, lugar de evasión, como lo señala nuestro autor, el hombre medieval encuentra lo opuesto el reverso de su vida ruda y áspera en el continente europeo. De este modo, el océano Índico *est comme un anti-méditerranéen, lieu oppose à la civilisation et à la rationalisation*.¹⁰⁴

Por último, su itinerario intelectual en relación a la antropología todavía no lo debemos entender como concluido, ya que sus discípulos prosiguieron su camino.¹⁰⁵ No obstante, es grato recordar uno de sus trabajos en relación al cuerpo, otra dimensión básica de toda antropología, libro hecho con uno de sus colegas más jóvenes.¹⁰⁶ Es meritorio subrayar que es un pionero en este tipo de tema. Pienso que es un fiel reflejo de una historia “encarnada” y que al mismo tiempo asume la subjetividad de los sujetos y de lo social, en el sentido de demostrar que el cuerpo puede llegar a ser una metáfora de lo social y un “recipiente” de todos los deseos, pulsiones, temores, represiones, que tiene no sólo un individuo sino que toda una sociedad. El cuerpo, dice, es escurridizo, un lugar donde se alojan las paradojas y las tensiones. El cuerpo, en definitiva, nos impulsa a pensar lo social como metáfora del cuerpo, y pensar el cuerpo a través de lo social.

Es por eso que insistimos en la necesidad de explicar con éste último punto cómo nuestro autor no deja de mirar nunca a los iniciadores del movimiento, hasta en este punto, que nos recuerda lo que Marc Bloch, nos propuso en la *La Sociedad Feudal* respecto a las aventura del cuerpo. Por lo tanto, siempre haciendo un viaje de ida y vuelta desde la tradición a la innovación.

5. Las mentalidades en Jacques Le Goff, clave de interpretación: Innovación desde la Tradición

El concepto *mentalidad* nunca fue totalmente desechado por Le Goff, y por ello no se puede decir que lo haya reemplazado por el término *representación*, porque lo demostró desde la fundación del *Groupe d'Anthropologie historique de l'Occident Medieval*.

A partir del libro *La Historia como representación*¹⁰⁷ de Roger Chartier, se inauguró una discusión en la que se establece que la mentalidad ha perdido su vigencia, debido a que el concepto no distingue bien entre los grupos o clases sociales. Hay una vuelta a una historia social, más “objetivista”, que asume y ubica la preocupación de lo cultural como prioridad, dando cabida a los contextos y la procedencia socio-cultural. El mundo es representación, pero aquello se realiza bajo parámetros y coacciones estructurales. De ahí que los individuos tienden a reunirse según su grupo social. Desde

102. Pastoureau, Michel. *Una historia simbólica de la Edad Media Occidental*. Buenos Aires-Madrid: Katz, 2006.

103. Chevalier, Jean; Gheerbrant, Alain. *Dictionnaire des symboles. Mythes, rêves, coutumes, gestes, formes, figures, couleurs, nombres*. París: Robert Laffont-Jupiter, 1982: 814.

104. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...*: 295-296.

105. Le Goff, Jacques. *Pour un autre...*: 291-292. Ver también: de Toro, José Miguel. “Apud Indos...”: 86-87.

106. Le Goff, Jacques; Troung, Nicolás. *Una historia del cuerpo*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2003: 25.

107. Chartier, Roger. *El mundo como representación, Estudios de historia cultural*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1989.



lo teórico podemos decir que hay un grado de correspondencia con la propia realidad. Se propone un equilibrio en esta nueva historia sociocultural, un equilibrio entre estructura y subjetivismo, entre ideas y realidad, aceptando que las ideas subjetivas superan la base social desde la cual fueron emitidas.¹⁰⁸

La obra de Chartier, como el mismo lo mencionó, pretende ver otros modos de articular las obras y las prácticas y el mundo social: “sensible a la vez a la pluralidad de divergencias que atraviesa una sociedad y a la diversidad de empleos y de materiales o códigos compartidos”.¹⁰⁹ En definitiva, es escribir las prácticas,¹¹⁰ que si queremos lo podemos entender como un objeto menos huido que las mentalidades, más “objetivo”, apegado a los productos culturales, a la visión social de las circulación de las ideas con parámetros hasta cronológicos más definidos.

En cambio, Jacques Le Goff, desde el primer momento en ese artículo memorable que tiene más de cuarenta años,¹¹¹ nos advierte que el concepto es ambiguo pero que al mismo tiempo aquello puede llegar a ser su fortaleza. En la entrevista ya citada del año 2000 dice: “Fue un concepto perturbador, en el buen sentido, e inspirador, si se usa sin exageraciones. Pero lo que constituye su fuerza es también su debilidad: se trata de un concepto vago, puesto que se trataba de suplir la imposibilidad de dar términos precisos”.¹¹²

Sin decirlo, Le Goff ha apostado a considerar siempre lo inconsciente en la historia. Por eso no ocupa tanto la categoría de representación, que pensamos alude a algo mucho más consciente y, por tanto, vinculado a una práctica y discurso, con intenciones más dirigidas. Asimismo, estimamos que nuestro autor rechazó de plano el predominio de un enfoque sobre otro, es decir, que las mentalidades no pueden considerarse una “panacea” o una connotación de causalidad, idea que lo expresa en una entrevista de 1991:

ha habido un uso pervertido de la historia de las mentalidades, pero esto no se haya en las concepciones de los *Annales* o la *Nouvelle Histoire*: es hacer de la mentalidades el motor de la historia. En este caso, es la reacción contra un “economicismo”, un marxismo vulgar, que hacía de la economía el motor de la historia [...] pero la relación se ha hecho a la inversa, un determinismo de las mentalidades, lo cual es igualmente inaceptable. Las mentalidades son uno de los elementos muy importantes de lo que yo llamaría el paisaje histórico, y del análisis de dicho paisaje, pero no tiene ninguna connotación de causalidad.¹¹³

No obstante, si pensamos sólo en la significación de las mentalidades, considerando desde los comienzos de su práctica a fines de los sesenta y hasta fines de los ochenta, fue la superación de las directrices económicas y políticas, y réplica de la historia anulada en lo social a la idea de los

108. Lynn Hunt. *Politics, Culture and Class in the French Revolution*. Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984. Hacemos esta referencia porque también pertenece y está en concordancia con las ideas de Chartier.

109. Lynn Hunt. *Politics, Culture and Class...*: 50.

110. Chartier, Roger. *La historia o la lectura del tiempo*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 2007: 27.

111. Le Goff, Jacques. “Las mentalidades. Una historia ambigua”, *Hacer la Historia*, Jacques Le Goff; Pierre Nora, eds. Barcelona: Laia, 1974: 81.

112. Lasége, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...”: 277.

113. Pérez, Sílvia. “Entrevista a Jacques Le Goff, historiador medievalista francés especializado en los siglos XII y XIII, y docente en la École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales”. *Boletín de Historia Social Europea*, 3 (1991): 57-68.



filósofos, y por la mayoría de los historiadores de las ciencias. De este modo, la historia de las mentalidades abre un profundo surco entre la historia y la historia des-historizada de las ideas.¹¹⁴

Existe otra crítica en relación a la historia de las mentalidades que también toca a Jacques Le Goff y su práctica historiográfica, que proviene del eminente filósofo Paul Ricœur, que construye sus ideas por medio de los trabajos de dos insignes estudiosos de las ciencias humanas,¹¹⁵ que lo hacen pensar que la historia de las mentalidades es deficitaria desde el punto de vista de su comprensión y explicación.

Primero, lo hace con el concepto de Lévy-Bruhl y su *mentalidad primitiva*, que fue muy provechoso para los historiadores contemporáneos a Le Goff, que utilizaron el concepto para describir y explicar todo lo disonante de las creencias de una época en las que el observador de hoy no reconoce su concepto del mundo; es una visión del observador que considera todo lo pre-lógico y pre-científico dentro del concepto. Pero es una descripción del observador proyectada sobre la visión de los actores sociales, y por tanto muy prejuiciada.

También se puede inferir que es un concepto que al ser tratado a la vez como un rasgo descriptivo y como un principio de explicación, no se sale definitivamente de la órbita del concepto de mentalidad primitiva, que proviene de la idea de la sociología de comienzo del siglo XX para referirse a las creencias primitivas respecto a la racionalidad científica lógica. Para el filósofo sigue siendo el pecado original del concepto de mentalidad. Entonces dirá que es mejor renunciar a él y preferir el de representación.¹¹⁶

El segundo especialista es Geoffrey E. R. Lloyd, estudioso de la Grecia clásica y de trabajos comparativos con China. En su libro *Las mentalidades y su desenmascaramiento*, afirma que el concepto de mentalidad es inútil y dañino: inútil en el plano de las descripciones, dañino en el plano de la explicación. En cambio, el mismo Le Goff hizo alusión al problema cuando se le preguntó por el autor y su libro:

Mantuve un debate público con Lloyd en el Beaubourg. Sin duda es un gran historiador de la ciencia antigua; en cambio, me parece que *Las mentalidades y su desenmascaramiento* no es un buen libro. No se puede tratar al mismo nivel, como él lo hace, la ciencia y la mentalidad. Las ciencias no son puramente racionales sino que están parcialmente influidas por las mentalidades; las nociones científicas no se oponen sino que están incluidas en éstas, y esto es algo que deberían tener en cuenta los científicos y los historiadores de las ciencias. La teoría de la relatividad, por ejemplo, no es una noción científica pura... Me interesan varias cosas en la idea de mentalidad. Mis maestros lejanos, Lucien Febvre y especialmente Marc Bloch, se plantearon la importancia de la psicología en el conjunto de las ciencias humanas y sociales.¹¹⁷

Es decir, aquí destaca que no hay una absoluta pureza en los “paradigmas científicos” y por eso pueden verse influidos por un cierto tipo de mentalidad y vice-versa.

En efecto, la idea de mentalidad de Jacques Le Goff no tiene los rasgos que directa e indirectamente se le atribuyen, cuestión que es inevitable. Hasta difiere en algunos casos con historiadores

114. Burguière, André. “Histoire d’ une histoire: naissance de Annales”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 34/6 (1979): 1347-1369 ; Revel, Jacques. “Histoire et science sociale, les paradigmes des Annales”. *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 34/6 (1979): 1360-1376.

115. Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien. *Mentalidad primitiva*. Buenos Aires: Leviatán, 1922; Lloyd, Geoffrey E. *Las mentalidades y su desenmascaramiento*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1996; Ricœur, Paul, *La memoria...*: 254-258.

116. Ricœur, Paul. *La memoria...*: 258.

117. Laséque, Charles. “Entrevista con Jacques Le Goff...”: 278-280.



cercanos a él, como Michel Vovelle, que se propone aclarar y precisar los distintos niveles de desarrollo de la misma. Se localizan las actitudes colectivas menos conscientes que surgen a partir de los estudios de las sensaciones, le siguen los dominios de lo biológico y su individualidad, que igualmente remite a la sociabilidad, la cual se haya suscrita a la familia con actitudes frente a la vida y a la muerte. Están las sociabilidades colectivas, las patologías sociales y las definiciones de normalidad hasta llegar al mundo de los excluidos.¹¹⁸

Comentando esta definición en una jornada en homenaje a Georges Duby, organizada en Santiago por el Departamento de Ciencias Históricas de la Universidad de Chile, Michel Vovelle señalaba que son las modalidades según las cuales los hombres imaginan y dirigen a la vez la relación entre sus condiciones objetivas de existencia y la idea que se hacen de éstas. Refrendaba lo antes dicho con la siguiente afirmación que alude a un momento crucial pos 1989, cuando el mundo cuestionó y se ubicó casi en el fin de la historia:

En esta carga colectiva en la historiografía de los países liberales, y singularmente en Francia, parece que la noción de mentalidad, más complaciente, despojada de toda connotación ideológica, comienza como ganadora, más operatoria, más apta por la misma imprecisión que la rodea para responder a las necesidades de una investigación sin condiciones previas.¹¹⁹

Otro matiz en esta discusión es la adopción de la palabra ideología, tomada de Louis Althusser, a la que adhirieron Georges Duby y Michel Vovelle. Para ellos fue un concepto más cómodo que mentalidad en los años ochenta. La ideología entendida como “la relación imaginaria de los individuos con sus condiciones reales de existencia”,¹²⁰ es decir: como un conjunto de representaciones, de prácticas y comportamientos conscientes e inconscientes. En su concepto de ideología remitía a Karl Marx, quien en la ideología alemana la concebía como un “eter particular que definía todas las formas de existencia”.¹²¹ Vovelle intenta hacer más empírico el concepto de “mentalidad” homologándola en el nivel del pensamiento claro.

De los postulados de Vovelle, Georges Duby había utilizado en 1978 el concepto de *ideología* para explicar el sistema tripartito en que se había ordenado la sociedad medieval en función de un discurso gestado por la Iglesia. Y no fue gratuito que la obra sobre los tres órdenes, que Duby consideraba la más importante de toda su producción, el célebre medievalista desecha el concepto de mentalidad y lo sustituye por el de “imaginario”, pues ello, le permitía estudiar y comprender mejor un objeto tan real como inmaterial.¹²²

Jacques Le Goff no siguió esa ruta sino que defendió su definición que se torna en un problema ambiguo ¿No es, acaso, en esta vaguedad donde radica su fecundidad y su éxito, pero también se encuentran riesgos?

118. Vovelle, Michel. “Historia de las mentalidades”. *Monografía de cuadernos de historia*, 1 (2000): 17; Vovelle, Michel. *Ideología y Mentalidad*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1985: 12-14.

119. Vovelle, Michel. “Historia de las mentalidades”. *Monografía de cuadernos de historia*, 1 (2000): 19.

120. Althusser, Louis; Balibar, Etienne. *Para leer el Capital*. Madrid: siglo XXI, 1976:119; Burke, Peter. *La revolución historiográfica francesa*. Barcelona, Gedisa, 2006: 76.

121. Burke, Peter. *La revolución historiográfica...*: 76.

122. Sobre este tipo de reflexiones metodológicas y conceptuales de Duby, Georges. *La historia continua*. Madrid: Debate, 1992: 179; Ruiz-Domènec, José. “Georges Duby la mirada del artista”, *Rostros de la historia. Veintiún historiadores para el siglo XXI*. Barcelona: Península, 2000: 378. Sales, Veronique. *Los historiadores*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2008: 349.



la historia de las mentalidades [...] se sitúa en el punto de conjunción de lo individual con lo colectivo, del tiempo largo y de lo cotidiano, de lo inconsciente y lo intencional, de lo estructural y lo coyuntural, de lo marginal y lo general. El nivel de la historia de las mentalidades es de lo cotidiano y de lo automático, lo que escapa a los sujetos individuales de la historia porque es revelador del contenido impersonal de su pensamiento.¹²³

Sin embargo, la lógica y la especificidad de la concepción de Jacques Le Goff y su idea de mentalidad pasó a materializarse en su antropología histórica. Primero se basa en esa búsqueda insaciable de una Edad Media que le sirviera “a la construcción histórica de un humanismo medieval, buscando siempre al hombre, a los hombres, dentro de un marco de una antropología histórica del Occidente medieval”.¹²⁴ Siguiendo a los padres de *Annales* y los acercamientos del mismo Georges Duby, hace referencia a los años de la resistencia contra los alemanes evocando el primer libro de Marc Bloch, los *reyes taumaturgos*:

Cuando a los cincuenta y seis años, en las últimas líneas que escribió [...] afirma una vez más que las condiciones sociales son de la más profunda naturaleza mentales, ¿Acaso no nos hace un llamado [...] a releer su primer libro Los reyes taumaturgos y a continuar esa historia de las mentalidades?¹²⁵

En efecto, las mentalidades para él se mueven entre la psico-historia y la historia de la cultura. No podía ser de otra forma, en tanto que, toda acción humana involucra una relación directa entre el individuo y la sociedad, hay una relación “entre un mundo interior y su mundo cultural”.¹²⁶

Nuestro historiador nunca perdió la perspectiva de que las “mentalidades” son necesarias para estudiar algunos fenómenos. Sin duda, no es la única forma. Cree que estudiar las mentalidades en una larga duración (debido a la lentitud con la que éstas cambian) puede explicar las relaciones y los diferentes juegos entre mentalidades de diferentes grupos. Para tal cometido es necesario no perder de vista ni el momento ni el lugar al que pertenece una mentalidad dada, y tampoco dejar de lado los lugares de producción: imágenes, discursos, sermones, etc.

Concluyendo, estas críticas, algunas desde el mismo seno de *Annales*, tampoco se pueden remitir a sólo su persona, por las razones antes expuestas. Consideramos que estas digresiones han sido un buen ejercicio historiográfico con el fin de ir en “defensa” del medievalista frente a las críticas sobre su falta de rigor en este tema.¹²⁷ Aunque se haya pensado que algunas de sus obras o definiciones hayan sido aparentemente poco sistemáticas, creemos que al perseguir siempre una humanización de la disciplina sus reflexiones nunca fueron tan definitivas y rígidas.

123. Le Goff, Jacques. *Hacer la Historia, T III: nuevos enfoques*. Barcelona: Laia, 1978: 81-98.

124. Le Goff, Jacques. *La Edad Media en imágenes*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2009: 11.

125. Le Goff, Jacques. *Los Reyes Taumaturgos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2006: 12.

126. Cavieres, Eduardo, ed. *Historia en controversia. Reflexiones, análisis, propuestas*. Valparaíso: Ediciones Universitarias de Valparaíso, 2009: 95.

127. Hacemos referencia a la crítica que hace por Paul Ricoeur, cuando nuestro autor define las mentalidades: “por parte de Jacques Le Goff, de ‘este nuevo objeto’, el de las mentalidades, es más desalentadora para el deseo de rigor que los anteriores balances-inventario de Duby y Mandrou. En cuanto a sus modos de actuar, las mentalidades funcionan automáticamente, a espaldas de los mensajeros; no son tanto pensamientos formados o preferidos, como lugares comunes herencias más o menos agitadas, visiones en el mundo inscritas como inconsciente colectivo. Si, durante cierto tiempo, pudo merecer un lugar entre los ‘nuevos objetos’, se debió a la ampliación de la esfera documental [...] la desaprobación infringida no se reduce a la objeción de la impresión de tipo semántica; se debe a una confusión más grave, a saber, al tratamiento incierto de la noción a la vez como un objeto de estudio, como una dimensión del vínculo social distinto del vínculo económico, y como un modo explicativo”. Ricoeur, Paul. *La memoria...*: 254.

Por lo tanto, en su antropología histórica se puede insertar el concepto o noción de mentalidad, en que lo consciente y lo inconsciente tienen un valor equitativo, y se persigue la armonía. Para reforzar lo anterior, es oportuno traer a colación un trabajo teórico y metodológico escrito sin muchas pretensiones, sin embargo muy sustancioso y agudo al respecto, que señala la preocupación de los historiadores que se ocupan de las mentalidades: “considerar los elementos de la cultura consciente [...] con aquellos elementos inconscientes o subconscientes para dar con las estructuras mentales de un individuo o de un grupo, al fin y al cabo, de una sociedad”.¹²⁸ En otro apartado se refiere a que los mismos deberán ser sensibles a las actitudes atávicas, a los fenómenos de arqueopsicología, en definitiva, todas las permanencias que nos permitan visualizar sustratos profundos del siquismo colectivo. De todos modos, la explicación en el trabajo historiográfico, quizás para sus críticos no fue como se esperaba, pero ello no impide que lo consideremos como un historiador excepcional y un humanista de la más alta talla, que en definitiva, al perseguir al hombre, siempre apostó al riesgo, al no basarse en certezas tranquilizantes y cómodas. Resultando una producción historiográfica llena de matices, creatividad y libertad intelectual.

6. Conclusiones

Finalmente podemos llegar a tres conclusiones:

1. Al tratar de construir un cuadro sintético de la obra de Jacques Le Goff a partir de la *Nueva Historia* hasta desembocar en la práctica de su antropología histórica, podemos pensar que fue un camino muy productivo y ejercido desde el pulso de verse influido por la revuelta del '68. Es decir, pensamos que dicha revuelta y sus consecuencias socio-culturales, sea una forma de leer la producción historiográfica de nuestro autor. En su trabajo se expresa ese ánimo de experimentación, alejándose de todo dogmatismo científico. Por eso se explica su búsqueda por nuevos objetos, nuevos problemas, nuevas miradas de todo el panorama de la historia. Así sus trabajos más fecundos estuvieron anclados en esa “revuelta” y malestar de la historia tan propio de su época. No obstante, su obra no fue pensada de forma banal ni reactiva, sino que correspondería a lo que Julia Kristeva señala cuando explica el origen de la palabra “revuelta”:

tiene origen sánscrito, y quiere decir pasar hacia atrás y volver hacia el futuro. Una memoria fuerte de la transformación, pero que no es nunca una negación del tipo ‘estoy en contra y mato eso’. El sentido profundo de la revuelta tiene que ver con revalorizar los antiguos valores para que surjan otros nuevos.¹²⁹

Eso hizo Jacques Le Goff con su obra, y esa es la enseñanza que hemos pensado destacar en este artículo.

2. Nunca escatimo en pensar y practicar la historia rescatando los argumentos y el trabajo de los fundadores, en especial el humanismo de Marc Bloch y Lucien Febvre, los cuales ejercieron el oficio de historiador buscando al hombre en toda su unidad. Bloch afirmó:

128. Rojas Donat, Luis. “Notas sobre el concepto de mentalidad en la medievística europea”. *Intus Legere Historia*, 2 (2009): 98.

129. Libertella, Mauro. “Julia Kristeva: ‘Psicoanálisis y literatura son la misma cosa’”. *Semanario Universidad*, 30 Noviembre 2011. Universidad de Costa Rica. 20 Noviembre 2016. <<http://semanariouniversidad.ucr.cr/suplementos/forja/julia-kristeva-psicoanlisis-y-literatura-son-la-misma-cosa/>>.



luego el *homo religiosus*, el *homo oeconomicus*, el *homo politicus*, toda esa retahíla de hombres en us, de lo que se podría alargar la lista al infinito, son cómodos fantasmas, y el peligro sería grave si lo tomáramos por otra cosa. El único ser de carne y hueso es el hombre, sin más, que lo reúne todo a la vez.¹³⁰

Eso resuena en toda la obra de nuestro historiador, que viéndose influenciado por las experimentaciones de su tiempo, no perdió esa mirada de los fundadores, y por eso fue: una verdadera innovación desde la tradición.

3. La curiosidad inagotable de Jacques Le Goff se convierte en una búsqueda por encontrar el hombre en su Edad Media, ese hombre humanista, una imagen del microcosmos que se encuentra en una infinidad de manuscritos y códices, desde Hildegarda von Bingen a Bernardo Silvestre.¹³¹ Un humanismo que se consolidó en el siglo XII y presenta dos niveles: una valoración del hombre como creatura de Dios y la valoración de la cultura y la civilización antigua.¹³² Concluimos que en su trabajo historiográfico tuvo siempre la preocupación por la humanización de la Edad Media, desde una mirada totalizante, sin escatimar esfuerzos en crear y ocupar todos los recursos teóricos y metodológicos que estuvieron a su alcance, con el fin de proyectar problemas y preguntas para las generaciones venideras. Fue una obra llena de creatividad y fecundidad.

130. Bloch, Marc. *Introducción a la Historia*. México, Fondo de Cultura Económica: 117-118.

131. Le Goff, Jacques. *Faut-il vraiment découper L'histoire en tranches?* París: Seuil, 2014: 116-119.

132. Le Goff, Jacques. *El Dios de la Edad Media, conversaciones con Jean-luc Pouthier*. Madrid: Trotta, 2004.



HISTORIA DIVULGADA E HISTORIA TWITEADA: EMOCIONES Y REPRESENTACIONES SOCIALES DE LA CONQUISTA DE NAVARRA DE 1512

ÍNIGO MUGUETA
UNIVERSIDAD PÚBLICA DE NAVARRA

RESUMEN

En el presente trabajo se analizan las representaciones y usos sociales de la conquista de Navarra de 1512 por las tropas castellanas. Partiendo del análisis de los sentimientos que para David Lowenthal suscita la Historia, se analizarán especialmente las interpretaciones históricas de autores no universitarios ligados a los colectivos nacionalistas vascos, *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik*. Del mismo modo, se tratará de valorar la repercusión de estas interpretaciones en la sociedad navarra a través de diferentes manifestaciones culturales. Unas de las más importantes son las que proceden de las redes sociales, como Twitter, donde los planteamientos de algunos de estos autores han logrado un importante seguimiento.¹

1. Introducción

En este trabajo nos proponemos analizar los diferentes debates que en la actualidad se mantienen a propósito de la conquista de Navarra. Cotejaremos la controversia historiográfica existente con las producciones generadas este hecho en diferentes ámbitos culturales: prensa, novela, ensayo e internet, sin excluir de ninguna manera los debates “populares” que se pueden localizar en chats, foros o redes sociales, como Twitter o Facebook. Por tanto, nuestras fuentes primarias procederán de la polémica historiográfica, pero se situarán tanto en el mundo divulgativo y popular como en el académico. Nuestro análisis sobre esas representaciones sociales del pasado navarro tiene una intencionalidad casi psicológica, pues pretendemos ahondar en los motivos que llevan a diferentes personas a tomar unas u otras actitudes frente a determinados hechos históricos.

Conviene aclarar que, en el presente, el movimiento historicista más productivo y dinámico —cuantitativamente hablando— es el que procede del ámbito político de nacionalismo vasco, y que por ello las representaciones sociales más visibles y que estudiaremos preferentemente son las que surgen de este espacio político-social, si bien puntualmente analizaremos otro tipo de formulaciones alternativas o antagónicas pero de menor impacto social.

1. Este trabajo ha sido realizado en el marco del proyecto de investigación Historia y videojuegos (II): conocimiento, aprendizaje y proyección del pasado en la sociedad digital (HAR2016-78147-P). Una primera visión del mismo fue presentada en el Seminario Lacarra de la Universidad de Zaragoza, por iniciativa de los profesores Mario Lafuente, Concepción Villanueva y Carlos Laliena, a quienes agradezco la invitación. Este trabajo es consecuencia directa de aquella exposición y del debate subsiguiente. El mismo día de aquella conferencia, fallecía de manera prematura y repentina mi querido compañero medievalista y amigo Pascual Tamburri, que unos días antes me había planteado su interés por mi intervención. Sirvan las líneas que siguen a modo de pequeño homenaje para él.



2. Estado de la cuestión: entre la memoria histórica y las representaciones sociales

El estudio de las representaciones sociales de la Historia constituye una de las líneas de trabajo de mayor proyección en la actualidad, ya que poner el foco de análisis en el presente permite comprender la distancia cada vez más grande que existe entre la Historia académica, y la Historia popular.² Recientemente, las redes sociales y el denominado Universo transmedia (cine, televisión, cómic, novela...), han sido conceptualizados como nuevos géneros históricos,³ y los historiadores se ocupan de manera creciente de su estudio. En estos nuevos ámbitos o géneros históricos se destaca la aparición del fantasma de la simplificación en los usos sociales de la Historia, con sus acólitos inseparables, los estereotipos,⁴ que son quienes realmente se encargan de difundir conceptos e imágenes.⁵ En esta misma dirección, César Fornis ha llegado a hablar de todo un “sendero de tópicos y falacias” en su estudio sobre las representaciones sociales de la antigua Esparta.⁶

La idea no es nueva, el propio Paul Ricoeur hablaba de la construcción del relato histórico como una construcción de representaciones que tienen unos efectos, y por tanto ellas mismas se convertirían en objeto de estudio para el historiador, a quien pueden y deben interesar tanto en sí mismas como en virtud de los efectos que conllevan. Una cuestión que Roger Chartier convirtió en una de las líneas de futuro de la ciencia histórica ya a finales de los años ochenta del siglo pasado.⁷

Los investigadores se enfrentan a esta realidad de maneras y con denominaciones diferentes: como hemos visto, desde la perspectiva de la sociología se habla de *representaciones sociales o colectivas*, naturalmente no ceñidas sólo a la componente histórica. En el terreno común de historiadores y sociólogos se maneja asiduamente el concepto “memoria colectiva” acuñado por Halbwachs⁸ (2004), que alude a procesos —normalmente dirigidos a través del poder del Estado— de construcción colectiva de una identidad común. Un concepto que media entre los anteriores es el de *historical consciousness* (“conciencia histórica”),⁹ defendido por Jörn Rüsen en los últimos tiempos como una mediación entre pasado y presente, que supera la memoria porque la racionaliza, la hace inteligible y la dota de significado. La conciencia histórica, así entendida, orienta la toma de decisiones en el presente porque lo hace comprensible.¹⁰

2. Mugueta, Íñigo. “Las representaciones sociales de la Historia al servicio de la didáctica en Educación Superior”. *Contextos Educativos*, 1 (2016): 9-30; Mugueta Íñigo; Tobalina, Eva. “Medievo digital o medievo popular: representaciones sociales de la Edad Media en las comunidades de gamers on-line”, *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 38 (2014): 161-179. Sobre el concepto, ver Moscovici, Serge. “Des représentations collectives aux représentations sociales: éléments pour une histoire”, *Les représentations sociales*, Denise Jodelet, ed. París: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989: 62-86; y Jodelet, Denise. “Représentations sociales: un domaine en expansion”, Denise Jodelet, dir. París: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989: 31-61.

3. Aurell, Jaume, ed. *Rethinking Historical Genres in the Twenty-First Century*, Nueva York: Routledge, 2017.

4. Licerias Ruiz, Ángel. “Tópicos, estereotipos y prejuicios, componentes de un aprendizaje informal que deforma”. *Iber: Didáctica de las ciencias sociales, Geografía e Historia*, 36 (2003): 89-101.

5. Ferrés, Joan. *Educar en una cultura del espectáculo*. Barcelona: Paidós, 2000.

6. Fornis, César. “Un sendero de tópicos y falacias: Esparta en la ficción y en la Historia popular”, *SPAL*, 20 (2011): 43-51.

7. Chartier, Roger. *El Mundo como Representación. Historia Cultural: entre práctica y Representación*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1992: 45-62; <[http://rodolfogiunta.com.ar/Historia%20urbana/El%20mundo%20como%20representacion%20\(Chartier\).pdf](http://rodolfogiunta.com.ar/Historia%20urbana/El%20mundo%20como%20representacion%20(Chartier).pdf)>. (Consultado el 9 de octubre de 2017). El artículo original se publicó en Chartier, Roger. “Le monde comme représentation”. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 44/6 (1989): 1505-1520 <https://perso.univ-lyon2.fr/~jkempf/articles_m2/chartier_representation.pdf> (Consultado el 9 de octubre de 2017).

8. Halbwachs, Maurice. *La memoria colectiva*. Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2004.

9. Rüsen, Jörn. *Narration, interpretation, orientation*. Nueva York-Oxford: Bergham Books, 2005; Cataño Balseiro, Carmen Lucía. “Jörn Rüsen y la conciencia histórica”. *Historia y Sociedad*, 21 (2011): 221-243.

10. *The simple answer is that historical consciousness functions as a specific orientational mode in actual situations of life in the present: it functions to aid us in comprehending past actuality in order to grasp present actuality* (“La respuesta simple es que la con-

Con respecto a la memoria, compartimos los planteamientos de David Lowenthal, cuando afirma que aquella es individual, y no colectiva. Para este autor la función de la memoria no es la de conservar el pasado, si no la de adaptarlo, enriquecerlo y adecuarlo al presente, dado que la tarea esencial de la memoria es la de seleccionar lo que debe ser recordado.¹¹ Así, no habría memoria colectiva, sólo memoria individual que puede ser compartida, y no totalmente. Al igual que la memoria daría validez a la identidad personal, sería la Historia la que permitiría perpetuar la autoconciencia colectiva. En palabras de Lowenthal: “los grupos se definen a sí mismos a través de la Historia de la misma manera que un individuo lo hace a través de la memoria”.¹² Por tanto, entendemos que la memoria es falaz en sí misma, como han planteado muchos autores.¹³ Por ello, otra obra de referencia para nuestro trabajo es la de Fentress y Wickham, que utilizan la expresión “memoria social”, al entender que si bien la memoria es individual, está por un lado condicionada por la interacción social y por otro destinada a su exposición social en forma de discurso narrativo.¹⁴ Si bien desde la sociología también se ha utilizado la expresión “memoria social”, podemos compartir el uso de la expresión cuando efectivamente se analiza el recuerdo de un hecho vivido de forma colectiva, pero no cuando se refiere a la evocación de un hecho de imposible recuerdo por su lejanía temporal.¹⁵

Finalmente, como apunta Jerome De Groot, en buena medida nuestra sociedad entiende la tarea del historiador como la de la búsqueda de la verdad (la única verdad), y en ocasiones representa esa búsqueda de manera heroica, como en Indiana Jones, Tomb Raider y el Código Da Vinci,¹⁶ cuyos protagonistas —al menos teóricamente— son expertos historiadores. Y sin duda esta idea tiene un público amplio hoy en día, que la aplaude y “la compra”.

Tomamos también como referente de los estudios culturales el trabajo dirigido por Fernando Molina y José A. Pérez sobre los mitos y ritos de la Historia vasca,¹⁷ si bien somos conscientes de que todos los autores que participan en él se insertan en una fecunda línea de investigaciones en el ámbito de la Historia Contemporánea, que no es posible detallar aquí.¹⁸ En cualquier caso, es oportuno señalar que las apreciaciones de Fernando Molina resultan del todo pertinentes para nuestro trabajo, tanto en cuanto a la construcción del discurso nacionalista sobre el “conflicto vasco”, como

ciencia histórica funciona como una especie de modo de orientación en situaciones actuales de la vida en el presente: funciona ayudándonos a comprender el pasado para captar el presente”). Rüsen, Jorn. *Narration, interpretation...*: 24.

11. Lowenthal, David. *El pasado es un país extraño*. Madrid: Akal, 1998: 306.

12. Lowenthal, David. *El pasado es un país extraño...*: 311.

13. Castells Arteché, Luis. “Las víctimas del terrorismo. La cuestión del relato”. *Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e Historia*, 21 (2014): 335.

14. Fentress, James; Wickham, Chris. *Memoria social*. Madrid: Cátedra, 2003.

15. Laurens, Stéphane; Roussiau, Nicolas, eds. *La mémoire sociale. Identités et représentations sociales*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes: 2002. En los diferentes trabajos de este libro se asume que el concepto de memoria colectiva o social implica tanto el recuerdo como la evocación, por lo que, a nuestro modo de ver, resulta complicado distinguir qué es Historia y qué es memoria colectiva. Por otro lado, en varios de los capítulos sí se investiga la relación entre memoria colectiva/Historia y representaciones sociales, aunque sin adjetivar estas representaciones sociales, ya que la expresión se usa en ocasiones de manera genérica y sin concretar si son representaciones sociales de la Historia, de la memoria, del pasado mismo o alguno de sus acontecimientos.

16. De Groot, Jerome. *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2009.

17. Molina, Fernando; Pérez, José Antonio, eds. *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la historia vasca*. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015.

18. Sobre estas cuestiones, ver Carreras Ares, Juan José; Forcadell Álvarez, Carlos, eds. *Usos públicos de la Historia*. Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2003; y Peiró, Ignacio. *Historiadores en España. Historia de la Historia y memoria de la profesión*. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2013: 262-288.



en cuanto a la posición que debe tomar el historiador frente a este tipo de relato.¹⁹ Además, en el caso concreto navarro, es obligado mencionar los abundantes trabajos de Juan Mari Sánchez Prieto sobre el pensamiento político de los historiadores navarros modernos y contemporáneos, desde el padre Moret a Arturo Campión e incluso Tomás Urzainqui.²⁰

3. Un momento muy ‘actual’ de la Historia de Navarra: la conquista del reino de Navarra

Para estudiar las representaciones sociales de la conquista de Navarra no haremos un análisis diferenciado según el tipo de fuente (Historia, literatura, prensa, música, redes sociales...), sino que, siguiendo a Lowenthal, agruparemos las fuentes en función de las emociones que se perciben tras las interpretaciones más relevantes.

El gran momento de la Historia de Navarra coincide con el ocaso del reino, marcado por un largo periodo de enfrentamiento civil que condujo finalmente a su conquista por parte de Castilla, y que ha producido en los últimos años una nutridísima bibliografía revisionista, elegíaca, reivindicativa, o incluso condenatoria. Desde un punto de vista historiográfico la celebración del quinto centenario de la conquista de Navarra ha aportado algunos aspectos positivos, como el mejor conocimiento de las acciones militares y la comprensión de la conquista como un periodo amplio que sólo se cierra en 1529 o 1530, como ha señalado Peio Monteano, doctor en Historia y técnico superior de archivos.²¹ Además, otros autores han proporcionado visiones interesantes desde el punto de vista de las relaciones internacionales, como Álvaro Adot,²² doctor en Historia e investigador de la Universidad de Pau, Eloísa Ramírez,²³ catedrática de Historia Medieval en la Universidad Pública de Navarra, o Alfredo Floristán,²⁴ catedrático de Historia Moderna en la Universidad de Alcalá, aunque entre estos autores las ideas no sean coincidentes. En general, algunos de los trabajos publicados en la obra colectiva coordinada por Alfredo Floristán en 2012 resultan de los más novedosos dentro de la abundante bibliografía publicada sobre la Conquista de Navarra: por ejemplo el de Luis Javier Fortún, doctor en Historia y jefe del Archivo del Parlamento de Navarra, quien hizo un interesante acercamiento desde la historia económica, el de Mercedes Galán, Catedrática de Historia del Derecho, en su ámbito, y el de Isabel Ostolaza, Catedrática de Paleografía y Archivística, desde la historia del estamento nobiliario,²⁵ con un trabajo que complementaba la monografía ya clásica de Eloísa Ramírez sobre los conflictos y solidaridades nobiliarias que condujeron a la guerra

19. Molina, Fernando. “‘El conflicto vasco’. Relatos de historia, memoria y nación”, *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la historia vasca*. Fernando Molina, José Antonio Pérez, eds. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015: 181-223.

20. Como referencia principal de este autor nos remitimos al siguiente trabajo: Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari; Nieva Zardoya, José Luis. *Navarra: memoria, política e identidad*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2004.

21. Monteano, Peio. *La guerra de Navarra (1415-1529)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2010.

22. Adot, Álvaro. *Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix o la defensa del Estado Navarro (1483-1517)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2005.

23. Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. “Catalina de Foix y Juan de Albret: los últimos reyes de un engranaje feudal”, *En los umbrales de España. La incorporación del Reino de Navarra a la Monarquía Hispánica*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2012: 95-126.

24. Floristán, Aldredo, ed. 1512. *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*. Madrid: Ariel, 2012.

25. Los trabajos en esta misma obra colectiva de estos tres investigadores llevaron por título, respectivamente, “Derumbe de la monarquía y supervivencia del reino: Navarra en torno a 1512” (201-298), “Los títulos jurídicos en la adquisición de territorios: la conquista de Navarra” (127-166), y “Sociedad y cultura política. Nación, bando, familia” (335-360).

civil navarra.²⁶ Habría que destacar también el importante esfuerzo realizado en su reciente tesis doctoral por José Miguel Escribano a la hora de analizar el coste de la guerra para Castilla, a través del análisis de la documentación del pagador real Juan Rena.²⁷ Para un balance más exhaustivo de la producción historiográfica, conviene manejar los trabajos de Alfredo Floristán, Juan Mari Sánchez Prieto, profesor Titular de Historia Contemporánea en la Universidad Pública de Navarra, y del citado Peio Monteano.²⁸

Las publicaciones más numerosas son las que han surgido en el ámbito cultural del nacionalismo vasco, representado por las asociaciones *Nabarralde*, *Nafarroa Bizirik*, Xabier Mina de Estudios Históricos, y la editorial Pamiela.²⁹ La fundación *Nabarralde*³⁰ poseía un carácter que quizás originariamente podríamos denominar como nacionalista navarro o “pan-navarrista”, vía que ha dado lugar a un escasamente exitoso partido político, *Navarra Libertad/Nafarroa libertate*. Por otro lado el exitoso colectivo *Nafarroa Bizirik!* (“Navarra vive!”), surgió directamente de la izquierda *abertzale* con la intención de recuperar la Historia y los símbolos de Navarra para el nacionalismo vasco.

Aunque el libro pionero que inició la serie de trabajos históricos sobre la conquista de Navarra desde una visión legitimista anti-española fue el del escritor y abogado, Tomás Urzainqui, *La Navarra marítima*³¹ —de importante repercusión histórico-política—,³² a nuestro juicio la obra que finalmente ha conseguido establecer una postura historiográfica consolidada y elaborada en torno a la documentación primaria, es la de Álvaro Adot, resultado de su tesis doctoral, defendida en la Universidad del País Vasco (2003), y publicada en 2005 por Pamiela.³³ La tesis de Adot defiende la existencia de un Estado Moderno en Navarra perfectamente conformado en los albores de 1512, el cual habría sido destruido de un plumazo por la conquista del ejército castellano.

Precisamente esta tesis es la que han abrazado con entusiasmo la mayor parte de los autores de los colectivos *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik* a partir de esa misma fecha de 2012, haciendo de la idea un agravante de la conquista, pues el Estado Moderno se convierte en el trasunto de una mítica “Arcadia feliz” navarra. En la defensa de esta idea se ha llegado a negar la existencia de un periodo

26. Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. *Solidaridades nobiliarias y conflictos políticos en Navarra, 1387-1464*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1990.

27. Escribano Pérez, José Miguel. *El coste de la defensa. Administración y financiación militar en Navarra durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2015.

28. Floristán, Alfredo. “Los debates sobre la conquista y la reconfiguración de la identidad Navarra (1512-1720)”, 1512. *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 31-62; Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari. “Prácticas discursivas y construcción política. Debates en torno a la conquista e integración de Navarra en España durante los siglos XIX y XX”, 1512. *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 63-87; y Monteano, Peio, “La conquista de Navarra. Un balance historiográfico reciente (2010-2013)”. *Gerónimo de Ustariz*, 28 (2012): 157-156.

29. Otras asociaciones colaboradoras de las anteriores o con fines similares o análogos son, por ejemplo, la *Fundación Orreaga*, el grupo de recreación histórica *Noaingo Bataila Gogoan Taldea*, y ya fuera de Navarra, la asociación *Navarrate*, que en 2012 llevó a las calles de Vitoria su reivindicación navarrista.

30. Atendiendo a los objetivos declarados de esta asociación, Josu Santamarina entiende *Nabarralde* como “una agrupación abiertamente política que entiende la historia del Reino de Navarra como referente simbólico de cara a la construcción nacional vasca”. Santamarina Otaola, Josu. “Más acá de la frontera: Arqueología y nacionalismo(s) en la ‘Navarra’ del siglo XXI”. *Arqueoweb*, 17 (2016): 239-267.

31. Urzainqui, Tomás; Olaizola, Juan María. *La Navarra Marítima*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 1998.

32. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. “¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses? El debate historiográfico en torno a la conquista e incorporación de Navarra: un balance y varias propuestas”. *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 83 (2013): 831-863.

33. Adot, Álvaro. *Juan de Albrét y Catalina de Foix o la defensa del Estado Navarro (1483-1517)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2005.



bélico previo, o al menos a reducir tanto la importancia de la guerra civil de la segunda mitad del siglo XV, como la de sus calamitosas consecuencias.

Así por ejemplo, Pedro Esarte, autor no universitario, afirma que “simplificar el conflicto a disputas civiles es tergiversar la realidad, pues se obvia la procedencia de los reyes y ejércitos extranjeros asentados en el reino”. Esarte niega que la batalla de Aibar entre partidarios de Juan II y del príncipe Carlos, de 1451, se produjera, y afirma que “los partícipes navarros fueron muy escasos y Juan II y el príncipe Carlos contaron con muy pocos e insuficientes adeptos”, y que por tanto, serían tropas extranjeras las enfrentadas, “que nada tiene que ver con la guerra civil que se pregona”.³⁴ Esarte hizo bandera de esta postura también en una polémica que sostuvo en 2012 en *Diario de Noticias de Navarra*, en torno a la cuestión de si hubo tropas navarras o no entre quienes asediaron el castillo de Amaiur en 1522. Las réplicas en el mismo medio de Peio Monteano dejan poco lugar a la duda, tras citar una carta del notario Agerre, de 1522, en la que se afirma sobre el contingente pro-castellano: “Y tienen gran fama de gente, pero es lo cierto que no hay sino bien pocos castellanos, sino lo que en Navarra los beaumonteses han podido coger”.³⁵ En una entrevista en el mismo medio, el 2 de agosto de 2015, Esarte afirmaba que los historiadores “oficiales” “mantienen unívocamente que hubo una guerra de unos cien años, que existían beaumonteses y agramonteses organizados [...] Lo que queda desmontado con este nuevo libro”.³⁶

De la antigua reticencia al uso de la palabra “conquista” que han denunciado algunos de estos autores —real en autores de comienzos del siglo XIX y principios del siglo XX—,³⁷ hemos pasado al negacionismo de las guerras civiles navarras. La magnífica tesis de Eloísa Ramírez Vaquero, una prosopografía del estamento altonobiliario navarro entre 1387 y 1464 que demuestra la banderización enraizada en la sociedad navarra, parece haber sido olvidada. Y en efecto, tras innumerables publicaciones para celebrar el quinto centenario de la conquista, seguimos sin conocer de manera detallada la cronología y cartografía del conflicto bélico que asoló Navarra entre 1451 y 1494.

Por suerte la tesis de Álvaro Adot sí aclara lo que ocurre en el interior de Navarra a partir de la coronación de enero de 1494 en Pamplona, proceso al que denomina “neutralización del sector beaumontés”³⁸ o posteriormente, “normalización de un reino”.³⁹ Su tesis consiste en afirmar que

34. Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el falsario. Imposturas sobre la conquista de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 17-19.

35. Esarte, Pedro, “Las tropas de Castilla que tomaron Amaiur”, *Diario de Noticias*, 22 Agosto 2012: 22; Monteano, Peio, “Navarros Contra Amaiur”, *Diario de Noticias*, 26 Agosto 2012: 24; Esarte, Pedro, “¿Existieron tropas navarras en la toma de Amaiur?”, *Diario de Noticias*, 29 Agosto 2012: 26; Monteano, Peio, “Amaiur, 1522”, *Diario de Noticias*, 4 Septiembre 2012: 24; y 9 Septiembre 2012.

36. *Diario de Noticias*, “Mirarte. Cultura, ocio y comunicación (entrevista a Pedro Esarte)”, *Diario de Noticias*, 2 Agosto 2015: 66-67; La entrevista se realiza al hilo de la publicación del libro de Esarte, Pedro. *Juan Rena II. Destrucción de Navarra al servicio de España*, Pamplona: Pamiela, 2015.

37. Ya en su época Yanguas y Miranda, sin negar la intervención militar de 1512, estimaba que lo más relevante de aquel proceso ocurrió en el terreno de la negociación política, y trataba de mostrar una versión casi indolora de la Conquista, en la que “no había vencidos”. Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari. “Prácticas discursivas y construcción política: debates en torno a la conquista e integración de Navarra en España durante los siglos XIX y XX”, *1512, conquista e incorporación de Navarra: historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Barcelona-Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra-Ariel, 2012: 68-69. Sin embargo, la negación más clara de la conquista surgió en debates posteriores, a comienzos del siglo XX, en los que intervinieron autores como Ramón Nocedal (“ni fue guerra, ni conquista, pues no hubo resistencia”), y Víctor Pradera, que argumentaba la imposibilidad de la conquista porque los bandos enfrentados, “estaban animados por el mismo espíritu”. Caspistegui, Patxi. “Salvador o réprobo: Fernando el Católico y la identidad de Navarra”, *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, en prensa.

38. Adot, Álvaro. *Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix...: 124 y siguientes*.

39. Adot, Álvaro. “Navarra en los años previos a la conquista. Proceso de normalización de un reino (1483-1512)”, *Actas. La conquista de Navarra (1512)*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2013.

durante los 18 años que van de 1494 a 1512 los reyes Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix habrían sido capaces de “normalizar” el reino hasta el punto de llegar a construir un verdadero “Estado moderno” por medio de un proyecto político de “Estado pirenaico”, de fronteras discontinuas, basado en la unidad establecida entre Navarra y Bearne por la corona en la figura de los Albret-Foix, y por la legitimidad soberana de los territorios navarro y bearnés.

Sin embargo, partiendo de su propia obra y de sus mismos datos, hemos de plantear una relevante discrepancia conceptual: donde él ve una “normalización”, nosotros entendemos que se produce un proceso de represión, persecución y confiscación de las propiedades del bando rebelde. La última rebelión beaumontesa la protagonizó el propio conde de Lerín entre 1506 y 1507, al negarse a rendir ante los reyes la plaza de Viana. Sin embargo, para el mes de junio de 1507 todas las plazas sublevadas habían sido tomadas por el ejército real: Andosilla, Cárcar, Lerín, Mendavia y Sesma, es decir, los feudos tradicionales del conde de Lerín, junto a alguna otra villa.⁴⁰ Todas estas acciones militares también son entendidas como parte del proceso de “neutralización” del bando Beaumontés por Álvaro Adot, que habla a partir de 1507 de una “plena paz social”.⁴¹ En una obra posterior incluso avanza en esta idea de “territorio en paz y estabilidad política y social”. Un nuevo argumento en favor de esa “paz social plena” es el de la supresión de la Hermandad del reino en 1510, ya que en esa fecha las Cortes no la consideraban necesaria porque “la justicia ordinaria estaba bien asentada”. En este contexto “el único peligro de inestabilidad era el que podía venir del exterior, es decir, de la invasión armada de ejércitos de reinos vecinos”.⁴²

Esta idea es retomada sin reservas por otros autores citando al propio Adot, como es el caso de Aitor Pescador, que incide en la idea del reinado de Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix como un “periodo de tranquilidad como no se había conocido en Navarra desde hacía mucho tiempo”;⁴³ Mikel Sorauren, que en un audiovisual de Nabarralde refrenda la tesis de que en Navarra “no había guerra civil alguna, ni el Estado estaba en descomposición”, señalando que “estaba en una situación totalmente pacífica”;⁴⁴ opinión similar a la de Iñaki Sagredo, estudioso de los castillos navarros, que en un debate en la cadena de televisión Kontra (julio de 1512), afirmaba que “en 1507 Navarra estaba estabilizada”;⁴⁵ al igual que el político abertzale Floren Aoiz, señalando en la misma televisión que “la guerra civil había terminado en 1507”; o que el alcalde pamplonés Joseba Asirón, para quien la conquista se produjo precisamente porque había terminado la guerra civil. Eso sí, al menos Aoiz reconocía que la guerra había terminado con el “aplastamiento de los beaumonteses”.⁴⁶ En general coincidimos en el diagnóstico de que la pacificación del reino se había logrado, pero es necesario señalar que este logro se produjo tras una dura derrota del bando beaumontés y tras el destierro del conde de Lerín. Sin embargo, una cosa era “pacificar” el reino —siempre a costa de la represión y el exilio del bando rebelde—, y otra muy diferente haber logrado una estabilidad

40. Adot, Álvaro. *Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix...*: 200-204.

41. Adot, Álvaro. “Navarra en los años previos a la conquista...”: 30-31.

42. Adot, Álvaro. *Navarra, julio de 1512. Una conquista injustificada*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 36-37.

43. Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra. 1510-1513. Diario de una conquista*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 55.

44. Marcilla, Rubén. *La Conquista de Navarra*. Pamplona: Nabarralde, 2012; Producción audiovisual realizada con la colaboración, entre otros, del ayuntamiento de Oyartzun (Guipúzcoa), de Udalbiltza y Udalbide, con guión de Floren Aoiz y Ángel Recalde. Disponible en: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k1rN4sLDWI8>> (Consultado el 17 de julio de 2017).

45. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1ss8JvhNPo>> (Consultado el 1 de junio de 2017).

46. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dFDbBv3Aa1A>> (Consultado el 1 de junio de 2017).



institucional y social similar a la que se alcanzó durante el periodo Evreux. Es obvio que las heridas de un conflicto tan largo tardan mucho más en cerrarse, de ahí que discrepemos de la rapidez con la que se quiere asentar ese periodo de paz y tranquilidad, que es utilizado por todos estos autores como un agravante más para condenar la conquista y acentuar el dramatismo y la ilegitimidad del hecho.

Esta es la base de la que se han servido argumentaciones posteriores sobre la conquista de Navarra, y que permite realizar un planteamiento generalmente monocausal: Fernando el Católico decidió discrecionalmente la conquista de Navarra, y además lo hizo —como propone Joseba Asirón— ninguneando al reino navarro, que no habría sido sino una pieza más en el tablero de las relaciones internacionales de la época.⁴⁷ Los estudios y trabajos divulgativos posteriores se centran en argumentar la ilegitimidad de la Conquista, cuestión que por otra parte Mercedes Galán ya se ha encargado de explicar con claridad desde el punto de vista de la Historia del Derecho.⁴⁸ Que la conquista fue contraria al derecho internacional de la época es algo de lo que nadie duda en ámbitos académicos, y de que Fernando el Católico se preocupó por la justificación jurídica de la Conquista a posteriori, después de que los hechos se hubieran consumado, tampoco. La claridad de los argumentos de los historiadores del Derecho hace menos comprensible la reiteración interesada de idénticos y sabidos argumentos en las numerosas publicaciones de los últimos años sobre la cuestión.

De ahí que el trabajo de Luis Javier Fortún en 2012 —que simplemente utilizaba la habitual documentación contable del reino de Navarra, y que hablaba de “fracaso en la formación de un Estado moderno”— resultara tan novedoso. Incluso un simple vistazo a la documentación fiscal de finales del siglo XV nos serviría para hacer una demostración contraria a la teoría del “Estado moderno navarro”: los reyes de Navarra no pudieron recaudar impuestos con normalidad en gran parte del territorio durante casi todo su reinado y las cuentas de la merindad de Pamplona de la segunda mitad del siglo XV son prácticamente inexistentes, puesto que formaban parte de la “parcialidad” beaumontesa —que de hecho constituía un Estado alternativo. En estas condiciones, por más que algunas instituciones tradicionales fueran restauradas por Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix, como el Consejo Real⁴⁹ o la diplomacia,⁵⁰ y por más que se interprete que esa paz social pudo alimentar un crecimiento económico en el corto plazo —relación causal que apunta Adot pero que sería necesario argumentar con mayor precisión para poder realizar la correspondiente demostración—⁵¹ entender que un Estado puede reconstruirse en el plazo de 18 años o incluso 5 años, después de un periodo bélico y de división de cuarenta años... resulta cuando menos ingenuo. Juan de Albret y Catalina de Foix tuvieron evidentes dificultades financieras y fiscales, patentes especialmente en los problemas para obtener de las Cortes un impuesto con el que reclutar un ejército capaz de

47. En el debate citado más arriba, el propio Joseba Asirón señalaba que el problema en 1512 no eran los agramonteses y los beaumonteses —cuyo enfrentamiento continuó durante el siglo XVI— sino Fernando el Católico. Es decir, la única causa de la conquista es la ambición de Fernando el Católico.

48. Galán, Mercedes. “Los títulos jurídicos de la adquisición de territorios: la conquista de Navarra”, 1512. *Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed. Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 127-166. En la misma línea se puede incluir el trabajo de Monreal, Gregorio; Jimeno, Roldán. *Conquista e incorporación del reino de Navarra a Castilla*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012.

49. Adot, Álvaro. “Navarra en los años previos a la conquista...”: 26-28; Sobre el Consejo Real en estos años la obra de referencia es, en cambio: Fortún, Luis Javier. “El Consejo de Navarra entre 1494 y 1525”. *Príncipe de Viana*, 6/2-3 (1986): 165-180.

50. Adot, Álvaro. *Embajadores navarros en Europa*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012.

51. Adot, Álvaro. “Navarra en los años previos a la conquista...”: 28-29.

oponerse al evidente e inminente ataque de Fernando el Católico en 1512.⁵² Luis Javier Fortún demuestra cómo la monarquía navarra se había debilitado a lo largo del siglo XV, el patrimonio del rey —estudiado previamente por Eloísa Ramírez—⁵³ habría menguado de manera muy notable, y la concesión de impuestos extraordinarios era cada vez menos rentable para la corona.

4. Necesitar el pasado: los sentimientos

A partir de este momento seguiremos algunos de los planteamientos de David Lowenthal, si bien no el esquema de su obra en conjunto, pues en un trabajo de estas dimensiones no podemos plantear un cuestionario tan amplio. Eso sí, indagaremos sobre algunas de las ideas que él planteaba de manera general para la Historia, pero aplicadas a la conquista de Navarra. Nos preguntaremos de qué manera necesitan algunos de estos autores —y sus lectores— el pasado, y cuáles son los sentimientos que afloran en sus relatos cuando se enfrentan al pasado: nostalgia, terror, esperanza, indignación, deseos de recuperar lo perdido, de imaginar lo que no fue, de proyectar en el pasado el deseo para el futuro...

4.1 Nostalgia

David Lowenthal afirmaba que “si el pasado es un país extraño, la nostalgia lo ha hecho el país con el mercado turístico más saneado de cuantos existen”.⁵⁴ Esto invita a pensar que en las sociedades más nostálgicas hay más posibilidad de negocio en torno a la Historia, y quizás algo de esto ocurre en Navarra, donde la herencia romántica tiende a un relato de carácter nostálgico.⁵⁵

4.1.1 Revivir el pasado: sueños

La nueva literatura histórica impulsada desde los colectivos *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik* alude frecuentemente a la ensoñación. Para el hoy alcalde de Pamplona, y doctor en Historia del Arte, Joseba Asirón, la historia de Navarra es la de un “sueño roto”, metáfora que titula y preside dos de sus obras divulgativas, un cómic y una publicación de pretensiones didácticas, las dos realizadas junto al dibujante Matxin Altzueta.⁵⁶ La segunda de estas obras no deja lugar a dudas, su título reza: *Del sueño a la conquista*. Lo que es tanto como decir que la conquista de Navarra truncó un sueño. No se explicita cuál es ese sueño, pero escudriñando el interior de la obra puede adivinarse que el sueño es la constitución de un “Estado” que se habría formado en los siglos XII y XIII, en lo que Urzainqui

52. Fortún, Luis Javier. “Derrumbe de la monarquía y supervivencia del reino: Navarra en torno a 1512”, *1512. Conquista e incorporación de Navarra. Historiografía, derecho y otros procesos de integración en la Europa Renacentista*, Alfredo Floristán, ed., Madrid: Ariel, 2012: 201-298.

53. Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. “La hacienda real en el S. XV. El procurador patrimonial de Navarra”, *Actas XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, 1995: 1-17; Ramírez Vaquero, Eloísa. “Patrimonio de la corona e ingresos fiscales en Navarra en el S. XV”. *Huarte de San Juan. Geografía e Historia*, 2 (1995): 73-98.

54. Lowenthal, David. “El pasado es un país extraño...”: 29.

55. En correspondencia, la exaltación del mundo rural vasco se analiza en: Berriochoa Azcárate, Pedro. “De la vida rural vasca. Caseríos, caseros y cuentos”, *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la historia vasca*, Fernando Molina, José Antonio Pérez, eds. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015: 109-132.

56. Asirón, Joseba; Altzueta, Matxin. *1512. Navarra. El sueño roto*. Pamplona: Ikaseltkar, 2011; Asirón, Joseba. *Historia ilustrada de EuskalHerria. 2. Reino de Navarra, del sueño a la conquista*. Pamplona: Txalaparta, 2015.



denominó “La Navarra marítima” y que después Mikel Sorauren llamó “El estado vasco”.⁵⁷ A partir de ahí el propio Urzainqui adoptó el discurso “estatal” con su libro “Navarra, el Estado europeo”,⁵⁸ y Álvaro Adot habló de la “defensa del Estado navarro”, atreviéndose sin dudarlo a hablar —como se ha comentado ya— de la constitución de un verdadero “Estado Moderno” en vísperas de la conquista de Navarra. Es “la Navarra que no nos dejaron ser”, según el político abertzale Floren Aoiz, “esto es, la *Euskal Herria* convertida en Estado”.⁵⁹ Ya en *La Navarra Marítima*, Urzainqui afirmaba que “El Estado navarro es el sistema jurídico de *Euskal Herria*” y que “Navarra entera es un Estado Europeo”.⁶⁰ Para él, en realidad, los siete *herrialde*s que componen *Euskal Herria* nunca habrían sido territorios “de por sí independientes”, salvo cuando formaron parte de Navarra. Así, la expresión “Navarra occidental” ha hecho fortuna para referirse a los territorios del actual País Vasco, y los autores de *Nafarroa Bizirik* y *Nabarralde* se han aplicado al cambio en la denominación, como es el caso de Eneko Del Castillo, miembro de la asociación Xabier Mina.⁶¹

Además, algún autor —como Pedro Esarte— va más allá, al afirmar que en los comienzos del siglo XVI “la existencia del sentimiento de nación y patria se aprecia con una constancia que ha llegado hasta nuestros días”.⁶² La frase es equívoca pero induce a pensar que el autor está equiparando los conceptos de nación y patria manejados en el siglo XVI a los actuales, sin tener en cuenta las importantes y decisivas matizaciones que al respecto han hecho numerosos especialistas. El licenciado en Historia Aitor Pescador —que reconoce de modo explícito las diferencias entre los usos actuales y medievales de los términos patria o nación— añade que “aquellos individuos sabían que al sacrificar sus haciendas o sus vidas lo estaban haciendo por un interés muy superior al de un mero juramento de vasallaje”. Y luego se pregunta, aunque reconoce que no tiene la respuesta: “¿Qué vínculos de vasallaje podían unir a Enrique II de Navarra con todos los hombres, pueblos, villas y ciudades que se sublevaron en 1521? ¿No sería más bien un sentimiento de identidad nacional?”⁶³ Esto supone de alguna manera reconocer teóricamente las diferencias que los especialistas marcan en el vocabulario político de la época, pero apostar finalmente por la interpretación anacrónica de los mismos, y además plantear un argumento reduccionista e interesado, ya que la misma pregunta —aunque en sentido contrario— podría hacerse a los pueblos que no se sublevaron en 1521.

La idea trasciende los libros y se adentra hoy en día en la sociedad como un elemento cultural, como puede comprobarse en la representación músico-teatral “Amaiur 2012, haien ametsa gurea da (su sueño es el nuestro)”,⁶⁴ o en redes sociales y foros digitales, donde podemos encontrar manifestaciones en este mismo sentido, como la del alias “Uno más” el 25 de setiembre de 2013 en un foro digital de Diario de Noticias de Navarra: “A nosotros se nos robó la posibilidad de evolucionar por nosotros mismos, como han hecho otros países. Se nos privó del poder de decidir nuestro propio camino”.⁶⁵

57. Sorauren, Mikel. *Historia de Navarra: el Estado vasco*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2008.

58. Urzainqui, Tomás. *Navarra Estado Europeo*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2004.

59. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida. De la conquista española al mejoramiento foral*. Pamplona: Txalaparta, 2001: 437.

60. Urzainqui, Tomás; Olaizola, Juan María. *La Navarra marítima...*: 22-23.

61. Del Castillo, Eneko. *Atlas histórico de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2016: 66-67.

62. Esarte, Pedro. *El mariscal Pedro de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 8-11.

63. Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra, 1510-1513...*: 287.

64. El portal *Youtube* recoge imágenes abundantes sobre las representaciones de este espectáculo.

65. “Uno mas” (Alias). 25 setiembre 2013. En respuesta a “Nafarroa Osoa” (Alias). “La Conquista de Navarra-Nafarroa-Nabarra”, *Diario de noticias Navarra*. 23 setiembre 2013. 19 Setiembre 2017. <<http://foros.noticiasdenavarra.com/viewtopic.php?f=2&t=60380>>.

Queda claro que el sueño que se trunca es de un Estado navarro que —en definitiva— es el trasunto finimiedieval de la *Euskal Herria* abertzale, un proyecto político abortado por la conquista pero que según ellos habría estado apoyado mayoritariamente por el pueblo navarro. Como señala el manifiesto fundacional de *Nafarroa Bizirik*, la conquista supone la eliminación de “la soberanía de todo un pueblo”. Es decir, *Nafarroa Bizirik* plantea la existencia del concepto de soberanía nacional en la Navarra del siglo XV.⁶⁶ Ese sueño —que sería también el de los navarros del siglo XVI— es el que Floren Aoiz pretende recuperar: “Recuperando el conocimiento de lo que fueron, vivieron y sintieron nuestros antepasados, podremos [...] hacer nuestras sus ilusiones y sueños, que fueron muchos, más de los que nos han permitido conocer”.⁶⁷

4.1.2 Revivir el pasado: pesadillas

Es aquí donde el pasado se convierte más que en sueño, en una pesadilla, en una “vieja herida”, según expresión de Floren Aoiz,⁶⁸ retomada por Aitor Pescador.⁶⁹ El protagonista del cómic del político abertzale Joseba Asirón, Juan de Jaso y Azpilicueta (hermano de San Francisco de Javier), narra cómo simplemente tiene que cerrar los ojos para recordar las imágenes de pueblos devastados y amigos caídos, compañeros ajusticiados, gritos de los torturados y mujeres acusadas de brujería. Porque esa pesadilla comienza, sin duda, a partir de 1512, con una “aterradora represión”, que llegó a plantear la posibilidad de “convertir a Navarra en un desierto”, y que provocó el sufrimiento de los “desmanes de los soldados durante siglos”.⁷⁰ Una visión apocalíptica que contrasta con los datos aportados por Luis Javier Fortún o Alfredo Floristán,⁷¹ que testimonian las importantes negociaciones, y la concesión de perdones parciales y totales, que permitieron a buena parte de los agramonteses su reincorporación a la vida social y política del reino, y que llevaron a una minoría de legitimistas al exilio y a unos pocos, casi siempre personas de humilde origen social, a ser los cabezas de turco del proceso, como el capitán Juan de Arberoa.⁷²

Símbolo de este sentir dolido y onírico sobre el pasado de Navarra son los melancólicos versos del cantautor vasco-francés Eneko Labergerie:

66. El manifiesto de *Nafarroa Bizirik* fue presentado y leído el 28 de marzo de 2012 en el ayuntamiento de Huarte, el 24 de abril en el ayuntamiento de Sangüesa, el 31 de mayo en el ayuntamiento de Ordizia (Guipúzcoa), y en san Millán (Álava), el 13 de junio, entre otros lugares, como queda reflejado en las actas de los ayuntamientos y concejos, consultables on-line. El manifiesto se puede encontrar también en “Presentación: ‘DOCUMENTO 1512-2012’”, *archive today*. 6 Marzo 2013. 25 Marzo 2017 <<http://archive.is/7dJoG>> y en “A la derecha navarra no le gusta 1512-2012 Nafarroa Bizirik”, *Garesko Auzalan*, 25 Marzo 2017 <http://www.gareskoauzalan.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1504%3Aa-la-derecha-navarra-no-le-gusta-1512-2012-nafarroa-bizirik&catid=33%3Abeste&Itemid=1>.

67. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 437.

68. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 434.

69. Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra, 1510-1513...*: 7.

70. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 23.

71. Fortún, Luis Javier. “Derrumbe de la monarquía...”: 277-290. Expone cómo miembros del bando agramontés fueron contentados por medio del pago de acostamientos, e incluso cómo antes de la conquista algunos agramonteses recibían asignaciones desde Castilla. Sobre los perdones concedidos para implicar al bando derrotado en el nuevo proyecto político, ver Floristán, Alfredo. *El reino de Navarra y la conformación política de España (1512-1841)*. Madrid: Akal, 2014: 89-93.

72. Monteano, Peio. *La Guerra de Navarra...*: 258-259 y 295-303.



*Nafarra oi Nafarra, Euzkadi lehena, ederra zen ametsa zure erregena (...) Azkarrena zu zinen zazpi anaitetan, zure katetan preso nork zaitu ba eman?*⁷³

O también los de la canción popular “Navarra tiene cadenas” de Fermín Balentzia, que transmite la misma sensación angustiada:

En el 1512 el duque de Alba entró
Con su ejército en Pamplona
partiendo Navarra en dos.
Desde entonces en Navarra
el rey de Castilla mandó.
Se rieron los monarcas
pero Navarra lloró.⁷⁴

Todas estas manifestaciones sobre la conquista de Navarra forman parte de un relato trágico del pasado que estos autores comparten con muchos otros que han narrado diferentes momentos de la historia vasca desde un punto de vista nacionalista. Fernando Molina descubre la voluntad cártica explícita de estas construcciones, que buscarían provocar sentimientos de piedad y temor.⁷⁵

4.1.3 Enfadarse con el pasado

Aquellas pesadillas y aquel sufrimiento repercuten en el presente provocando indignación, como efecto directo provocado por la nostalgia. La misma indignación que llevó a Arturo Campión y otros autores a llamar a Fernando el Católico el Falsario,⁷⁶ y que ha empujado a Aitor Pescador a comparar la conquista de Navarra con la “guerra de Iraq”: “Muy al estilo de lo ocurrido en 2003, cuando Bush seguía afirmando la existencia de armas de destrucción masiva en Iraq pese a que los comisarios de la ONU no habían encontrado nada, Fernando buscaba mantener a los reyes de Navarra bajo una sospecha constante para así excusar la violenta invasión del reino”.⁷⁷ También la indignación de Jon Oria, que trata de probar la existencia de una “conspiración hispano francesa para la extinción del reino Pirenaico y su absorción territorial” y que considera ridículo “pretender ignorar el expansionismo colonialista de España y Francia y su determinación por hacernos desaparecer como entidad histórica”;⁷⁸ o la de Pedro Esarte, en cualquiera de sus textos, que adjudica a Fernando el Católico hipocresía, falsedad total, amenazas, extorsiones...⁷⁹

73. “Navarra, ah Navarra, Euskadi primigenia, qué hermoso fue el sueño de tus reyes (...) Fuieste el más fuerte de los siete hermanos, ¿Quién te ha encadenado?”. La canción se puede escuchar fácilmente en el portal Youtube: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pCUu-oebvU8>> (Consultado el 1 de Junio de 2017).

74. La canción se puede escuchar fácilmente en el portal Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gD2_5W2IbXM> (Consultado el 1 de Junio de 2017).

75. Molina, Fernando. “El conflicto vasco’. Relatos de historia...”: 218-219.

76. La visión negativa sobre el monarca aragonés fue compartida por autores como Yanguas y Miranda, Olóriz o Campión, como demuestra Caspistegui, Patxi. “Salvador o réprobo: Fernando el Católico y la identidad de Navarra”, *Revista de Historia Jerónimo Zurita*, en prensa.

77. Pescador, Aitor. *1512. El año de la guerra...*, 33. El argumento se repite en Pescador, Aitor. *Navarra, 1510-1513...*

78. Oria, Jon. Últimos reyes de Navarra. De Gastón IV a Margarita de Valois, Pamplona: Mintzoa, 1986: 35, 37.

79. Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el Falsario...*: 47-54.



Pero quizás uno de los ejemplos más espontáneos de los sentimientos acelerados que provoca en algunos lectores la conquista de Navarra, es el escrito de Mikel Burgui, especialista en la Historia de Ujué, al analizar alguna de las lecturas históricas que realizó de joven en la escuela:

Me sulfuró leer que Aragón y Castilla quisieron repartirse nuestro reino desde antiguo... Y me enojé al ver cómo Castilla nos quitó las Vascongadas... Y me sentí disgustado cuando leí que Fernando el Católico y el Duque de Alba nos invadieron en 1512 y me escandalicé cuando leí que el Conde de Lerín les ayudó... ¡Entonces comprendí el porqué de aquel dicho de “ser más malo o más traidor que el Conde de Lerín!”⁸⁰

4.1.4 Recuperar el pasado

A la vista de los sueños y anhelos de la literatura histórico-política dominante en la actualidad, parece evidente que esa necesidad sobre el pasado no sólo se manifiesta en el terreno de la ensoñación o de la nostalgia recreada imaginariamente, sino que trasciende el mundo onírico y pretende, de algún modo, recuperar el añorado pasado perdido⁸¹. Si el objetivo político consiste en revertir el proceso histórico, esto supone tanto como intentar recuperar parcelas de lo que se perdió. Tomás Urzainqui ya lo apuntaba en su Navarra Marítima, pues el objetivo de su libro era: “redescubrir los firmes vestigios de la existencia de un Estado nacional de los vascos y, en definitiva [...] lograr un cambio en la dirección del timón”.⁸²

Porque lo peor de las pesadillas descritas por Asirón o Urzainqui es su duración, pues esa especie de infierno dantesco de la ocupación española se habría mantenido durante 500 años. Así lo manifiesta alguien tan relevante en la izquierda abertzale como Floren Aioiz, que invita a los vascos a reconocerse “como un pueblo conquistado”, porque sólo a través de ese reconocimiento será posible “lograr la paz”.⁸³ Es decir, la influencia de la conquista de Navarra en la actualidad es sustancial y definitiva, y por tanto la actuación política en el presente implica volver sobre el propio hecho de la conquista de 1512.

Tras un reciente artículo en Diario de Noticias de Guipúzcoa (24/02/2017) de Jon Iñaki Odriozola,⁸⁴ se desató una polémica en la que intervino de inmediato el mencionado Tomás Urzainqui. Odriozola denomina *pan-navarrismo* a la nueva corriente política iniciada por Urzainqui en “La Navarra marítima”, y señala que esta idea “ha acabado calando en ciertos sectores abertzales”. Hasta ahora, señala, “el nabarrismo (sic), era algo propio de la derecha facha, unionista y anti-vasca”.⁸⁵ Según Odriozola el libro de Urzainqui “rompe esos clichés y propugna un nuevo nabarris-

80. Burgui, Mikel. “La Historia que no nos enseñaron. Reflexiones en el 500 aniversario de la conquista de Navarra”, *Nabarralde*. 20 Junio 2012. 1 Junio 2017 <<http://nabarralde.com/es/txokoa/8601-la-historia-que-no-nos-ensenaron-reflexiones-en-el-500-aniversario-de-la-conquista-de-navarra>>.

81. Explica la importancia que adquiere para el nuevo nabarrismo la “recuperación” del pasado, Santamarina Otaola, Josú. “Más acá de la frontera...”: 256.

82. Urzainqui, Tomás; Olaizola, Juan María. *La Navarra marítima...*: 26.

83. Aioiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 438.

84. Odriozola Etxabe, Jon Iñaki. “Las debilidades del pan-nabarrismo”, *Noticias de Guipuzkoa*. 27 Febrero 2017. 17 Julio 2017 <<http://www.noticiasdegipuzkoa.com/2017/02/27/opinion/tribuna-abierta/las-debilidades-del-pan-nabarrismo>>.

85. Sobre esta cuestión resulta imprescindible el trabajo de García-Sanz Marcotegui, Ángel. “Navarra. Entre madre de Euskalherria y ‘nuestro Ulster’”, *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la historia vasca*, Fernando Molina, José A. Pérez, eds. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015, 29-55. El profesor García Sanz muestra cómo en sus orígenes, el nacionalismo vasco en Navarra trató de ser “navarrista” y luchó por liderar la identidad o especificidad na-



mo, de corte vasquista, que consagra la hegemonía política de Navarra sobre el resto de territorios de *Euskal Herria*". Para él esta afirmación no se sostiene científicamente, ya que el reino de Navarra no tuvo nunca unas fronteras comparables a las de la actual *Euskal Herria*. Para él el *pan-nabarrismo* no tiene una sólida base histórica, y utiliza contra esta teoría calificativos como absurdo, anacrónico y desatino, señalando además que la construcción del Estado vasco debe mirar al futuro y no al pasado: "la república a la que aspiramos los independentistas no puede sustentarse en un reino medieval en el que reyes y *jauntxos* (señores) deciden y delimitan sus límites geográficos, sino en un proyecto que prime los aspectos culturales y lingüísticos de la nación vasca, *Euskal Herria*, y la voluntad democrática de los habitantes de sus siete territorios históricos".

La respuesta de Tomás Urzainqui no se hizo esperar a través del diario Gara (3/3/2017),⁸⁶ reclamando como suya no una ideología pan-nacionalista, sino la "desconquista". En efecto, en referencia al título de uno de sus últimos libros *Continúa la irracional conquista*⁸⁷ y a la ideología constitutiva de su propio partido político, Libertad Nabarra/*Libertate Nafarra*, esgrime el argumento de deshacer un proceso continuado de conquista que ha durado 500 años.

Como decía el 1 de septiembre de 2015 un twitero de nombre Joxe (@Joxe000), mostrando la progresiva penetración social de estas ideas: "Vivo bajo ocupación y no reconozco ninguna de sus instituciones. Veo que tú vives en democracia, niegas la conquista". Otro ejemplo sería el twit de un tal Jokiin (@jokin_EH), el 28 de abril de 2015 comentando: "Con la tontería, ya llevamos 503 años de ocupación española". En este sentido, Urzainqui no pretende una vuelta al pasado, sino la deconstrucción de los efectos perniciosos producidos por el pasado mismo, entendido el pasado como todos los acontecimientos posteriores a 1512. El asunto es interesante porque de esta manera la fecha fatídica se convierte, de algún modo, en fecha fundacional y referente que, como veremos, convendrá recordar, proteger, revisar o emular...

Cabe llamar la atención sobre la importancia que está cobrando en la actualidad esta postura historiográfica desde el punto de vista político.⁸⁸ La argumentación en favor de la existencia de una "Navarra marítima" desde el siglo IX está haciendo triunfar la interpretación historicista del nacionalismo vasco en favor de un Estado que no debería denominarse *Euskal Herria*, sino "Nabarra", ya que el primer concepto alude a una realidad cultural, y el segundo a su histórica plasmación política.⁸⁹ A efectos de esta comprobación la red social Twitter es especialmente interesante. Arturo Rojillo (@ArturoRojillo), por ejemplo, sostenía el 25/01/2016 que "es curioso cómo salta la gente cuando se defiende que nuestro Estado es Nabarra, no Euskalherria" y añade en otro twit "Soy un Navarro que quiere recuperar el Estado de Nabarra. Yo definiendo lo que

varra, cuestión que —después de un siglo— late hoy en día más que nunca en el debate político, entre los "navarristas" hegemónicos en los últimos años (los regionalistas), y los nacionalistas vascos.

86. Urzainqui, Tomás. "Desconquista sí, no pan-nacionalismo". *Gara*. 3 Marzo 2017. 17 Julio 2017 <https://www.naiz.eus/eu/hemeroteca/gara/editions/2017-03-03/hemeroteca_articulos/desconquista-si-no-pan-nacionalismo>. (Consulta: el 26 de julio de 2018).

87. Urzainqui, Tomás. *Continúa la irracional conquista*, Pamplona: Pamiela, 2013.

88. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. "¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses?...": 831-863. A través del trabajo de Jon Arrieta se puede acceder al contenido de la crítica planteada a Urzainqui por Larrea, Juan José. "La Navarra Marítima edo historiagintza zer ez den". *Hika*, 165 (2005): 42-45.

89. Xabier Zabaltza afirma lo siguiente, al respecto: "Podemos concluir que ANV (Acción Nacionalista Vasca), vía Estornes Lasa, Federico Krutwig y Nabarralde, ha impuesto su visión navarro-céntrica de la historia al conjunto del nacionalismo vasco, incluida ETA. Obvia señalar que la sustitución del "bizkaitarrismo" originario por el "nabarrismo" de nuevo cuño se ha mostrado compatible con la ambigüedad en torno al modelo organizativo del futuro estado vasco". Zabaltza Pérez-Nievas, Xabier. "De la 'lingua navarrorum' al Estado vasco". *Historia Contemporánea*, 47 (2013): 471-492.

tuvimos, Navarra". Otro usuario denominado "Zaldiko" (@Zaldiko), apoya las tesis de Arturo Rojillo señalando que el nombre del Estado, es decir Navarra, es importante, y Arturo Rojillo reafirma la importancia que mantener el nombre tradicional, Navarra, y no Euskalherria, que sería un neologismo inventado. Es curioso, en cualquier caso, cómo estos polemistas de la red social Twitter se hacen eco tanto de algunos planteamientos historiográficos del propio Urzainqui, como de algunos de los sentimientos y necesidades que suscitan sus tesis: "recuperar", "defender lo que tuvimos" o "mantener", son algunas de las expresiones que usan espontáneamente casi a modo de eslogan.

El éxito de estas formulaciones —en buena medida simplistas o de "historia de guardería"—⁹⁰ radica en una construcción de la historia vasca que comparte una misma lógica con el tradicional relato histórico nacionalista. Fernando Molina señala cómo gran parte de este relato ha tratado de justificar la realidad actual del "conflicto vasco" retrotrayéndolo a épocas más remotas. La insistencia en la "desconquista" supone —de hecho— mantener la teoría de un conflicto sostenido y permanente, entre Navarra y España, desde 1512 hasta la actualidad.

4.2 Corregir un pasado errado

Enlazando con lo anterior, quizás el ejemplo más claro de la intencionalidad de algunos autores a la hora de recuperar el pasado de Navarra es el que expresa Floren Aoiz en las páginas de su libro *La vieja herida*, allí donde afirma que "la intervención armada de las tropas de Fernando el Católico truncó las expectativas y supuso no sólo el fin de la independencia, sino también la distorsión de la Historia de Navarra, que se reescribió [...]".⁹¹ La frase sin duda deja entrever el ámbito psicológico de los deseos políticos que se proyectan sobre el pasado. El rol de Fernando el Católico entra prácticamente dentro del terreno de la escatología: su poder es el de cambiar el destino y la Historia de una nación que estaba destinada a una Historia diferente, un futuro como nación independiente. Y Fernando el Católico fue quien cambió ese destino con un acto de fuerza. Obviamente la apreciación de Aoiz no es aceptable desde un punto de vista académico, pues supone pensar en sentido contrario a como lo haría un historiador profesional: La causa está en el futuro y el efecto en el pasado. Al igual que cuando señala que el jefe de los agramonteses, el mariscal Pedro de Navarra, fue "el primer navarro víctima del alejamiento", que permanecería preso hasta su muerte "sin jamás jurar lealtad a los españoles".⁹² Esta afirmación supone, de hecho, comparar a Pedro de Navarra con los actuales presos de ETA y la política de dispersión penitenciaria. Como recurso literario podría entenderse, como argumento historiográfico resulta, obviamente, aberrante.

90. Molina, Fernando; Pérez, José Antonio. "Introducción. La insoportable levedad de la nación en la historia vasca", *El peso de la identidad. Mitos y ritos de la historia vasca*, Fernando Molina, José Antonio Pérez, eds. Madrid: Instituto de Historia Social Valentín Foronda, 2015: 28.

91. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 18.

92. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 23. En realidad la afirmación es inexacta, ya que Pedro de Navarra sí juró fidelidad a Fernando el Católico en 1512 (seguramente forzado por las circunstancias), aunque más tarde ya sí mantendrá una postura constante de rebeldía. Fortún, Luis Javier. "Derrumbe de la monarquía...": 264-265; y Monteano, Peio. *La guerra de Navarra...*: 50-52. Discrepa sobre la validez del documento Esarte, Pedro. *El mariscal Pedro de Navarra*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2012: 24-31.



5. Conocer el pasado

Influir en el relato evocado por un pueblo supone modelar la identidad del pueblo mismo, pues ese relato trasciende el pasado y se proyecta hacia el futuro, como ya planteó Paul Ricoeur.⁹³ Y a esa tarea se han encomendado intelectuales de diferente signo político a lo largo de la Historia, en una lucha denodada que también se produce hoy en Navarra y que no siempre pretende mejorar el conocimiento histórico.⁹⁴

5.1 *Buscar la verdad oculta*

Un reciente ciclo de conferencias organizado por el Gobierno de Navarra animaba a los espectadores a “recuperar” la Historia de Navarra, dando a entender, por tanto, que aquella se había extraviado o perdido. El argumento no es nuevo: el victimismo que argumenta la tergiversación del relato histórico se puede registrar para el caso de la conquista de Navarra desde los autores franceses que en el siglo XVII trabajaron para los Borbones, para defender la injusta ocupación de Navarra y la necesidad de su reconquista, como demuestra Alfredo Floristán.⁹⁵ Aunque esta interpretación siempre ha estado presente, es tras el franquismo y en plena democracia cuando se pone en duda —por parte de autores vasquistas— la honradez de los profesionales de la Historia (los académicos). Para Tomás Urzainqui o Pedro Esarte, parece existir una conspiración académica destinada a ocultar la Historia de Navarra.

La catilinaria historiográfica⁹⁶ ha sido denunciada especialmente por Pedro Esarte en su blog “Quién es cada quién. Nor, nori, nork”, en el que ha ido descalificando a todos quienes trabajan en Historia desde ámbitos académicos. Los insultos gruesos se han dirigido contra los catedráticos Isabel Ostolaza, Alfredo Floristán, Eloísa Ramírez, Ángel Martín Duque, Mercedes Galán, el profesor Juan Mari Sánchez Prieto, o los archiveros Luis Javier Fortún y Peio Monteano, entre otros. Algunos de sus comentarios habituales consisten en glosar con sorna el currículum de todos estos profesionales para dudar de su autoría y del modo en el que han obtenido sus puestos profesionales. A partir de ahí, las acusaciones de cinismo, hipocresía, falsedad o desvergüenza, son la tónica habitual de este blog que la editorial Pamiela aún mantiene activo parcialmente.⁹⁷

Una bochornosa escenificación que ejemplifica la virulencia de este tipo de ataques se dio en julio de 2012 en la cadena de televisión Kontra,⁹⁸ donde debatieron sobre la conquista de Álava

93. Ricoeur, Paul. *Temps et récit*. París: Seuil, 1984: II, 28-29.

94. Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari. “Prácticas discursivas...”: 64.

95. Floristán, Alfredo. “Los debates sobre la conquista...”: 50.

96. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. “¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses?...”: 845; analizando la réplica de Urzainqui a Juan José Larrea señala cómo para el primero “los historiadores que tratan sobre Navarra en general, y sobre la conquista e incorporación en particular, se dividen entre los que admiten que existe una historiografía navarra ‘propia’ y la que los navarros, o parte de ellos, consideran ajena, por española. No se trata de entrar en el debate que esta dicotomía plantea, sino de confirmar la contundencia del argumento que funciona como premisa anuladora de cualquier planteamiento crítico”.

97. El artículo de 22 de junio de 2012 sobre Alfredo Floristán: Esarte, Pedro. “Quién es quién, cada quien (VI): Alfredo Floristán”, *Pamiela Etxea*. 22 Junio 2012. 1 Junio 2017. <<http://www.pamiela.com/bloga/?p=2558>>, sobre Peio Monteano: Esarte, Pedro. “El análisis a un libro desde la óptica de la crítica”, *Nabarralde*, 21 Octubre 2010. 1 Junio 2017. <<http://nabarralde.com/es/component/content/article/5611>> o el que dirigió al profesor Sánchez Prieto: Esarte, Pedro. “Quien es quien cada quien NOR, NORI, NORK (IV). Del juicio del profesor José M^a Sánchez Prieto a la guerra entre navarros”, *Nabarra posible*. 1 Junio 2017. <<http://nabarraposible.blogspot.com.es/2012/06/quien-es-quien-cada-quien-nor-nori-nork.html>>. Algunos de aquellos artículos ya no pueden ser recuperados on-line porque han desaparecido de la página web de Nabarralde en el momento de la redacción de este artículo, por lo que resulta complicado citarlos en su totalidad, especialmente los más agresivos.

98. <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=N1ss8JvhNPo>> (Consultado el 1 de junio de 2017).



y Guipúzcoa del año 1200, Eloísa Ramírez y Fermín Miranda, como profesores universitarios e historiadores “oficiales”, y Tomás Urzainqui e Iñaki Sagredo como representantes de sus correspondientes posturas. La acusación de manipulación histórica de Urzainqui y Sagredo hacia los dos primeros (y hacia toda la historiografía académica), fue permanente a lo largo de todo el debate, mientras Eloísa Ramírez y Fermín Miranda trataban de argumentar en torno al complejo contexto feudovasallático de 1200. Urzainqui añadía que las mentiras —de Ramírez y Miranda, se supone— se debían a que pretendían esconder la conquista de las dos partes de Navarra: la que se perdió en 1200 y la que fue conquistada en 1512.

La idea aparece planteada explícitamente en las preguntas de la entrevista que en 2015 se hizo al propio Pedro Esarte en *Diario de Noticias*,⁹⁹ es admitida implícitamente por un historiador tan serio como Peio Monteano,¹⁰⁰ y expresada de forma rotunda e insultante por el editor Jose Mari Esparza (Txalaparta), afirmando que “los departamentos de Historia de nuestras universidades rebosan, mucho más que en otras disciplinas, de maleantes, de cronistas oficiales, de vagos que no han desatado un legajo en su vida, y de guardaespaldas [...] del orden establecido”.¹⁰¹

Resulta sintomático que el humorista gráfico Oroz —del periódico conservador *Diario de Navarra*—, haya abrazado también la causa historicista abanderada por Urzainqui y Esarte, incluyendo especialmente su teoría conspiratoria. Su cómic humorístico sobre la Conquista de Navarra busca en su título un giro humorístico alusivo a la supuesta ocultación de la Historia de Navarra: ¿Por qué lo llaman anexión cuando quieren decir conquista?¹⁰² Dado su éxito social, a estas alturas ya es inútil explicar la complementariedad de los procesos de conquista militar e incorporación jurídica, y la ausencia del concepto de anexión en el debate historiográfico.

Las alusiones a la ocultación de la palabra conquista (atribuida a los historiadores profesionales) han sido sistemáticas, hasta el punto de que uno de los portavoces de *Nafarroa Bizirik* se jactaba de lo siguiente: “Fue una batalla ideológica que ganamos por KO [...], puesto que la historiografía oficial tuvo que reconocer que en 1512 *Nafarroa* sufrió una conquista y una ocupación militar y no una amistosa adhesión a Castilla”,¹⁰³ al igual que Floren Aoiz lo hacía en 2012 en la cadena de televisión Kontra: “las posiciones de negación de que fuera una conquista son insostenibles”.

Este es otro de los puntos que creemos necesario rebatir, porque si repasamos la historiografía académica —desde José María Lacarra en adelante— no hemos podido localizar ningún historiador denominado “oficialista” por los autores de *Nabarralde*, que no utilice la palabra “conquista” de manera explícita. A nuestro entender, esta es la principal manipulación de la Historia de Navarra que existe en la actualidad, la aparición de una teoría de la conspiración creada —*ex profeso*— contra los mayores expertos en la Historia de Navarra.

99. Diario de Noticias. “Mirarte. Cultura, ocio y comunicación (entrevista a Pedro Esarte)”, *Diario de Noticias*, 2 Agosto 2015: 66-67. Se presenta a Esarte como “parte del grupo de historiadores que han cuestionado el discurso oficial de la Conquista”.

100. Monteano, Peio. “1522. Navarros contra Amaiur”, *Diario de Noticias*, 26 Agosto 2012: 24; Monteano afirma que “desde un lado, se resisten a admitir que la unión con España fue impuesta por las armas. Desde el otro, que en ese proceso se imbrica [...] una fractura entre los propios navarros”.

101. Esparza Zabalegi, José Mari. “La lucrativa industria de la Historia”, *Diario de Noticias*, 27 Agosto 2014: 18: La carta forma parte de un debate originado por una cita al pie en un libro de Fernando Molina, iniciado por Víctor Moreno, “Historiadores buenos y malos”, *Diario de Noticias*, 21 Julio 2014: 24 y que suscitó una respuesta del propio Fernando Molina “Historia y nación: subordinación equívoca”, *Diario de Noticias*, 16 Agosto 2014: 16; y otra respuesta de Víctor Moreno, “¿Verdades sagradas?, ni de coña?”, *Diario de Noticias*, 20 Agosto 2014: 18 y 28 Agosto 2014, y la mencionada ya de José Mari Esparza.

102. Oroz, César. ¿Por qué lo llaman anexión cuando quieren decir conquista? Pamplona: Grupo AN, 2012.

103. Díaz, Martxelo. “Nafarroa Bizirik volverá a colocar los monolitos atacados”. *Naiz*. 23 Diciembre 2015. 12 Junio 2015 <<http://www.naiz.eus/eu/actualidad/noticia/20151223/nafarroa-bizirik-volvera-a-colocar-los-monolitos-atacados>>.



La idea de la conspiración de los historiadores oficiales u oficialistas desata el sentimiento de indignación de los autores contrarios: Aoiz, Pescador, Urzainqui, Sorauren, Asirón y Esarte... todos coinciden en comenzar su relato señalando aquello que no es cierto, las teorías falsas expuestas durante siglos para ocultar la “verdadera Historia” de Navarra. “Nos han mentido” es la frase con la que el documental de *Nabarralde* sobre la conquista de Navarra denuncia su particular visión historiográfica.¹⁰⁴ De hecho, en casi todos los casos el relato de estos autores es victimista y se construye “a la contra”, es decir, negando las afirmaciones de los autores despreciados. Floren Aoiz dice que el tema de la conquista de Navarra “ha sido objeto de manipulaciones y mentiras [...] ya que los conquistadores han tenido casi 500 años para justificar su presencia aquí”.¹⁰⁵ Para Aitor Pescador “Navarra careció de una memoria histórica que nos permitiese conocer la visión de los navarros sobre todo lo acontecido”, atribuyendo por tanto a todos los navarros una misma “memoria histórica”.¹⁰⁶ Pedro Esarte denuncia a los “manipuladores de la pluma y tergiversadores en el ámbito de la enseñanza”,¹⁰⁷ y apunta que “el relato histórico se halla controlado todavía hoy por los gobernantes a través de la política de subvenciones”.¹⁰⁸

Los colectivos *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik* se han presentado, por lo tanto, como adalides de la verdad histórica en heroica lucha por devolver al pueblo su Historia. Algo que encaja muy bien en nuestra manera contemporánea, popular y twitera, de entender la Historia, como ya demostrara Jerome de Groot¹⁰⁹ al glosar el oficio de historiador en las producciones hollywoodienses,¹¹⁰ donde el heroico historiador se enfrenta contra quienes quieren ocultar al pueblo la Historia y sus reliquias.

Pedro Esarte se refiere explícitamente a esa verdad: “la verdad sobre las llamadas guerras civiles del siglo XV”, señalando que “simplificar el conflicto a disputas civiles, es tergiversar la realidad”,¹¹¹ y por tanto anulando la posibilidad de debate. Es decir, no cabe que quien habla de guerras civiles en el siglo XV —incluido uno de sus autores afines, como Aitor Pescador— esté equivocado, tenga un punto de vista diferente o manifieste simplemente una discrepancia: aquel que habla de guerras civiles entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses tergiversa la realidad y miente deliberadamente con una finalidad política. En la misma línea se manifiesta Floren Aoiz, al afirmar que “cualquier otra visión diferente de la idea de conquista obedece a criterios políticos interesados”.¹¹² Igualmente, Mikel Burgui reflexiona en la web de *Nabarralde* sobre la “Historia que no nos enseñaron”.¹¹³ Una idea que atraviesa las líneas escritas por los divulgadores de la Historia y que también impregna la

104. Marcilla, Rubén. *La Conquista de Navarra...*

105. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 432.

106. Pescador, Aitor. *1512. El año de la guerra...*:10.

107. Esarte, Pedro. *El mariscal Pedro de Navarra...*: 9.

108. Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el Falsario...*: 15.

109. De Groot, Jerome. *Consuming history...*: 49-58.

110. Esta era una de las críticas planteadas por Juan José Larrea a *La Navarra marítima*, en la que los autores se presentaban como verdaderos descubridores de la verdad histórica, escondida durante siglos. La demostración del profesor Larrea dejó al descubierto que las ideas de *La Navarra marítima* no eran novedosas sino todo lo contrario, antiguas. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. “¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses?...”: 844-845.

111. Esarte, Pedro. *Fernando el Falsario...*: 17.

112. Aoiz, Floren. *La vieja herida...*: 434.

113. Burgui, Mikel. “La historia que no nos enseñaron. Reflexiones en el 500 aniversario de la conquista de Navarra”, *Nabarralde*. 20 Junio 2012. 1 Junio 2017. <<http://nabarralde.com/es/txokoa/8601-la-historia-que-no-nos-ensenaron-reflexiones-en-el-500-aniversario-de-la-conquista-de-navarra>>.

representación social de la Historia de Navarra, como demuestran los versos de la ya citada y muy popular canción de Fermín Balentzia:

La Historia la hace el pueblo
Y la cuentan contrabandistas
Cuentan lo que les conviene
Y lo adornan de mentiras.

En consecuencia, la tarea de estos autores sería la de recuperar la “memoria de Navarra”, como si la sociedad navarra padeciera una amnesia que ellos sí pueden curar, porque el mal está producido, precisamente, por los historiadores profesionales. De hecho, su reivindicación es más la de la memoria que la de la Historia. Y por tanto, estos autores van a arrogarse la tarea de fomentar ese recuerdo, esa selección, e intervenir para que el pasado se haga más presente.

5.1.1 *Recordar*

Dados estos “olvidos” de la historiografía académica, la primera tarea que emprendieron muchos de ellos es la de “recordar”, cuestión que parece interesante porque al hablar de memoria y de recuerdo, el pasado colectivo entra a formar parte de la identidad de un individuo que evidentemente nunca vivió aquellos hechos (los de 1512).

El éxito de las propuestas de Nabarralde se ha manifestado en un rotundo éxito editorial de las editoriales Pamiela, Txalaparta y Txertoa, y en un apoyo político a estas publicaciones por parte de formaciones políticas abertzales. El triunfo editorial del que hablo se puede observar en la bibliografía de este mismo trabajo, en que se podrán encontrar muchas obras editadas por Pamiela/Txertoa/Txalaparta, en especial entre los años 2011 a 2013. Según los datos que nos facilitó la propia editorial Pamiela,¹¹⁴ las tiradas de cada edición oscilan entre los 500 y los 2.500 ejemplares, en función de las previsiones de venta y de la capacidad de comunicación o divulgación de los autores, pues la editorial publica tanto estudios de naturaleza científica, como obras de tipo divulgativo, de autores académicos y de aficionados a la Historia, aún dentro de las mismas colecciones.

Así, entre estas publicaciones, *La Navarra Marítima* de Tomás Urzainqui ha conocido 11 ediciones, y el libro *Navarra, 1512-1530*, de Pedro Esarte —de nada menos que 911 páginas—, ha sido reeditado en dos ocasiones. La obra colectiva de varios autores de los colectivos *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik*, titulada *1512. 500 años de conquista*, ha sido reeditada con 2.000 ejemplares, tras una primera tirada en 2009 de 7.000 ejemplares, según datos de la propia editorial, aun cuando hablamos de una monografía colectiva. Estos datos contrastan con los 350 ejemplares de tirada que se hicieron del libro de Isabel Ostolaza sobre Fernando el Católico en 2011, los 600 ejemplares de la *Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella* dedicada a la conquista de Navarra, o los 1.500 ejemplares que excepcionalmente se imprimieron de la escueta obra de Alfredo Floristán y Mercedes Galán, editada en 2012 por Diario de Navarra y que se distribuyó con el propio periódico.¹¹⁵ Estas últimas obras fueron editadas por las instituciones o con su participación, y con el concurso de diferentes autores del mundo académico.

114. Agradecemos a la editorial Pamiela los datos aportados sobre tiradas y ediciones.

115. Agradezco igualmente al Gobierno de Navarra los datos facilitados sobre sus ediciones.



Sólo el contraste del número de monografías generadas en el mundo académico por un lado (5 entre 2011 y 2013), y por los autores de la égida de la editorial Pamiela, por el otro (32 entre 2011 y 2013), denota la diferencia en el interés sobre el tema. También la vinculación política de alguno de estos autores, Floren Aoiz, exparlamentario y dirigente de *Herri Batasuna*, Joseba Asirón, alcalde de Pamplona por *Euskal Herria Bildu*, Tomás Urzainqui, fundador del partido *Libertad Navarra*, o Aitor Pescador, miembro de la coalición *Geroa Bai*... que no se da en sentido contrario en el caso de los historiadores académicos. Todo ello motivó que Fernando Molina hablase de una “lucrativa industria de la identidad que fabrica productos de memoria para consumo exclusivo de lectores abertzales”.¹¹⁶

5.1.2 Olvidar

Igual que interesa recordar algunos episodios del pasado, siempre ha interesado olvidar otros. Y así, el conflicto civil navarro de la segunda mitad del siglo XV ha desaparecido de algunas obras de síntesis, como ocurre en la de Mikel Sorauren —y en tantas otras— en las cuales se da un salto de gigante entre el fallecimiento del Príncipe de Viana (1461), y los años previos a la conquista. Mikel Sorauren dice que “la crisis que representa la guerra civil es innegable que guarda relación directa con el debilitamiento del Estado en cuanto tal. No obstante, resulta exagerado deducir de ello la inexorable pérdida de la independencia como solución al conflicto”.¹¹⁷ Es decir, la Conquista de Navarra no es un efecto producido por la guerra civil interna entre los navarros, antes bien se trata de una agresión externa que acaba con la “independencia” del reino. No insistiremos más en esta cuestión, que ya hemos detallado anteriormente.

Igual que los hechos anteriores a la conquista son olvidados, ocurre algo similar con todo lo que ocurre después en Navarra. La realidad es que progresivamente las tensiones entre agramonteses y beaumonteses fueron desapareciendo a lo largo del siglo XVI,¹¹⁸ quizás en buena parte debido al conocimiento que Fernando el Católico poseía de la política navarra y al tradicional contacto entre la corona de Castilla y nobles de ambos bandos. También se olvida que los nobles y mercaderes¹¹⁹ navarros se aprovecharon su condición de súbditos de la monarquía hispánica, con gran éxito económico y social en algunos casos. En resumidas cuentas, los autores de *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik* parten de una idea preconcebida y no probada que valora como negativa la Conquista en términos políticos, económicos y sociales. Y puesto que se trata de un supuesto previo, estos autores no tratan de probarlo, y sus estudios habitualmente no van más allá de 1522.

6. Cambiar el pasado

La intencionalidad final de los trabajos de *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik* es cambiar la percepción social del pasado de Navarra, y construir representaciones sociales de la Historia favorables al pen-

116. Molina, Fernando. “Historia y nación: subordinación equívoca”, *Diario de Noticias*, 16 Agosto 2014, p. 16: Con furibunda respuesta de Jose Mari Esparza Zabalegui, “La lucrativa industria de la Historia”, *Diario de Noticias*, 27 Agosto 2014, p. 18.

117. Sorauren, Mikel. *Historia de Navarra, el Estado Vasco*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 1999: 151.

118. Floristán, Alfredo. “Honor estamental y merced real. La configuración del brazo militar en las Cortes de Navarra, 1512-1828”, *Príncipe de Viana*, 66/234 (2005): 135-196.

119. Orduna Portús, Pablo. “Participación de las elites en las instituciones del Reino de Navarra (ss. XVI-XVIII)”. *Tiempos Modernos. Revista electrónica de Historia Moderna*, 18 (2009) <<http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/144/195>> (Consultado el 2 de junio de 2017); Vázquez de Prada, Valentín. *Mercaderes navarros en Europa. Siglo XVI*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2015.

samiento nacionalista vasco. Existen también intentos antagónicos por oponer una visión “españolista” de la Historia de Navarra, aunque hoy en día son mucho menos relevantes desde un punto de vista cuantitativo:¹²⁰ en cuanto a publicaciones, ventas, presencia en los medios de comunicación, las redes sociales, internet o medios educativos.¹²¹ La única monografía de este corte tiene ya un título cuestionable, “Aspectos militares de la anexión de Navarra”,¹²² pues entendemos que se pueden analizar los aspectos militares de una conquista, pero no de una “anexión”.

En este contexto de lucha política los símbolos históricos han tomado una importancia crucial, y no es casual que una de las leyes más discutidas en Navarra durante los últimos años —en uno u otro sentido— haya sido la ley de símbolos. Mientras tanto, las reliquias del pasado se han protegido, reconstruido, duplicado, emulado y conmemorado o celebrado, tratando de que se conviertan en símbolos o reclamos por medio de los cuales cambiar el pasado y promover una determinada visión del mismo.

6.1 Proteger

Tras el fracaso del intento de recuperación del reino de 1516 por parte del rey Juan de Albret, el Cardenal Cisneros dio una de las órdenes que más ríos de tinta han hecho correr en Navarra: la destrucción o desmantelamiento de los castillos del reino, al menos en sus estructuras defensivas más importantes.¹²³ El hecho en sí se ha convertido en una afrenta contra el patrimonio navarro, algo que en palabras del actual alcalde de Pamplona, Joseba Asirón, “iba más allá de lo puramente militar. Los castillos habían conformado durante siglos el paisaje más caracterizado de los pueblos, como símbolo de la autoridad y la legitimidad medieval. Al hacerlos desaparecer, se pretendía invisibilizar al propio estado navarro”. Asirón concluye diciendo que “El derribo de las murallas, consecuentemente, hay que entenderlo en clave política y moral: se trataba de quebrar la voluntad de

120. A este respecto, Jon Arrieta Alberdi señala: “si hay una tendencia ‘navarrista’, la producción que lo caracteriza se centra actualmente bastante en la obra de carácter ensayístico desplegada por Jaime Ignacio del Burgo. En la posición opuesta la producción de los últimos años es muy numerosa, y presenta claros caracteres definitorios”. Arrieta Alberdi, Jon. “¿Entre Agramonteses y Beaumonteses?...”, 859. Habría que señalar que si bien estas teorías son poco representativas en medios culturales, las redes sociales sí han recuperado algunos de estos planteamientos navarristas, al “democratizar” la posibilidad de difundir las interpretaciones historiográficas personales, y eliminar la componente de responsabilidad en la autoría gracias al anonimato que permite internet. Aunque no hemos hecho un seguimiento exhaustivo de estas interpretaciones, quizás se pueda hablar de un navarrismo residual y quizás “clandestino”. Así ocurre por ejemplo cuando se alude a la participación de tropas guipuzcoanas y alavesas en la Conquista de Navarra, cuestión probada históricamente, pero que se esgrime con una evidente finalidad de tipo presentista, que mostraría la división entre navarros y vascos y el “colaboracionismo” de los segundos en la conquista. En twitter @stalingradoFC señalaba el 16 de diciembre de 2015 que “A Quipuzcoa (sic) le fue bien en la conquista (sic) de Navarra”; @zaldizoro señalaba también en Twitter el 7 de noviembre de 2016 que “les salió bien a los vascongados la jugada de la conquista de Navarra. 5 siglos después a recoger los frutos”; en Forotafalla, el 19 de marzo de 2007, donde Andawa (Alias) decía “Todo hay que decirlo, las tropas guipuzcoanas se ofrecieron voluntarias para ir a la cabeza de la conquista de Pamplona” <<http://www.forotafalla.com/viewtopic.php?f=8&t=1221&sid=5fb1053bec6961fdf6d8da9985bf7f9d>> (Consultado el 2 de junio de 2017).

121. Cabe señalar, eso sí, que algunas huellas de planteamientos historiográficos tintados de nacionalismo español siguen estando vigentes en el mundo educativo (currículos y libros de texto), como demuestran los trabajos de Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. “Pervivencias escolares de narrativa nacional española: Reconquista, Reyes Católicos e Imperio en libros de texto de historia y en relatos de estudiantes”, *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, 6 (2017): 165-201.

122. Ruiz Vidondo, José M^a. 1512-1521. *Aspectos militares de la anexión de Navarra. Aportación de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa, el Señorío de Vizcaya y las Hermandades de Álava a la conquista de Navarra*. Mutilva Baja: Editorial Evidencia Médica, 2012.

123. El proceso se explica con detalle en Martinena, Juan José. *Castillos reales de Navarra. Siglos XIII-XVI*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra: 97-107.



los navarros".¹²⁴ Iñaki Sagredo también escribió en *Diario de Noticias* que una Navarra sin castillos había pasado a ser "una Navarra sin orgullo".¹²⁵

Una de las primeras iniciativas que —con motivo de la cercanía del quinto centenario de la Conquista— se desarrollaron en Navarra fue precisamente la de Iñaki Sagredo,¹²⁶ que inició una serie de trabajos sobre los castillos de Navarra apoyados por vuelos en ultraligero sobre las ubicaciones de los más de 100 castillos navarros que logró localizar. Su obra transmite la idea de que la destrucción de los castillos navarros por mandato del cardenal Cisneros pretendía anular el recuerdo de la independencia del reino, y por tanto se habría tratado de una decisión eminentemente política, y no de una simple táctica militar. Siguiendo a Josu Santamarina, creemos que "el propio hecho de documentar y aglutinar todos estos castillos bajo un mismo discurso, forma parte de un proceso de recuperación nacional".¹²⁷

Sagredo fue ofreciendo a los ayuntamientos la posibilidad de dar a conocer la existencia de un castillo medieval en su término municipal, por medio de charlas y haciendo además de intermedio entre los ayuntamientos y una empresa de arqueología.¹²⁸ Según él mismo señala, su pretensión era "abrir la historia que no se conocía y despertar la historia de Navarra y un sentimiento sobre lo que fuimos". Con estos planteamientos, añadía, "Mi trabajo ahora es estar castillo por castillo y establecer un vínculo con las personas que viven en los pueblos de alrededor, explicarles la Historia de los castillos", lo cual resulta muy interesante desde la óptica de la protección de las reliquias que señalaba Lowenthal. Se trataría de lograr una identificación de cada pueblo con su reliquia, con su castillo, y de enseñar una interpretación correcta de lo que ocurrió allí. Uno de los editores de Pamiela, Txema Aranaz, indicaba que el de Sagredo "Es el trabajo más importante que se ha hecho en Navarra al respecto, pero este tipo de publicaciones que buscan la verdad y que van contra la línea oficial marcada por las instituciones, la universidad del Opus e incluso la Universidad Pública, no tienen el eco que se merecen".¹²⁹

A este respecto es más que interesante la apreciación —también indignada— que se puede leer aún en un artículo del político abertzale Patxi Zabaleta en el *Diario Gara* de 2012, afirmando que "los auténticos y verdaderos navarristas de los siglos XVIII, XIX y XX, sentían un odio al Cardenal Cisneros muy superior a cualquier otro".¹³⁰ O la de Mikel Burgui en la web de *Nabarralde*, donde

124. Asirón, Joseba. "Culmina la destrucción de los castillos", *Nabarralde*. 10 Junio 2012. 26 Marzo 2017 <<http://www.nabarralde.com/es/1512-chronica/8546-culmina-la-destruccion-de-los-castillos>>.

125. Sagredo, Iñaki. "Navarras sin castillos, Navarra sin orgullo", *Nabarralde*. 8 Abril 2012. 26 Marzo 2017 <<http://nabarralde.com/es/1512-chronica/8173-navarra-sin-castillos-navarra-sin-orgullo>>.

126. Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2015: V; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2009: IV; Sagredo, Iñaki. *El castillo de Amañur a través de la Historia de Navarra*, Pamplona: Pamiela, 2009; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2007: III; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2007: II; Sagredo, Iñaki. *Castillos que defendieron el reino*. Pamplona: Pamiela, 2006: I.

127. Santamarina Otaola, Josu. "Más acá de la frontera...": 257.

128. Ciriza, Nieves. "Iñaki Sagredo, conquista por aire los castillos del Viejo Reyno de Navarra: LA ENTREVISTA", *Pirineo*. 26 Febrero 2007. 26 Marzo 2017. <<http://www.pirineo.com/especial-pirineo/inaki-sagredo-conquista-aire-castillos-viejo-reyno-navarra-entrevista>>.

129. De Carlos, Idoia; Cascante, Patxi. "Entrevista a Iñaki Sagredo", *Diario de Noticias*, 26 Marzo 2015: 61 <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2015/03/26/ocio-y-cultura/cultura/sagredo-quiero-despertar-un-sentimiento-sobre-lo-que-fuimos>>.

130. Zabaleta, Patxi. "El desmantelamiento de los castillos y los testamentos de los Austrias", *Gara*. 4 Mayo 2012. 19 Setiembre 2017 <<http://gara.naiz.eus/paperezkoa/20120504/338539/es/El-desmantelamiento-castillos-testamentos-los-Austrias>>.

señala lo siguiente: “También leí que Cisneros mandó derribar los castillos de Navarra... Vaya, vaya. Cisneros. Así que ese tipo pudo ser el que mandó tirar el castillazo de Ujué. De inmediato le cogí una ojeriza de aúpa al dichoso cardenal”.¹³¹

En 2012 llegó una segunda iniciativa, en este caso con motivo de los actos que se desarrollaron con motivo del V Centenario de la Conquista de Navarra, para cuya celebración se creó la fundación *Nafarroa Bizirik* (2010), por parte de la izquierda abertzale.¹³² Según parece fue el propio Joseba Asirón el que propuso la colocación de mojones conmemorativos en algunos castillos navarros.¹³³ El primero de los mojones debió de ser el que se colocó en enero de 2012 en el castillo de Aitzorrotz, situado en Eskoriatza (Guipúzcoa). En una primera fase se colocaron mojones hasta en una veintena de castillos, completados en una segunda fase (2013) hasta alcanzar la cifra de cuarenta mojones.¹³⁴ En 2013 se publicó además una guía de senderismo para dar a conocer estos castillos y fomentar su visita.¹³⁵ Para la colocación de los monolitos se organizaba una pequeña actividad festiva, y se trabajaba en el acondicionamiento del camino que unía el pueblo con el castillo. La financiación —en general— corrió a cargo de las entidades locales (ayuntamientos y concejos), a las cuales se solicitaba financiación y permiso de colocación. En función de los equilibrios políticos de cada lugar, se podía financiar, o simplemente permitir la instalación del monolito.¹³⁶

El 30 de mayo de 2012 el grupo municipal de Bildu en el ayuntamiento de Huarte invitaba al resto de la corporación “a los actos de inauguración de la estela conmemorativa del 500 aniversario de la Conquista de Navarra. Este acto al que han sido invitados alcaldes y concejales de las villas hermanas y de los pueblos vecinos, parlamentarios, etc. tendrá lugar el sábado día 9 de Junio junto las ruinas del castillo situado en la cumbre del monte Ohiana”.¹³⁷

Los monolitos debían tener un coste valorable entre 1.000 y 2.000 euros (colocación incluida), según señalaba la propia fundación *Nafarroa Bizirik* en una comparecencia de prensa el 24 de diciembre de 2015.¹³⁸ La cifra que se solicitaba por ejemplo al ayuntamiento de Huarte —y que no

131. Burgui, Mikel. “La historia que no nos enseñaron. Reflexiones en el 500 aniversario de la conquista de Navarra”, *Nabarralde*. 20 Junio 2012. 1 Juny 2017 <<http://nabarralde.com/es/txokoa/8601-la-historia-que-no-nos-ensenaron-reflexiones-en-el-500-aniversario-de-la-conquista-de-navarra>>.

132. Explica esta iniciativa con detalle Santamarina Otaola, Josu. “Más acá de la frontera...”: 256-258.

133. Guerra, Pello. “Mojones en los castillos para recordar la historia”, *Nabarralde*. 2 Abril 2013. 26 Marzo 2017 <<http://nabarralde.com/es/component/content/article/10031>>. La idea de Joseba Asirón podía estar emparentada con la colocación del monumento en el castillo de Maya en 1921, que suscitó una agria polémica historiográfica y política entre Arturo Campión y Víctor Pradera enmarcada dentro del debate estatutario. Sánchez Prieto, Juan M^a. “Prácticas discursivas y construcción política...”: 77-82; Olábarri, Ignacio; Sánchez Prieto, Juan Mari. “Un ejemplo de Richtungskampf en la historiografía navarra contemporánea”, *Symbolae Lvdoovico Mitxelena Septvagenario oblatæ*, José Luís Melena, ed. Vitoria: Universidad del País Vasco, 1985.

134. Sagüés, Manuel, “Castillos del reino. Cien mojones para la verdadera historia”, *Diario de Noticias*, 5/5/2013, p. 40. Estas informaciones se pueden localizar online en la página web de Askatasunaren Bidea (06/05/2013), Sagüés, Manuel. “Castillos del reino. Cien mojones para la verdadera historia”, *Askatasunaren Bidea*. 6 Mayo 2013. 2 Junio 2017 <http://askatasunaren-bidea.blogspot.com.es/2013_05_06_archive.html>.

135. Feliu, Juan M^a; Sagredo, Iñaki; Asiron, Joseba; Guerra, Pello. *Recorridos a los castillos del Reino de Navarra*. San Sebastián: Herritar Berri, 2013.

136. Acta de la Sesión Plenaria del Ayuntamiento de Huarte. 28 Marzo 2012. 2 Junio 2017 <<http://www.huarte.es/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2016/03/ACTAS-2012-03-28-03-2012.pdf>>.

137. Acta de la Sesión Plenaria del Ayuntamiento de Huarte. 30 Mayo 2012. <<http://www.huarte.es/wp-content/uploads/sites/15/2016/03/ACTAS-2012-05-30-05-2012.pdf>>.

138. “Los mojones atacados se arreglarán: ‘Son lugares de memoria’”, *Noticias de Navarra*. 24 Diciembre 2015. 2 Junio 2017 <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2015/12/24/sociedad/navarra/los-mojones-atacados-se-arreglaran-son-lugares-de-memoria>>.



fue concedida— fue de 900 euros. Si multiplicamos los 1.500 euros de coste de una de estas estelas, mojones, monolitos o *mugaris* por los 40 colocados, la cifra sería de 60.000 euros. Las estelas fueron elaboradas en acero corten y miden 1,80 metros (si bien una parte se introduce en el suelo hormigonado, y finalmente se eleva sólo metro y medio). A cada una de ellas se le adosa “una placa con un texto grabado en el que se cuenta la historia del correspondiente castillo y que ha sido redactado por alguna persona del pueblo que es experta en esa fortaleza o por los historiadores Joseba Asiron e Iñaki Sagredo”, según refería Sergio Iribarren, coordinador de la iniciativa.¹³⁹

Pero los avatares de los monolitos no han quedado ahí, ya que en 2015 al menos siete de estos mojones fueron atacados por un grupo de ultraderecha que ascendía hasta los castillos con una sierra radial para cortar el hierro. Es la mejor prueba de la importancia que se otorga a estos símbolos, que para *Nafarroa Bizirik* eran “lugares de la memoria”,¹⁴⁰ y que para los grupos de ultraderecha era necesario cortar de raíz. En cualquier caso, esta extraña controversia de acero y hormigón ha permitido de nuevo desatar el victimismo, hasta el punto de afirmar, como hizo el escultor Peio Iraizoz, que “el Cardenal Cisneros y el Duque de Alba siguen vivos”.¹⁴¹

La iniciativa de *Nafarroa Bizirik* fue meramente política, pues en su concepción estaba presente la territorialidad abertzale, que llevó las fronteras de su “Navarra marítima” o “Navarra entera” hasta Álava, Guipúzcoa y Vizcaya, allí donde había alguien dispuesto a aceptar las nuevas tesis pan-navarristas, como en San Juan de Gaztelugatxe (Bermeo). Todo ello bajo la excusa de recuperar la memoria, cuestión que a nuestro parecer es imposible, porque nadie recuerda el medievo, sino que lo imagina, lo recrea, lo interpreta... Por tanto, estas acciones implican el uso de las reliquias —e incluso la creación de nuevas reliquias conmemorativas— con la finalidad concreta de promover una visión interesada de la Historia. Así, el propio monumento de Maya, colocado en 1922, es hoy uno de esos “lugares de la memoria” que se recuerda y se celebra, en ausencia de otros más espectaculares.¹⁴²

Igualmente en 1996 se instaló en las cercanías de Noáin una monumental escultura de Joxe Ulibarrena, con financiación del Gobierno de Navarra (3,5 millones de pesetas) —entonces regionalista— que pretendía conmemorar la denominada batalla de Noáin de 1521, una nueva derrota del ejército de Enrique II de Albret, el hijo de Juan de Albret.

6.2 Reconstruir

El mismo espíritu de la recuperación de la memoria es el que ha impulsado los trabajos de reconstrucción de los castillos navarros, y más en concreto del castillo de Irulegui, y del de Maya. El primero forma parte de la lista de castillos navarros para el control del territorio en la Baja Edad Media, según estudió en su momento Juan José Martinena,¹⁴³ y luego el ya citado Iñaki Sagredo. En cambio el castillo de Maya (Amaiur), al que algunos, en un giro literario, han denominado “el Álamo vasco”, sí se ha convertido en un auténtico emblema de la resistencia y el legitimismo navarros. Resulta indiferente que en el ataque al castillo de Maya hubiera más navarros que en su defensa: algunos autores sólo visualizan a los del interior. Y lo cierto es que la acción militar de los

139. Guerra, Pello. “Mojones en los castillos...”.

140. Guerra, Pello. “Mojones en los castillos...”.

141. Díaz, Martxelo. “Nafarroa Bizirik volverá a colocar los monolitos...”.

142. Explica el proceso, con una bibliografía completa Santamarina Otaola, Josu. “Más acá de la frontera...”: 246-250.

143. Martinena Ruiz, Juan José. *Castillos reales de Navarra. Siglos XIII-XVI*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra.

defensores fue tan heroica como desesperada, lo suficiente para alimentar la épica y las diferentes narrativas, que en nuestra opinión pierden de vista la realidad de que aquel fue un conflicto nobiliario entre dos facciones enfrentadas que consiguieron destruir el reino de Navarra.

Las ruinas del castillo de Amaïur han sido excavadas durante diez años, consolidadas, musealizadas y recreadas por medio de una maqueta que se exhibe en un edificio situado al pie del cerro del castillo,¹⁴⁴ que en 2012 se distribuyó en formato puzzle con el periódico abertzale *Gara*, y que se puede adquirir aún hoy vía *online*. Como señala Josu Santamarina no parece acertado que los gobiernos conservadores navarros anteriores a 2015 no dieran ningún apoyo ni se acercaran a la excavación del castillo de Amaïur, pero a nuestro juicio tampoco parece positivo convertir a Amaïur en el símbolo de la Historia trágica de “Euskal Herria”, tal y como se mencionaba en un reportaje de la cadena de televisión ETB en agosto de 2015, con motivo de la visita de la presidenta navarra Uxue Barkos a las excavaciones,¹⁴⁵ o en la “luz perpetua de Navarra”, como rezaba el titular del artículo que el 24 de enero de 2016 publicó Diario de Noticias.¹⁴⁶ Su importancia política como signo público queda fuera de toda duda, ya que la coalición de izquierda abertzale que en 2011 concurrió a las elecciones generales tomó su nombre, Amaïur.

6.3 *Conmemorar*

Los objetos encontrados en la excavación han formado parte de la exposición “Amaïur, el último castillo”, organizada en 2016 en el Palacio del Condestable por el ayuntamiento de Pamplona. Dentro de la propia exposición, en un lienzo de grandes dimensiones pintado por Xabier Morrás, el propio Joseba Asirón aparecía inmortalizado entre los agramonteses que resistían en el castillo de Maya. La inclusión del retrato del alcalde entre los conmemorados legitimistas resistentes fue bastante criticada, pero resulta francamente interesante desde un punto de vista psicológico pues el mensaje del autor resulta muy claro: Si el abertzale Joseba Asirón es uno de los agramonteses resistentes de Amaïur frente al ejército español, queda muy claro quiénes son entonces los traidores beaumonteses de hoy en día.

La tarea de evocación o conmemoración de los hitos más importantes de la conquista de Navarra ha consolidado asociaciones como *Noaingo Bataila Gogoan Taldea*, dedicada a la recreación y conmemoración anual de la derrota franco-agramontesa de 1521, junto al evocador monumento erigido en Salinas de Pamplona,¹⁴⁷ marcha que este año 2017 se ha titulado “gure ondarea, gure memoria” (nuestro patrimonio, nuestra memoria). También actos tales como marchas, homenajes o jornadas diversas. Algunas de las más multitudinarias fueron las que en el año 2012 recorrieron diferentes puntos de las geografías vasca y navarra, en especial la denominada “marcha nacional”

144. Sobre el yacimiento de Amaïur, ver Santamarina Otaola, Josu. “Más acá de la frontera...”: 254-255.

145. Garmendia. Marijo. “Amaïur, reconocimiento oficial 10 años después”, *Eitb*. 22 Agosto 2015. 8 Agosto 2017 <<http://www.eitb.eus/es/noticias/politica/videos/detalle/3426214/la-visita-uxue-barkos-amaïur-es-reconocimiento-al-trabajo/>>.

146. Sagiés Lacasa. María. “Amaïur: luz perpetua de Navarra”, *Noticias de Navarra*. 24 Enero 2016. 8 Agosto 2017 <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2016/01/24/vecinos/amaïur-luz-perpetua-de-navarra>>.

147. Unai Beroiz, Amaia Marcos. “Homenaje a la resistencia navarra ante la conquista militar de Castilla”, *Noticias de Navarra*. 9 Junio 2017. 8 Agosto 2017 <<http://m.noticiasdenavarra.com/2017/06/09/sociedad/navarra/homenaje-a-la-resistencia-navarra-ante-la-conquista-militar-de-castilla>>; “Salinas acoge este domingo un homenaje a la Batalla de Noáin”. *Noticias de Navarra*. 17 Junio 2017. 8 Agosto 2017. <<http://www.noticiasdenavarra.com/2017/06/17/sociedad/navarra/salinas-acoge-este-domingo-un-homenaje-a-la-batalla-de-noain>>.



organizada por *Nafarroa Bizirik*, para reivindicar que “Navarra sigue viva, a pesar de la conquista de 1512”.¹⁴⁸ En la práctica totalidad de estos eventos —al igual que ocurría con la instalación de los mojones— la reivindicación adquiere una dimensión festiva y multitudinaria en la que se mezclan elementos del folklore vasco (dantzaris, zampantzares o joaldunaks, bertzolaris, la grabación de un *lib-dub* colgado en *Youtube*, música folk y/o actual, bailables y deportes populares... etc.). La recreación de la tragedia histórica navarra se identifica de esta manera con una cultura vasca que aspira a la uniformización nacional, y que por medio de los usos públicos de la Historia adquiere así un carácter festivo, reivindicativo y nostálgico al mismo tiempo.

7. Conclusiones

Si bien los trabajos de Sánchez Prieto y sus colaboradores, hace más o menos una década, se centraron en el mensaje navarrista, por considerarlo predominante en el discurso historiográfico, en la actualidad esta situación ha cambiado. Por un lado la historiografía en su conjunto ha superado el viejo problema de la conquista sí o no de Navarra, y además en el mundo académico existe un consenso bastante importante sobre los hechos en torno a la conquista de Navarra. Por otro lado, el discurso revisionista de Nabarralde y *Nafarroa Bizirik*, con clara vocación didáctica y comercial, se ha fortalecido enormemente desde diferentes colectivos sociales, y ha generado una explicación histórica pan-navarrista para el conjunto de Euskal Herria, que no casa perfectamente con la tradicional explicación abertzale/jelkide. Este nuevo discurso no está en absoluto cerrado, sino que se encuentra en proceso de creación, ya que poco a poco van apareciendo nuevas propuestas e incluso contradicciones. Eso sí, en buena manera estas ideas se encuadran dentro del tradicional relato trágico nacionalista, que trata de resaltar el “conflicto vasco” y de remontar su origen a los periodos históricos más lejanos.¹⁴⁹

Los autores la órbita de Nabarralde parecen estar motivados por la proyección en el pasado de sentimientos positivos y negativos, como esperanza, ilusión, indignación, preocupación... La descripción de los momentos históricos como “sueños” o “heridas”, sin duda trasluce una fuerte vinculación sentimental de los autores con los hechos pasados, vinculación que les hace tomar partido —consciente o inconscientemente— en las tensiones propias de la conquista.

El principal argumento de estos grupos es la necesidad de “recuperación de la memoria”, y la insistencia en que la Historia de Navarra siempre ha sido escrita por los vencedores, que habrían ocultado la verdad histórica. En esta dirección, denuncian una suerte de “conspiración” para ocultar a los navarros su Historia, por parte de los historiadores “oficialistas”. Toda discrepancia en materia histórica es interpretada en términos políticos y de manipulación voluntaria de la verdad histórica, pero nunca en términos de debate puramente historiográfico. Si bien es cierto que históricamente hubo un sesgo españolista o navarrista dominante en las interpretaciones históricas hasta comienzos del siglo XX, desde que nace la escuela historiográfica navarra con José María Lacarra, los historiadores académicos han objetivado de manera muy importante sus trabajos, lo cual incluso ha sido interpretado en algunos casos como una victoria de los autores afines al nacionalismo vasco. No obstante, ninguno de ellos ha podido rebatir científicamente aquellos paradigmas históricos que

148. “Nafarroa Bizirik llama a la ciudadanía a apoyar su marcha”, *Diario de Navarra*. 14 Juny 2012. 8 Agosto 2017 <http://www.diariodenavarra.es/noticias/navarra/mas_navarra/2012/06/14/nafarroa_bizirik_llama_ciudadania_apoyar_marcha_83639_2061.html>.

149. Como señala Molina, Fernando. “El conflicto vasco”. *Relatos de historia...*: 214-223.



cuestiona, en especial porque en gran medida parten de supuestos previos y de un apasionamiento que dificultan el análisis científico. Caricaturizando la situación, los autores de *Nabarralde* y *Nafarroa Bizirik* se presentan como los nuevos Indiana Jones de la Historia Navarra: recuperan la Historia, descubren una conspiración académica que pretende ocultar la verdad, combaten las mentiras de la “oficialidad” regionalista, y liberan al pueblo navarro mostrándole la verdad histórica, para que éste pueda luchar por la “desconquista”. La idea ha logrado su arraigo, y no es casual que uno de estos autores, Joseba Asirón, haya logrado el éxito político convirtiéndose en alcalde de Pamplona, y en la cara visible de la izquierda abertzale en Navarra. Se ha podido comprobar, también —aunque no cuantificar— el impacto de sus planteamientos en las redes sociales y foros digitales.

Cuestión reseñable, por otro lado, es que las críticas vertidas hacia la historia académica navarra, provienen de autores que —según rezan sus propios currículums *online*— carecen en muchos casos de una formación universitaria en Historia, cuando no, directamente, de cualquier tipo de estudios universitarios, y que además poseen importantes intereses políticos que influyen en sus relatos. No suele hablarse en el gremio de la Historia de intrusismo profesional —y no pretendemos hacerlo ahora— pero al menos sí cabe denunciar que una crítica tan sistemática y descarnada hacia los historiadores profesionales navarros haya procedido de personas no formadas académicamente (lo cual por otro lado resulta evidente al leer algunos de sus trabajos).

Historiográficamente, uno de los argumentos más utilizados es el de considerar a Navarra como un Estado desde comienzos del siglo IX, con Íñigo Arista, y como un Estado Moderno justo en vísperas de la conquista de Navarra. La tesis de Álvaro Adot se ha extendido, para señalar que Navarra vivía un período de paz social y política truncada por la Conquista. Esta historiografía apuesta por la comprensión de la conquista como una agresión externa causada por las ambiciones de Fernando el Católico, lo que supone una propuesta de explicación prácticamente monocausal del fenómeno.

Finalmente, en nuestra opinión, lo que resulta preocupante es que la propia concepción de la Historia como ciencia queda en entredicho cuando el relato histórico está al servicio de unas ideas políticas del presente. La Historia no debe aspirar a encontrar una única verdad, ya que es una ciencia en construcción, abierta al debate y sometida a la novedosa aparición de nuevas pruebas documentales que arruinen la construcción de cualquier historiador pasado, por bueno que éste fuera. La extensión de la idea de una Historia que logra encontrar de manera heroica la verdad, supone un paso atrás en la formación histórica de la ciudadanía, si atendemos a cualquiera de las publicaciones de cualquier experto en didáctica de las Ciencias Sociales. El camino de la Historia al servicio de la construcción de los Estados nacionales es muy conocido, tanto por los historiadores¹⁵⁰ como por los especialistas en didáctica de la Historia,¹⁵¹ y es un camino muy poco deseable, pero hacia el que nos conducen de manera firme y exitosa tanto las publicaciones de los colectivos *Nafarroa Bizirik* y *Nabarralde* sobre la conquista de Navarra, como los usos públicos de la Historia que se derivan de ellas, tanto en las redes sociales, como en los medios de comunicación y en la calle.

150. Castillejo Cambra, Emilio. *Mito, legitimación y violencia simbólica en los manuales escolares de Historia del franquismo (1936-1975)*. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2008.

151. Baste citar el trabajo del profesor Carretero, Mario. *Documentos de Identidad. La construcción e la memoria histórica en un mundo global*. Buenos Aires: Paidós, 2007 y los recientes trabajos de Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. “Pervivencias escolares...”: 165-201; y Sáiz Serrano, Jorge; López Facal, Ramón. “Narrativas históricas de estudiantes y profesorado en formación”. *Revista de Educación*, 374 (2016): 118-141.



CURIAL E GÜELFA, UNA NOVEL·LA ITALOCATALANA DEL SEGLE XV EXEMPTA D'“ANOMALIES” I “MISTERIS”

ABEL SOLER
UNIVERSITAT DE VALÈNCIA

RESUM

Les “anomalies” (Jaume Riera, 1991) i els “misteris” (Rosa Navarro, 2011-2016) que han permès plantejar la hipòtesi d'un *Curial* falsificat en el segle XIX per Milà i Fontanals no concorden amb el criteri de paleògrafs, filòlegs i altres experts, que certifiquen l'autenticitat del còdex únic i de l'obra que conté. Lola Badia i Jaume Torró prefereixen parlar de les “perplexitats” que durant dècades ha despertat en la crítica literària un llibre que no encaixa del tot en la cultura literària de la Catalunya de mitjan segle XV. Si, alternativament, cerquem l'origen de l'obra a la cort napolitana d'Alfons el Magnànim, influïda per l'humanisme italià, tot sembla ja més versemblant.¹

1. Anomalies, misteris i perplexitats

En el *Curial* anotat l'any 2011 per Lola Badia i Jaume Torró, els editors advertien el lector de la singularitat de l'obra i dels seus presumptes efectes pertorbadors: “Des del seu adveniment al món de la lletra impresa l'any 1901, el *Curial e Güelfa* no ha deixat de desvetllar perplexitats”. La crítica “s'ha mogut entre la desorientació i l'entusiasme davant les successives hipòtesis que han pretès desentrellar tants enigmes”; s'entén que els d'una obra continguda en un sol manuscrit o esborrany, mancat de títol, rúbriques i atribució d'autoria.² On Badia i Torró parlen d'“enigmes”, el filòleg i erudit Jaume Riera, en una comunicació del 1991, anotà un conjunt d'“anomalies” que el portaren, no solament a sospitar de l'autenticitat de l'obra, sinó també a atribuir-la hipotèticament a Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818-1884).³ L'immediat enrenou periodístic obligà els codicòlegs i paleògrafs a pronunciar-se sobre la indubtable i empíricament atestada autenticitat del manuscrit, perfectament datable en la dècada del 1440.⁴ Desoïnt aquestes certificacions (“Alguns experts en

1. Abreviatures utilitzades: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó; ASN, Archivio di Stato di Napoli; BHUV, Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València; BnF, Bibliothèque nationale de France; CeG, *Curial e Güelfa*.

2. *Curial e Güelfa*, eds. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró. Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2011: 9.

3. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles XIII, XIV i XV”, *Actes del novè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes (Alacant-Elx, 9-14 de setembre de 1991)*, Rafael Alemany, Antoni Ferrando, Lluís B. Messeguer, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1993: I, 425-491, especialment 479-491.

4. Vegeu, entre d'altres, Mundó, Anscari M. [Manuel Mundó Marcet]. “Les vicissituds de ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Avui*, 19 setembre 1991: 31; Perarnau, Josep. “El manuscrit medieval del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 11 (1992): 363-377; Gimeno, Francisco M. “Notes d'un paleògraf a propòsit del ‘matritensis’ 9750 de la Biblioteca Nacional: ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Caplletra*, 15 (1994): 75-88; Avenzo, Gemma. “De nou sobre el ms. del ‘Curial e Güelfa’: una aproximació codicològica”. *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: I, 3-20; Sánchez, Arsenio. “Nuevas observaciones sobre la encuadernación del Ms. 9750, ‘Curial e Güelfa’, de la Biblioteca Nacional de España”, *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: I, 105-110.

paleografia encara hi continuen —pobrets—, assegurant que només es podia escriure entre 1440-1450”),⁵ Riera proposà —sense cap èxit ni repercussió seriosa, val a dir— descatalogar el *Curial* del cànon dels clàssics catalans. Posteriors recerques individuals i aproximacions de tipus col·lectiu (v. gr., els *Estudis lingüístics i culturals* sobre l’obra coordinats per Antoni Ferrando)⁶ han ajudat a descartar presumptes anomalies i a situar el text en relació amb la cultura literària de la Itàlia del primer *Quattrocento*, i amb la cort napolitana d’Alfons el Magnànim. Aquesta contextualització repren amb fonament la hipòtesi tradicional de la crítica de primeries del segle XX.⁷ Riera i Sans no ha insistit en la hipòtesi de la falsedat, però sí que ho ha fet Rosa Navarro, autora que considera el *Curial* —contra les més diverses evidències i constatacions d’experts i de crítics— com un llibre del segle XIX atribuïble a Milà. Amb raó o sense raó, cal reconèixer l’interès que susciten els “dubtes” plantejats per ambdós estudiosos —raonables i suggerents, tots—, per a plantejar interrogants i per a obrir noves vies de recerca al voltant de la controvertida novel·la cavalleresca.

2. Possibles respostes a les anomalies anotades per Riera

2.1 Un manuscrit de procedència desconeguda

Com constata Jaume Riera, “mai no s’ha pogut saber d’on procedia el manuscrit únic del *Curial*”,⁸ per haver-se’n perdut el teixell que en algun temps l’identificà, un fet recurrent en escrits medievals. Aquest fet, pel que afecta al *Curial*, comença a deixar de ser “misteriós” des que sabem que la religadura del còdex es pot datar a Toledo, vers la fi del segle XV, i que presenta concomitàncies amb altres llibres de catedral toledana. Se n’han extret uns *makulatur*, a més, procedents del reciclat de processos judicials de la casa toledana dels Fuensalida,⁹ família aliada del rei i dels Infants d’Aragó,¹⁰ i present en la campanya centreataliana dels anys 1446-1448.¹¹ Tot plegat, pot donar peu a noves vies d’interpretació hipotètica sobre la, fins a fa pocs anys, insospitada procedència del manuscrit. Caldrà tenir en compte, a més, el caràcter poliglota de les corts valenciana i italiana del Magnànim (1416-1458), on la presència d’exiliats castellans —molts dels quals bilingües o familiaritzats amb la llengua i la literatura catalanes— fou nombrosa i constant.

5. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 491.

6. Ferrando Francés, Antoni. “Precaucions metodològiques per a l’estudi lingüístic del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. 2 vols. Ferrando Francés, Antoni, ed. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012: 31-88, especialment 39-40.

7. La majoria de les aportacions d’aquest article troben explicació i ampliació en Soler, Abel. *La cort napolitana d’Alfons el Magnànim: el context de ‘Curial e Güelfa’*. 3 vols. València-Barcelona: Institució Alfons el Magnànim-Institut d’Estudis Catalans-Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2017.

8. Riera Sans, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles XIII...”: 480.

9. Ferrando, Antoni. “Precaucions metodològiques per a l’estudi lingüístic del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *Sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: I, 31-88, especialment 39-40.

10. Vegeu Carrillo de Huete, Pedro. *Crónica del Halconero de Juan II*. ed. Juan de Mata, Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1947: 468-469 (capítol 341); Franco, Alfonso. *El condado de Fuensalida en la Baja Edad Media*. Cadis: Universidad de Cádiz, 1994: 68.

11. ASN. Tesorería generale antica, 1/IV, ff. 16r, 43v, 46v i 47r. Croce, Benedetto. *España en la vida italiana del Renacimiento*, trad. José Sánchez Rojas, Madrid: Mundo Latino, 1919: 65.



2.2 Mots castellans i grafies castellaness

Considera Riera “una cosa molt estranya” la presència en el *Curial* d’alguns mots (“pennora”, “sennora”) “escrits a la manera castellana i té els reclams dels dos primers plecs en castellà” (Quaderno primero, Segundo), “escrits de la mateixa mà que tot el text”. Segons ell, “la presència de trets gràfics i mots castellans en un còdex de lletra catalana” seria un fet insòlit en el segle XV a Catalunya.¹² Tanmateix, és sabut que els escriptors de cancelleria alternaven quotidianament en l’escriptura de textos llatins, castellans i catalans, sense que foren estranyes eventuais interferències ortogràfiques. D’altra banda, la “via toledana” de recerca oberta pels codicòlegs, més la presència de lectors castellans i bilingües a la cort alfonsina —començant pel mateix monarca, que era castellanoparlant—, fan explicables les anotacions marginals o les indicacions al relligador en castellà. Descartada, doncs, l’estranyesa, val a advertir que aquests reclams marginals i una curiosa anotació marginal *corrige* (que passà desapercebuda a Riera) no pertanyen a la mateixa mà que el cos de la transcripció textual. Pel que sembla, foren afegides *a posteriori*, per algú que s’arrogava potestat sobre el manuscrit i sobre l’obra. Aquest “algú” s’adreçava en castellà a un escrivà, que, que per alguns indicis lingüístics (*rodas, tengas, reebas...*), s’ha pensat que podria ser aragonès.¹³

2.3 Una puntuació ‘moderna’

Ramon Aramon, que edità el *Curial* pels anys 1930-1933, se sorprengué gratament d’haver trobat en l’estructuració sintàctica del discurs literari *una puntuación muy lógica, que facilita en gran manera su lectura*. Riera interpreta que “es tracta d’una puntuació moderna”, i al·lega que en els textos del segle XV els escriptors “assenyalen les clàusules de dicció, però ignoren les comes”. Posa d’exemple —entre d’altres— l’oració següent: “E axí ells[,] apartats Apol·lo[,] presos alguns rams dels arbres a ell consagrats[,] lo cap del dit Curial cenyí...” Com s’observa, el que destaca no és cap modernitat, sinó simplement un gust per l’ablatiu absolut (“presos”, “apartats”, com a nucli de sengles complements circumstancials, avançats al principi de l’oració) propi d’un autor aficionat a llegir Juli Cèsar: una altra pista interessant per a identificar-lo. Ell mateix ho reconeix (“Legit he en Tito Lívio la victòria..., e noresmenys la de Júlio e Pompeyo...” , *CeG* III.91), i Josep Torró i Lola Badia ho anoten.¹⁴

Altra cosa és la consideració que hom podria fer sobre les comes amb forma de barra obliqua (/) que l’escriptor emprà per a determinar les clàusules “recitatòries” a la manera d’Itàlia. Perquè el *Curial* era una obra literària escrita i pensada per a ser recitada: “E per ço us vull recitar...” (*CeG* I.0); “Qui totes les coses de la tristor dels dos amants volgués recitar..., volent scriure a vostra consolació e plaer, recitaré” (*CeG* I.14). El primer a emprar la barra (/) per a pautar i atorgar ritme al text fou Boncompagno da Signa, en el seu tractat d’epistolografia *Palma* (1198).¹⁵ En el segle XIV, l’usaren Petrarca i Boccaccio, i en el segle XV italià l’ús era generalitzat. El gramàtic llombard Gasparino Barzizza, el fill del qual —l’humanista Guiniforte Barzizza— estigué molt vinculat al rei d’Aragó i

12. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 480.

13. La hipòtesi del copista aragonès l’esgrímí Perarnau (1992) i la desenvolupà Ferrando, Antoni. “Introducció”, *Curial e Güelfa*, ed. Antoni Ferrando. Tolosa de Llenguadoc: Anacharsis, 2007: 5-35, especialment 8.

14. *Curial e Güelfa*, eds. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró...: 694-695.

15. Pini, Virgilio. “Boncompagno da Signa”, *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Treccani, 12 October 2016, <[http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/boncompagno-da-signa_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/>](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/boncompagno-da-signa_(Dizionario-Biografico)/>).



els seus curials pels anys 1432-1448, aconsellava en la *Doctrina punctandi* l'ús d'aquest signe para-grafemàtic (/),¹⁶ que amb la introducció de la impremta deixaria pas al modern signe tipogràfic de la coma (,).¹⁷ Algunes obres de Gasparino foren remeses pel fill a Gaeta el 1440, i degueren influir en l'ús d'aquesta barra (/) que feien alguns escrivans de la cancelleria reial, generalment per a separar els diferents apartats d'un diploma. Leonardo Bruni (mort el 1444) es clamava al rei Alfons perquè els seus escrivans i escriptors ignoraven aquests signes de puntuació. Uns anys després, Filelfo es felicitava, en canvi, perquè alguns súbdits d'aquell rei —lloables excepcions— s'havien habituat a puntuar els seus escrits.¹⁸

Així les coses, no devia ser gens desconeguda aquesta puntuació, ni per l'autor del *Curial* ni pel transcriptor del *Matritensis* 9750. La singularitat, emperò, que presenta la novel·la és que l'autor empra sistemàticament aquesta coma o signe de pausa per a facilitar el ritme retòric de la de lectura.¹⁹ Si els diferents editors de l'obra hagueren prestat atenció a un detall tan evident com aquest de la *interpunctio* o *punteggiatura* a la italiana, haurien puntuat tal vegada alguns fragments de text de manera més apropiada. I, certament, s'hagueren evitat discussions estèrils sobre quina fou la “pàtria” de Curial (“aquest lombard”, diu explícitament l'escriptor), basades en la posició d'una coma que l'escriptor posiciona, de fet, per a traure'ns de dubtes: “Fonch ja ha lonch temps / segons yo he legit >en Cathalunya< / un gentil hom [en blanc] appellat...” Ja ho advertí Riquer: ens hem de fer a la idea que l'autor, que segurament recitava a Nàpols, recorda (o fingeix recordar, d'acord amb un *topos* literari molt rebregat) que havia llegit els fets de Curial el llombard en una llunyana Catalunya.

2.4 El lèxic valencià: una altra anomalia...?

Revisats alguns elements codicològics, ortogràfics i paleogràfics, Riera troba una “anomalia lingüística” en el fet que el *Curial* presente —a diferència dels textos literaris de l'època—²⁰ evidents preferències lèxiques valencianes.²¹ Ho considera, a més, un “engany de base”, per entendre que l'obra podria ser falsa i decimonònica. No especifica, emperò, a quina mena d’“engany” es refereix. ¿S'hauria fet passar Milà i Fontanals, el possible falsificador al qual s'apunta, per un autor del segle d'or valencià? ¿S'hauria deixat assessorar per algun amic valencià, d'aquells que cercaven “culleretes”, “raboses” i “oronelles” per les “séquies” de les “alqueries” de la “marjal”, i marcaven les gerres

16. Tognelli, Jole. *Introduzione all'ars punctandi*. Roma: Edizioni del Ateneo, 1963: 19; Cignetti, Luca. “La [pro]posizione parentetica: criteri di riconoscimento e proprietà retorico-testuali”. *Studi di grammatica italiana*, 20 (2001): 69-125, especialment 74.

17. Segons Trovato, Paolo, *Storia della lingua italiana. Il primo Cinquecento*. Pàdua: Libreria Universitaria, 2012: 80 (primera edició: Bolonya: Il Mulino, 1994); les edicions de Dante i Petrarca per Bembo dels anys 1501-1502 foren determinants per a la substitució de la barra medieval per la moderna coma ortogràfica.

18. Mateu Ibars, Josefina; Mateu Ibars, M^a. Dolores. *Colectánea paleográfica de la Corona de Aragón (siglos IX-XVIII)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1980: I, 128.

19. Com ho farà un segle després, per exemple, el copista que transcrivé les obres de Roís de Corella en el *Cançoner de Mayans*.

20. “No hi ha cap escriptor principal del segle XV que presente les característiques lèxiques del Curial, ni cap escriptor valencià coetani que concentre en la seua obra un nombre de preferències lèxiques valencianes tan elevat com l'autor del ‘Curial’”, segons Ferrando, Antoni. “Precaucions metodològiques...”: 81.

21. Vegeu, entre d'altres, Veny, Joan. “Valencianitat del ‘Curial’”, *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*, Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: II, 1089-1106, especialment 1090.



amb “almànguena”...? Lògicament, la suposició de l’engany resulta difícil d’admetre, però no l’advertiment sobre el fet que “els valencianismes” constitueixen un component idiolectal més, en un text culturalment molt hibridat, no exempt de “castellanismes, italianismes, gal·licismes, arcaïsmes i neologismes, tot a la vegada”.²² Si és així, convindria pensar, no en una obra falsa, com proposa Riera, sinó, com fa Curt Wittlin, en “a well-travelled novelist from the kingdom of Valencia, who had reasons to remain anonymous”.²³ En l’itinerari formatiu i “viatger” de l’autor, un itinerari que passa necessàriament per València, es troba la clau de volta, sens dubte, per a una correcta contextualització cultural i interpretació literària de *Curial e Güelfa*.

A l’anòmala valencianitat del *Curial*, Riera afegia la raresa d’alguns neologismes. L’adjectiu *glomerós* hi apareix en tres ocasions i “no té paral·lel en cap llengua veïna”, circumstància que “indica, ben clarament, que estem en presència d’una fictícia producció moderna”. No necessàriament: es tracta d’un vocable poat de la versió original i llatina de la *Historia destructionis Troyae* de l’italià Guido delle Colonne, que és la que consultava l’anònim, en compte de la versió catalana de Jaume Conesa.²⁴ Allà on Guido escriu *fuge subsidium*, el redactor del relat cavalleresc copia “[donar-se a] subsidi de fuyta”. I allà Guido escriu *in glomerosa multitudine pugnatorum* (frase original, pràcticament un hàpax seu i del *Curial*),²⁵ l’autor que ens ocupa —i que difícilment podia ser Milà i Fontanals— ho aplica a situacions de combat contra els nous *teucris* dels humanistes, els ‘troians’ del *Quattrocento* italià,²⁶ del tipus: “desquaernen aquella multitud glomerosa dels turchs” (*CeG* III.91). Conesa (*Històries troyanes*, 1367-1372) preferí traduir-ho per “ab gran multitud de combatents”;²⁷ el castellà Pedro de Chinchilla (*Libro de la Historia Troyana*, 1443) optà per la fórmula alternativa *con muy grand compañía de gente de armas*.²⁸

2.5 Horaci i la cultura literària de l’anònim

Ironitza Riera sobre les fonts clàssiques que manifesta conèixer l’autor del *Curial*: “Fa tan bonic de tenir una menció d’Horaci a la nostra literatura, en una època que les altres pràcticament el desconeixien!”²⁹. En realitat, l’esment del *Curial* (“Cert és a mi que vosaltres fes companyia a Homero, Virgílio, Oràcio, Ovídio e a Lucano e a molts altres...,” *CeG* III.28) depèn directament de Dante (*Inf.* IV, 88-90): *quelli è Omero poeta sovrano / l’altro è Orazio satiro che vene; / Ovidio è ‘l terzo, e*

22. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 481.

23. Wittlin, Curt. “Wheeler, Max W. (trad.) (2011), ‘Curial and Guelfa. A classic of the Crown of Aragon’. Translated into English by Max W. Wheeler. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins (IVITRA Research in Linguistics and Literature, vol. 2)”. *Estudis Romànics*, 36 (2014): 614-617, especialment 617.

24. Martines, Josep. “Aproximació a les novetats lèxiques i semàntiques del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*, Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: II, 941-998, especialment 990.

25. Delle Colonne, Guido. *Historia destructionis Troiae*. ed. Nathaniel Edward Griffin. Cambridge (Mass.): Medieval Academy of America, 1936: 169.

26. Vegeu Bisaha, Nancy. “The New Barbarian: Redefining the Turks in classical terms”, *Creating East and West. Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004: 43-93.

27. Miquel i Planas, Ramon, ed. *Les ‘Històries troyanes’ de Guiu de Columpnes; traduïdes al català en el XIVè segle per en Jacme Conesa, y ara per primera volta publicades per R. Miquel y Planas*. Barcelona: Miquel Rius, 1916: 182.

28. Delle Colonne, Guido. *Libro de la Historia Troyana*. ed. María Dolores Peláez, trad. Pedro de Chinchilla. Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1999: 229.

29. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 482.



l'último Lucano.³⁰ Fixem-nos, a més, en l'influx ortogràfic del toscà: *Orazio* > *Oràcio*. No cal, doncs, que l'autor de la novel·la catalana tinguera coneixement directe del clàssic.

2.6 *Curial i don Quixot de la Manxa, contra els lleons*

És cert que el *Curial* presenta algun element argumental, de caràcter anecdòtic, en comú amb el *Quixot*. Riera ho atribueix a un plagi de Cervantes per un Milà i Fontanals afectat de "síndrome d'Erasme". Parteix d'un article de Manuel Montoliu³¹ per a comparar "l'aventura de l'*hidalgo manchego* en la segona part del Quijote"³² amb l'enfrontament amb els lleons del "corral" del rei de Tunis protagonitzat per Curial en el llibre III de la novel·la. Ambdós autors, Cervantes i —molt més directament— l'anònim que ens ocupa, s'inspiraren en una crònica castellana medieval, com explica Anna Cortadellas.³³ Aquesta crònica castellana també cridà l'atenció de Beuter (València, 1551): *Era valiente cavallero este infante don Henrrique (...). Le llamó el rey [de Tunis] en un corral (...) Y salióse del corral (...) abriendo una otra de una estancia do havia dos bravos leones...*³⁴ Les coincidències d'aquest text amb el *Curial* són eloqüents, però Beuter escrigué després de l'anònim i dècades abans del *Quixot*.

2.7 *El Curial, novel·la moderna? Un desconcertant gènere literari*

Manifestava Jaume Riera el seu "desconcert" en constatar que el *Curial* presentava alguns elements constructius, narratius, etc., que convertien el llibre en *rara avis* medieval, o que l'acostaven fins i tot a la novel·la moderna. L'observació partia d'un comentari de Sanvisenti que tindria fortuna en successives aproximacions i introduccions editorials del *Curial*: la comprovació que aquesta narració s'aveïna *alla formula d'uno dei tipi del romanzo storico moderno*.³⁵ Comas, la considerava, així, un anunci de "la novel·la històrica del Romanticisme".³⁶ Riquer observà que "l'autor del *Curial* escriu el que modernament en diríem una novel·la històrica".³⁷ I Riera conclogué: "d'on resulta, és clar, que el *Curial* e *Güelfa* ha de ser posterior a 1826, data de la primera edició espanyola d'una novel·la de Walter Scott". I, a més a més, contenia, segons ell, "elements de la novel·la de fulletó".³⁸

Aquests elements "de fulletó" són el que Sònia Gros³⁹ i altres crítics documenten com a tècniques narratives i recursos lírico-retòrics apresos de Boccaccio. Certament, la novel·la conté aspectes tècnics i literaris (ironia subtil, sàtira, paròdia de la cavalleria...) que anuncien el que després serà la novel·la moderna, entesa com una tradició que té per punt inaugural i brillant el *Quixot*. Si Cer-

30. Alighieri, Dante. *Divina Comèdia*. trad. Joan-Francesc Mira. Barcelona: Proa, 2009: 58-59.

31. Montoliu, Manuel de. "Curial e Güelfa", *Un escorç en la poesia i novel·lística dels segles XIV i XV*. Barcelona: Alpha, 1961: 47-70, especialment 63-64.

32. Riera, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles...": 482.

33. Cortadellas, Anna. *Repertori de llegendes historiogràfiques de la Corona d'Aragó*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2001: 32.

34. Beuter, Pedro Antonio. *Segunda parte de la Corónica general de España, y especialmente de Aragón, Cathaluña y Valencia*. València: Joan de Mey, 1551: f. 129v (liber II, cap. 46).

35. Sanvisenti, Bernardo. "Su le fonti e la patria del 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Studi medievali*, 1/1 (1904-1905): 94-106.

36. Comas, Antoni. "Ecolis a 'Curial e Güelfa'", *Assaigs sobre literatura catalana*. Barcelona: Tàber, 1968: 45-107.

37. Riquer, Martí de. "Curial e Güelfa", *Història de la literatura catalana*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1964: II, 602-631.

38. Riera, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles...": 483.

39. Gros, Sònia. *'Aquella dolçor amarga'. La tradició amatòria clàssica en el 'Curial e Güelfa'*. València: Universitat de València, 2015.



vantes haguera tingut accés al *Curial*, l'hauria indultat de la foguera, com féu amb el *Tirant*. En fi: les innovacions i els atreviments creatius de l'anònim no haurien de ser motiu d'estranyesa, sinó de congratulació per als estudiosos i els amants de les lletres catalanes.

2.8 El burell heràldic i la indumentària napolitana

Riera es basa en Riquer⁴⁰ per a considerar que el color *burell* de l'heràldica de *Curial* “no s'ha fet servir mai en heràldica”.⁴¹ No té en compte, però, que en el *Curial* —a diferència, per exemple, del *Saintré* de La Sale— no importa tant l'ortodòxia heràldica com l'al·legoria dantesca, a la italiana. A més, el mateix escriptor anuncia en la novel·la quins cavallers i per què hauran d'usar el burell: “si són amorosos de viudes, vengan ab paraments burells e negres” (*CeG* I.26). Aquests colors, adoptats per *Curial* en llaor de la viuda Güelfa, eren els que vestien en senyal de dol les viudes. És clar que a la Catalunya de Gabriel Turell (*Arbre d'honor*, 1471) el burell era una color innoble i impròpia dels usos heràldics: “Del lehonat e burell (...): en armeria no són compreses”.⁴² El burell era un gris reservat per a indumentària de persones pobres i clergues mendicants, o per a vestidures de dol. L'Enveja apareix al·legoritzada en el *Curial* vestint “una roba burella de drap gros” (*CeG* III.94). I el “semé” d'or de les flors de lis de “Rena(r)t” d'Anjou és degradat heràldicament en “renarts burells”. Tanmateix, cal tenir en compte que, en la refinada cort italiana del rei d'Aragó, el burell era un color en ús, d'acord amb l'austeritat heràldica i indumentària connatural al país.⁴³ Alfons V feia dur d'Anglaterra teles de “frisó, *coloris* burell”, de gran qualitat.⁴⁴ Se'l denominava “burell blanquinós de frisó de Flandes”, segons un escrit del 1437,⁴⁵ per a diferenciar-lo del burell enfosquit i bast. En la tardor del 1450, el Magnànim envià compradors a Flandes amb l'encàrrec de dur-li “dues peces de drap de llana anglés, burell, del pus bell e ffi que trobar se porà e de la sort que-s diu no hix may de Inglaterra: tant és fi! E que sia burell net, sens neguna mescla. E per aquesta rahó lo u los dos d'ells passaran en Inglaterra”.⁴⁶ Els estudis sobre el guarda-roba de Castel Nuovo i les fonts humanístiques ens informen que el rei vestia quotidianament de negre i burell,⁴⁷ com *Curial*. És un indicador entre molts que ajuda a relacionar la gènesi del text a la cort de Nàpols.

40. Riquer, Martí de. “Els metalls, les colors i les pennes en heràldica catalana”, *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes. Homenatge a Josep M. de Casacuberta*, Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1981: II, 87-107.

41. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 483-484.

42. Turell, Gabriel. *Arbre d'honor*. Barcelona: Barcino, 1992: 71.

43. Els mercaders barcelonins noliejaven teixits *acolorats de roba scura, prout est usaticum pro partibus Sicilie*. Vegeu Carrère, Claude. *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés (1380-1462)*. París: Mouton et Cie., 1967: 151.

44. Batlle, Carme. *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1973: I, 389.

45. Colón, Germà. *De Ramon Llull al Diccionari de Fabra. Acostament lingüístic a les lletres catalanes*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2003: 157-165, especialment 260.

46. ACA, Cancelleria reial, reg. 2658, f. 70v (Castell Nou de Nàpols, 19 de novembre del 1450).

47. Segons Montalto, Lina. “Vesti e gale alla corte aragonese: I. Il tesoro e la guardaroba di Alfonso primo; II. La guardaroba di Ferrante, duca di Calabria, i III. La guardaroba di Isabella, duchessa di Calabria, e dei suoi figli”. *Napoli nobilissima. Rivista d'arte e di topografia napoletana* (sèrie 2), 1 (1920): 25-29, 41-44, 70-73, 127-130 i 142-146, especialment pàgina 27: el rei d'Aragó usava...*non gravi di ricami d'oro e di seta, non pesanti per sfarzo di pellicie (...); la “roba”, di damasco o velluto nero o “burello” (...); egli indossa di colore oscuro*.

2.9 Heralds al·legòrics i donzells de cotes mal tallades

Els heralds de noms abstractes també cridaren l'atenció de Riera: *Bon panser, Venjança, Bonté*. Se'ns explica que, “si més no, durant el segle XV, no s'ha documentat cap herald que porti nom abstracte”.⁴⁸ Però no és així, en realitat: eren molt comuns a l'Europa flamígera. A la Navarra del 1446, Riquer documenta un porsavant dit *Léal*, “Lleial”.⁴⁹ El 1450, el rei d'Anglaterra envià a Borgonya un porsavant dit *Bonreport* (1450), que recorda el Bon Panser del *Curial*.⁵⁰ Pel 1430, el rei Joan de Navarra, germà del Magnànim, disposava d'un herald dit Pamplona i d'un porsavant dit *Bonne Foi* (“Bona Fe”), denominació al·legòrica i abstracta que s'acosta en significat a la del Bonté de *Curial e Güelfa*.⁵¹ *E così via*. Tampoc no ens poden estranyar ironies del tipus “Ara pusch yo ésser apellat lo donzell de la cota mal tallada” (*CeG* I.42). I més encara quan l'autor adverteix que s'estaven rient de qui parla: “Curial, sentint ço de què reyen, dix...” Riera troba incoherents els mots del llombard, perquè tothom sabia massa que era un cavaller armat, i ningú “no podia prendre'l per donzell”.⁵² Tanmateix, el que fa l'autor és, simplement, remetre paròdicament a un conegut personatge del *Tristan en prose*, dit *le chevalier à la Cote Mal Taillée*, com expliquen Badia i Torró.⁵³

2.10 Deixuplines d'or i espases entrecruades

“Un escut amb unes deixuplines”, segons Riera, “és introbable al segle XV”. Potser a Catalunya, sí, però no a Milà, d'on era “senyora” la Güelfa. Allí, en proclamar-se la República Ambrosiana (1447), els defensors de la llibertat comunal enarboraren la senyera d'un sant Ambrós armat amb les deixuplines d'or (el popular *staffile*), amb les quals —segons la tradició— havia expulsat els heretges arrians i espantava ara els enemics del país. Encunyaren monedes amb el mateix emblema i les anomenaren *ambrosini*.⁵⁴ Com és sabut, els eclesiàstics feien servir de mobles heràldics objectes litúrgics o relacionats amb la seua professió religiosa: mitres, bàculs, hisops, deixuplines de mortificar-se, etc. Ignorem si serà casual, però el 1447 el palau ducal de Milà era ple de catalanòfons —les senyeres dels pals de gules arribaren a onejar sobre les torres, en vespres de la revolució comunal— i el paper sobre el qual es transcrivé una part del manuscrit curialesc (amb filigranes de la *Biscia Viscontea*) era el mateix que s'emprava a l'administració ducal milanesa del 1447.⁵⁵

Ara bé, l'escut de les deixuplines del *Curial* no té tant a veure amb Milà com amb el noble aragonés *Johan Martines de Luna*, senyor d'Illueca, protegit en joventut pel seu oncle l'antipapa Benet XIII, les restes del qual recuperà el 1430 per a honorar-les.⁵⁶ L'escriptor degué tenir el caprici d'as-

48. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 484.

49. Riquer, Martí de. *Caballeros andantes españoles*. Madrid: Gredos, 2008: 23 (primera edició: Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1967).

50. Ferguson, John. *English Diplomacy (1422-1461)*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972: 188, 202.

51. Ferguson, John. *English Diplomacy...*: 201.

52. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 484.

53. *Curial e Güelfa*, eds. Lola Badia, Jaume Torró...: 572-573.

54. Ghiglione, Natale. *La Repubblica Ambrosiana (1447-1450)*. S. Ambrogio, patrono e protettore dello stato dalla libertà. Lucca: Libreria Italiana Musicale, 2011.

55. Qüestió anunciada en Soler, Abel, “Iconografia italiana i literatura cavalleresca catalana: les al·legories de les arts liberals en ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *IX Congresso internazionale dell'Associazione italiana di studi catalani. Linguaggi del metareale nella cultura catalana: arte, cinema, folclore, letteratura, storia* (Torino, 15-18 settembre 2015). en premsa.

56. Febrer, Juan José. *Peñíscola. Apuntes históricos*. Castelló de la Plana: Hijo de J. Armengot, 1924: 194-196.



sociar el cavaller amb les deixuplines d'or el papa Luna, potser al·ludint en broma literària al que havia sigut *Ecclesiae masrix* o *Ecclesiae flagitium* ("flagell de l'Església"), d'acord amb un sobrenom aplicat tradicionalment pel legitimisme papista als antipapes més obstinats i intransigents.

"Un escut amb dues espases entrecreuades", segons Riera, "és més propi del general Prim que del rei Pere". Potser té raó, però també era un símbol conegut a la Itàlia. Pensem que la història d'amor de *Curial* (< Cúria imperial, Hohenstaufen alemanys, Corona d'Aragó...) i *la Güelfa* (< l'Església, Anjou de Nàpols, Itàlia...) està interferida o connotada al·legòricament, com deduí Ferrando,⁵⁷ per a commemorar el triomf napolità del rei d'Aragó (1442) i la recollida per aquest, en virtut dels acords de Terracina amb l'Església (1443), de la doble legitimitat successòria: [1] com a hereu de Conradí de Sicília, per ser rei d'Aragó, i [2] com a hereu de Carles d'Anjou, per ser fill adoptiu de Joana II de Nàpols. D'ací que *Curial* visite consecutivament Sicília i "Partènope", a costa d'incórrer en un venial anacronisme literari, en fer coetanis els regnats de Carles i Conradí. També cal recordar que una novel·la de propaganda angevina com fou *Pierre de Provence* (cort napolitana de Renat d'Anjou?; 1437, en la redacció), presenta un protagonista armat amb les claus entrecreuades de Pere, que esdevé rei de Nàpols. L'obra conté aspectes argumentals coincidents —simptomàticament— amb episodis tunisencs del *Curial*,⁵⁸ i enarborava símbols (el nom de Pierre i sant Pere, Provença, les claus de l'Església...) que connecten amb la tradició vexil·lològica i iconogràfica del Nàpols angeví. Allí, els reis —els Anjou de Provença— no sols foren vassalls del papa de Roma, sinó també defensors i gonfanoners de l'Església. Per això portaven, com les portà el rei Alfons, les claus entrecreuades de sant Pere Apòstol al camp de batalla. L'autor del *Curial* degué interpretar que col·locar a mans del Pere del *Curial* —"lo rei d'Aragó"— unes claus entrecreuades hauria significat rebaixar la Corona d'Aragó a un plànol de submissió a Roma com el que reconeixien tradicionalment els Anjou, i l'autor del *Pierre*. Insubmis davant aquesta perspectiva simbolicopolítica, degué "idear" una senyera al·legòrica del rei d'Aragó que tinguera correspondència amb el somni polític de Dante expressat en *De monarchia*. Alighieri tingué present la butla *Unam Sanctam* del jurista napolità Benedetto Gaetani (papa Bonifaci VIII, 1294-1303), on es parlava de dues al·legòriques "espases de Pere", i on l'espasa del poder espiritual (la Part Güelfa, Roma) s'imposava a l'espasa del poder temporal (la Part Gibel·lina, la Cúria imperial).⁵⁹ Per a Dante, com per a l'anònim, havia arribat l'hora que el poder temporal d'un monarca prenguera les regnes d'una pacificada Itàlia i cooperara harmònicament amb l'Església, però sense haver-se de supeditar a aquesta. Notem, a més, com l'escriptor promet "un guardó" als amors de *Curial* i la Güelfa en començar l'obra, però converteix la "senyora", a la fi del relat, en una simple comparsa femenina de l'heroi triomfador: el *princeps* coronat, *Curial*. Aquesta factible lectura al·legòrica, reservada a alguns oients o lectors entesos en matèria política i dantesca, hauria de ser tinguda en compte, com advertia Ferrando, per aquells que aspiren a una completa interpretació de la intenció literària de l'anònim escriptor i dels motius que el portaren a escriure.

57. Ferrando, Antoni. "Curial e Güelfa: una història amorosa en clau?". *Dones i literatura entre l'edat mitjana i el Renaixement*. Ricard Bellver, ed. València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2012: II, 797-830.

58. Com ha posat de manifest Babbi, Anna Maria. "Il 'Curial e Güelfa' e i romanzi francesi del XV secolo". *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre 'Curial e Güelfa', novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: I, 139-156.

59. Pertile, Antonio. *Storia del diritto italiano, dalla caduta dell'Impero Romano alla codificazione*. Pàdua: Istituto del Diritto Pubblico e delle Fonti del Diritto; Fratelli Salmin, 1892-1902: I, 302 i nota 39.



Més fàcil —i menys críptica— resulta l'explicació de determinats emblemes heràldics, com l'ala d'or que mana fer el duc d'Orleans per l'amor de Làquesis, i que Riera també considera estranya i paròdica.⁶⁰ En l'edat mitjana eren corrents les ales parlants —o no parlants— en heràldica: apareix, verbigràcia, en escuts medievals de pobles com “AL-cora”, “AL-baida”, “AL-coi”, etc. Els nobles Villena de València i Nàpols pintaven en paraments una ala amb una mà sostenint una espasa, per a representar el nom de “Manu-El”, interpretat com “manu-ala” o “in manu, ala”.⁶¹ De la mateixa manera, en el *Curial*, i en honor de la “verge alemanya” Làquesis (CeG I.40), el d'Orleans portarà un estendard verd (color de l'amor) moblat amb una ala d'or. La “VER-ge ALA-manya” i l'enamorat duc “D'OR-leans” justifiquen la color “VER-da” amb una “ALA (MAGNA) D'OR”.⁶²

2.11 Alternança tu/vos i els Pallars de Mediona

L'alternança que fa l'autor en els diàlegs del “tu” i del “vos” com a tractaments és la que correspon al català del segle XV. El filòleg Martí Mestre no hi troba res a comentar.⁶³ Tant en el *Decameron* —principal referent literari de l'anònim del *Curial*— com el *Tirant* no presenten gaire diferències en aquesta alternança. Que els cortesans envejosos o el mateix Curial tracten de *tu* llur senyor, el marquès del Montferrat, respon al que era normal aleshores en col·loquis informals. No es tracta, com suposa Riera, d'una distracció.⁶⁴ Això sí, en determinades circumstàncies, com per exemple la trobada amb un desconegut, hom el tractava de vós per cortesia: “Cavaller, yo no us coneix, ne encara coneix aquexa senyora, però, si axí és com vós diets...” (CeG I.14).

Tampoc no sembla cap “disbarat”,⁶⁵ sinó un sarcasme subtilment encobert, el fet que l'escriptor faci descendir els comtes de Pallars de la casa de “Madiona”/Mediona. La burla aparent —entre tantes que conté l'obra— pren la forma d'incís adreçat irònicament a un presumpte dedicatari (si és que hi havia cap dedicatari verídici i no figurat): “E sapiats que d'aquell linatge de Madiona són exits tots los de la casa de Pallars, e aquells eren cap e principi de tot lo linatge (CeG III.70)”. Anton Espadaler pensa que és un “elogi de la casa de Pallars, d'inequívoc sentit polític”, relacionable amb Hug-Roger de Pallars, capità general de Catalunya, o a algú del seu cercle, en el context de la guerra contra Joan II d'Aragó (1462-1472).⁶⁶ Tanmateix, el desconcerta⁶⁷ la mancança de fonament genealògic de l'incís: els Pallars no tenen res a veure, absolutament, amb Mediona o els Mediona.

60. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 484.

61. Vegeu Mira, Eduard. “Sor Isabel de Villena / Elionor d'Aragó-Anjou. Heràldica i intencionalitat comunicativa”. *Dones i literatura entre l'edat mitjana i el Renaixement*. Ricard Bellver, ed. València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2012: II, 759-796.

62. Soler, Abel, “‘Cuer desirous’. Enigmes lírics i mots heràldics en el ‘Curial’”. *Tirant*, 19 (2016): 253-274, especialment 260.

63. Martí Mestre, Joaquim. “Aspectes de morfologia nominal en el ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: II, 597-630, especialment 611-615.

64. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 484-485.

65. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 485.

66. Espadaler, Anton-M., “‘Curial e Güelfa’: El jo de l'autor i la història”, *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre ‘Curial e Güelfa’, novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: I, 277-286, especialment 278. Vegeu, del mateix autor, “Sobre el lloc i l'ocasió del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *El (re)descobrimient de l'edat moderna. Estudis d'homenatge a Eulàlia Duran*, Eulàlia Miralles, Josep Soler Vicens, eds. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2007: 221-231.

67. O, si més no, el desconcertava ja fa alguns anys. Vegeu Espadaler, Anton-M. *Una reina per a Curial*. Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 1984: 74.



Antoni Ferrando hi veu “una llicència literària (...), possiblement amb una finalitat que ara com ara se’n s’escapa”.⁶⁸ Riera recorda un text de Beuter (segle XVI), on ix un Guillem de Mediona i, després de canviar de tema, l’autor aborda la llegenda d’un fill de l’emperador vingut a Catalunya en època carolíngia, el qual *fue heredado del condado de Pallars, y por esso hazen las águilas con unas pajas en medio, que son de aquel linaje*.⁶⁹ Aquesta referència erudita no relaciona ni connecta per a res Mediona amb Pallars, però Riera la creu suficient per a pensar en una nota de Beuter presa a l’atzar per Milà i Fontanals com a motiu del vincle Mediona-Pallars.

En realitat, com expliquen el *Llibre dels reis* i alguna altra crònica medieval que el seguí, no eren els Pallars, sinó els Cardona, els qui —segons una llegenda mancada de tot fonament genealògic i documental— descendien dels Madiona:

E vengueren ab lo dit compte [Guifré el Pelós], entre ·ls altres nobles e cavalers, en Guillem de Mediona, qui depuys fo vescompte e era cavaler francés (...). E d’aquí avant (...) senyorejà Catalunya [Guifré] ·XXXIII· anys. E après poch de temps creà en Guillem vescompte de Mediona, qui depuys fo vescompte de Cardona.⁷⁰

En conseqüència, la casa de Cardona hauria procedit d’una llegendària casa de vescomtes de Mediona. Ho recull també el *Flos mundi*, una altra coneguda crònica universal catalana (ca. 1407; BNF, ms. Esp. 11) informada per l’anterior i accessible a la Biblioteca napolitana del Magnànim.⁷¹ Segurament, els Cardona de Nàpols renegaven, amb documents i genealogies en mà (com farien els seus descendents: *jquan errado vaya el ‘Flos mundi’ en esto!*, exclamarà indignat el genealogista Llobet en el segle XVII)⁷² del fals origen mitificat. Cardona és una gran vila i castell; Mediona, una varvassoria ridícula en comparança... Segons una interpretació versemblant, l’escriptor del *Curial* hauria jugat en el prescindible incís —com fa en altres casos— a la facècia pseudoetimològica (*Mà-d[il]óna < in manu donat o mihi donat*) per a al·ludir als arruïnats Pallars —i no als cultes, opulents i poderosos Cardona-Villena de València-Nàpols— com a descendents de la casa de Mediona.⁷³

El sarcasme requereix d’explicació supletòria, historicocontextual. Arnau-Roger IV de Pallars (1401-1451), comte de Pallars Sobirà (1442-1451) i un dels grans nobles de Catalunya, mantenia una pèssima relació amb el rei.⁷⁴ No participà en l’empresa d’Itàlia (1432), i encetà una “guerra” privada contra el comte de Foix (1433-1436) que obligà la reina Maria, lloctinent de Catalunya, a intervenir durament contra ell.⁷⁵ S’enfrontà després, en una nova bandositat o guerra nobiliària (dècades del 1440-1450), amb els Cardona de Catalunya, parents dels Cardona valencians tras-

68. Ferrando, Antoni. “Curial e Güelfa”: una història amorosa...”: 825.

69. Beuter, Pedro Antonio, *Segunda parte...*, f. 24v.

70. Cingolani, Stefano M., ed. *Llibre dels reis*. València: Universitat de València, 2008: 243 (capítol 40, f. 268v).

71. *Dietari del capellà d’Anfós el Magnànim*, ed. Josep Sanchis Sivera. València: Acció Bibliogràfica Valenciana, 1932: xx, comenta que l’autor del dietari que edita, i que s’atribueix —en part— a Melcior Miralles, hauria consultat el *Flos mundi* a Nàpols.

72. Llobet, Bernat-Josep. *Declaración del árbol de la genealogía y descendencia de los antiqüísimos, nobilísimos y excelentísimos vizcondes, condes y duques de Cardona, en el Principado de Cataluña*. Barcelona: Antoni Lacavalleria, 1665: f. 4v.

73. Vegeu més amunt el cas similar del llinatge *Manuel de Villena*, interpretat com *in manu-ala o ala in manu*.

74. Sáiz, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey. Nobleza y guerra en el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo*. València: Universitat de València, 2008: 81, nota 113.

75. Josep M. Bringué i Portella, “Arnau Roger de Pallars”, *Diccionari d’història de Catalunya*, Jesús Mestre Campi, dir. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1993: 61; Earenfight, Theresa. *The King’s Other Body. Maria of Castile and the Crown of Aragon*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010: 91-93.

lladats a Nàpols.⁷⁶ Endeutat i enfrontat a la reina, perseguit pels creditors i fustigat pels Cardona catalans, partí en petita comitiva cap a Itàlia, i romangué uns anys (1444-1447) mantingut econòmicament per Alfons V. En els registres de la tresoreria reial s'anotaren les successives "almoines" o "donatius graciosos" del rei al comte, alguns en espècie ("draps de seda e llana de Florència", en febrer del 1446), perquè poguera vestir de manera condecant al seu rang nobiliari. Se'l tractava de "magnífich senyor" i "gran conestable del regne d'Aragó" (un vell títol honorífic), però la magnificència teòrica es veia eclipsada per l'opulència i la prestància de qualsevol baró napolità, d'aquells que es feien acompanyar d'un petit exèrcit, com si foren *condottieri*. Les del "comte de Pallars" solien ser retribucions trimestrals de 50 ducats d'or (un rossí corrent valia uns 30 ducats) "per a son sosteniment". Era la mateixa retribució que rebia —simultàniament— qualsevol patge del rei, com ara Giannantonio Caldora...⁷⁷ Així que li anava molt bé el pidolaire cognom de *Madiona*. Quan se'n tornà a Catalunya, l'estiu del 1447, el comte de Pallars hi arribà tan pobre com n'havia sortit, i s'enfrontà de nou amb la reina Maria;⁷⁸ de manera que el rei es vèu obligat a obrir-li procés per rebel·lió i a confiscar-li el comtat (1449). Morí poc després (1451) en la més absoluta ruïna.⁷⁹ L'humanista Beccadelli el retrata com un enèrgum, que arribà a proposar al Magnànim un pla per a assassinar el rei de Castella. El rei d'Aragó li respongué "que, ni per Castella, ni per la senyoria de tota Spanya, ni per lo imperi del món, él permetria ni consellaria tan gran e detestable cas que li paria; que seria nafrar e ensutziar la glòria sua e ofenrrre a Déu volent tal manera de victòria".⁸⁰ No devia ser molt estimat, el de Pallars, a Nàpols.

2.12 'E quals fades me fadaren...?'

Quant als interrogants retòrics del tipus "quals fades me fadaren...?" (CeG I.22 i III.28), podem fer com Riera i cercar paral·lelismes en obres de Joaquim Rubió (1862: "jo era... com un nin a qui han fadat malas fadas") o de Marian Aguiló (1864: "poruc dels fats que em fadaren").⁸¹ Tanmateix, només que girem la vista al segle XV, hi trobarem fonts més directes i raonables. Com quan Enric de Villena (València, 1427) comparava les Parques amb fades, com fa l'anònim: *Dijeron los poetas que tres fadas eran que fadaban a todos los omes...*⁸² També l'anònim català de les *Tragèdies* de Sèneca, obra

76. El conflicte derivava adesiara en bandositat urbana, amb paus i treves resseguibles en Sans-Travé, Josep-Maria, dir. *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994: I. El rei era obligat a exercir el paper d'àrbitre entre pròcers, com s'observa en un episodi del 1448 que recull Ametller, Josep. *Alfonso V de Aragón en Italia y la crisis religiosa del siglo XV; obra póstuma de José Ametller y Vinyas, revisada y dada a luz por Jaime Collell*. Girona: P. Torres, 1903-1904: III, 678.

77. Vegeu Igual, David; Navarro, Germán. *La tesorería general y los banqueros de Alfonso V el Magnánimo*. Castelló de la Plana: Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura, 1994: 108, 112-113, 146, 161, 187, etc.

78. Earenfight, Theresa, *The King's Other Body...*: 91-93.

79. Chilà, Roxane. *Une cour à l'épreuve de la conquête: la société curiale et Naples, capitale d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416-1458)*. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III (Tesi Doctoral), 2014: III, 252-253. Edició digital: *Une cour à l'épreuve de la conquête: la société curiale et Naples, capitale d'Alphonse le Magnanime (1416-1458)*. 23 abril 2015. Centre Pour la Communication Scientifique Directe. 25 febrer 2017 <https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01144965/file/2014_CHILA_diff.pdf>; Sobrequés, Jaume; Sarobe, Ramon; Rella, Ferran. *Hug-Roger III. Epistolari de guerra i exili del darrer comte de Pallars (1451-1500)*. Barcelona: Base, 2008: 24.

80. Beccadelli, Antonio. *Dels fets e diits del gran rey Alfonso*. eds. Eulàlia Duran, Mariàngela Vilallonga, Joan Ruiz Calonja; trad. Jordi de Centelles. Barcelona: Barcino, 1990: 162-163.

81. Riera, Jaume. "Falsos dels segles...": 485-486.

82. Villena, Enric de. *Traducción y glosas de la 'Eneida' de Enrique de Villena. Libro segundo*. ed. Pedro Manuel Cátedra, Salamanca: Biblioteca Española del Siglo XV-Diputación de Salamanca, 1989: II, 73.



relacionable amb la cort valenciana del Magnànim, diu que les Moires són “tres fades” que dominaven el “fat” dels homes.⁸³ El castellà Álvarez de Villasandino, protegit del conestable Dávalos (noble exiliat a València des del 1422)⁸⁴ escrigué: *Mas non me fadaron a mi tales fadas / que no meresciese entrar en tal coro*.⁸⁵ El punt de partida de l'expressió castellana es troba en el popular començ del *Romance de la Infantina*, que diu: *Estas fadas me fadaron, / en haldas de una mi tía...*⁸⁶ El poeta de cancionero Diego del Castillo, en *Parténope la Fulgente* (Nàpols, 1458), escrigué (vv. 93-94): *¡Oh, maldita sea la fada, / cuytada que me fadó!*⁸⁷ Pel que s'observa, era frase corrent entre els castellans amics dels infants d'Aragó que, com Castillo, trobaren acollida i refugi a les corts de València, Gaeta i Nàpols. A més, la reiterada frase retòrica del *Curial* “quals fades me fadaren...?” deu ser un calc sintàctic del castellà *¿cuáles fadas me fadaron...?* Constitueix, en fi, l'enèsim element indiciari que fa pensar en la cort partenopea del Magnànim com el lloc de gènesi de l'anònima novel·la cavalleresca: una obra escrita en “lenguatge cathalà”, però permeable a castellanismes i italianismes.

2.13 Encluses de ferrer i úters materns

Cridava l'atenció de Riera la frase “lo brogit del ferir era tan gran, que paria que fossen molts ferrers qui a grans colps ferissen sobre moltes encluses” (CeG II.47), relacionable —segons ell— amb una obra dels Jocs Florals barcelonins del 1862: “dantse forts y espessos colps que resonavan en llurs armas com los dels martells sobre una enclusa”.⁸⁸ Sense negar la coincidència entre ambdós autors, un del segle XV i altre del XIX, cal advertir que el del XV era lector de Macrobi i que la frase en qüestió —potser en ambdós casos— podria estar inspirada en l'anècdota del clàssic sobre com concebé Pitàgores la idea de l'harmonia musical de les esferes. Diu que, un bon dia, *cum enim casu praeteriret in publico fabros ignitum ferrum ictibus mollientes, in aures eius malleorum soni certo sibi respondententes ordine repente ceciderunt*.⁸⁹

Coincidències similars es donen amb anècdotes preses dels clàssics, que Riera retroba en autors decimonònics. Per exemple, “la imatge del qui es refugiaria, si pogués, en el ventre de la seva mare”, apareix al *Curial* i a *L'Atlàntida* [1877] de Verdaguer. Deia l'autor del *Curial* que, “si Honorada, sa mare, fos stada present, dins lo seu ventre, si pogués, o almenys davall les seues falde, vergonyosament fugint, esglayat, se fóra amagat de por” (CeG III.24). Estava recordant —com Verdaguer?— una lectura de Justí,⁹⁰ de Plutarc o, fins i tot, una anècdota de la *Ilíada*, en la traduc-

83. Sèneca, Luci Anneu. *Tragèdies. Traducció catalana medieval amb comentaris del segle XIV de Nicolau Trevet*. Tomàs Martínez Romero, ed. Barcelona: Barcino, 1995: I, 123.

84. Perea, Óscar. “El ‘Cancionero de Baena’ como fuente historiográfica de la baja Edad Media castellana: el ejemplo de Ruy López Dávalos”, *Cancioneros en Baena. Actas del II Congreso Internacional ‘Cancionero de Baena’*. In memoriam Manuel Alvar. Jesús L. Serrano, ed. Baena: Ayuntamiento de Baena, 2003: I, 293-333.

85. Ochoa, Eugenio de, ed. *El ‘Cancionero’ de Juan Alfonso de Baena (siglo XV), ahora por primera vez dado a luz*. Madrid: La Publicidad, 1851: 91.

86. Vegeu Suárez, Jesús. “Romance de la Infantina y el caballero burlado”. *Lletres asturianes. Boletín Oficial de l'Academia de la Llingua Asturiana*, 31 (1989): 121-132.

87. Simó, Lourdes. “‘Parténope la fulgente’”, de Diego del Castillo, y el género de la elegía epistolar en la poesía cancioneril del siglo XV”. *Revista de poética medieval*, 6 (2001): 87-114, especialment 104.

88. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 486.

89. Macrobi, Ambrosi Teodosi. *Commentarii in Ciceronis Somnium Scipionis*, ed. Ludwig von Jan, Quedlinburg-Leipzig: Gottfried Bass, 1848: 133.

90. Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. *Dido en la literatura española: su retrato y su defensa*. Londres: Tamesis Bocks, 1974: 112; Plutarc. “Accions corageuses et vertueuses des femmes”, *Oeuvres morales de Plutarque, traduites du grec par Ricard*, ed. Do-

ció realitzada a Nàpols per Valla, com proposa o suggereix Jaume Torró.⁹¹ No creiem aconsellable, doncs, recórrer a mossén Cinto o als Jocs Florals per a cercar-hi paral·lelismes.

2.14 'Alguns digueren que era àguila, altres milà'

En un determinat moment de l'acció, Curial "tragué un elm molt bell e rich ab un leó qui tenia en les mans un ocell: alguns digueren que era àguila, altres milà" (*CeG* I.17). Riera interpreta que podria ser la "signatura d'autor" d'un Manuel Milà que volgué falsificar l'obra, però deixant-hi alguna pista o indicatiu. El que fa l'anònim del segle XV, en realitat, és reeditar un simbolisme típic de bestiaris, moralistes i predicadors, i de Dante, i de tothom en l'edat mitjana, per a donar a entendre que Curial es troba davant la cruïlla: la Güelfa (el lleó) pretén fer que evolucione virtuosament: de cavaller (falcó) a príncep sobirà (àguila). Serà responsabilitat moral de l'adolescent, doncs, evitar el vici i la depravació, que poden fer d'ell un vil "milà". Ara bé, qui jutja a la fi del relat si el falcó sostingut pel lleó ha resultat àguila o milà, no és el mateix Curial, incapaç de veure's la cimera, sinó els espectadors. Aquesta idea dels mils ulls que miren i dictaminen si el príncep és home vil —indigne de regnar— o virtuós —d'acord amb els preceptes morals dels filòsofs— és un *topos* de la tractadística humanística de tipus *speculum principis*, que degué interessar a l'autor.⁹² Per als heraldistes (Turell, *Arbre d'honor*, 1471), el milà era innoble per oposició a la noble àguila, "coratjosa, brava e sforçada".⁹³ En els blasons, l'àguila, el falcó i l'esperver miren cap amunt; el milà, cap avall.⁹⁴ La viltat del milà reapareix en Giovanni di San Giminiano (1570);⁹⁵ en *L'escoufle*, un roman atribuït a Jean Renart (l'autor del *Roman de la Rose*); en Ausiàs Marc (cant 64, vv. 25-28);⁹⁶ en Lluís del Milà (*El Cortesano*, València, 1561),⁹⁷ etc. Aquesta oposició milà vs. falcó-àguila, popular en el segle XV, inspiraria, doncs, la cimera al·legòrica del cavaller italià de la novel·la. I els espectadors del torneig cavalleresc, que seria també per a Curial un torneig *interior* (el de l'adolescent que s'ha de conèixer a si mateix), encara no tenien clar si el jove cavaller (falcó) esdevindria príncep (àguila) o es perdria (milà). El dilema moral no té a veure amb cap signatura encriptada, sinó amb la indecisió del jove entre la Güelfa (virtut) i Làquesis (vici). Albert Hauf recorre al *Peraldus* per a explicar que el milà era la metàfora de l'home luxuriós, del que es deixa seduir i caçar pels "llaços" de les *fembris peca-*

minique Ricard. París: Lefèvre, 1844: I, 571-620; Plutarco. *Oposcoli brevi di Plutarco, volgarizzati da Marcello Adriani*, ed. Francesco Ambrosoli. Milà: Fratelli Sonzogno, 1826: II, 203.

91. Badia, Lola; Torró, Jaume. "Ambient internacional i cultura de cort en 'Curial e Güelfa': primer suplement a l'edició de Quaderns Crema 2011". *Mediaeval Studies in Honour Curt Wittlin*. Lola Badia, Emili Casanova, Albert Hauf, eds. Alacant: Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana, 2015: 51-66. Especialment 58-63. Més detalls en Torró Torrent, Jaume, "El romanço cavalleresco tra letteratura antica e i romanzi cavallereschi francesi e borgognoni", *L'immagine di Alfonso il Magnanimo tra letteratura e storia, tra Corona d'Aragona e Italia*, Fulvio delle Done, Jaume Torró, eds. Florencia: Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016: 221-240.

92. Cappelli, Guido M. "La otra cara del poder. Virtud y legitimidad en el humanismo político", *Tiranía. Aproximaciones a una figura del poder. Actas del Seminario Internacional Los límites del poder: figuras del tirano*. Guido Maria Cappelli, Antonio Gómez Ramos, eds. Madrid: Dykinson, 2008: 97-120, especialment 115-118.

93. Turell, Gabriel. *Arbre d'honor*. Barcelona: Barcino, 1992: 62-63.

94. Turell, Gabriel. *Arbre...: làmines 1 i 2*, respectivament.

95. San Giminiano, fra Giovanni di. *Summa de exemplis et rerum similitudinibus locupletissima*. Colònia: Giovanni Arnoldo Cholini, 1570: 119, citat per Hauf, Albert. "Sedució (Làquesis) versus elecció i gràcia prevenint (Güelfa): El dilema de Curial (Mt 6, 22-24)", *Estudis lingüístics i culturals sobre 'Curial e Güelfa', novel·la cavalleresca anònima del segle XV en llengua catalana*. Antoni Ferrando, ed. Londres: John Benjamins, 2012: I, 327-362, especialment 337, nota 16.

96. Pagès. Amédée. *Ausiàs March i els seus predecessors*. València: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1990: 233.

97. Milà, Lluís del. *El Cortesano*, ed. Vicent-Josep Escartí. València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2010: 235.



drius.⁹⁸ Pels sermons de Vicent Ferrer, sabem que la metàfora del *milà* com un home libidinós era popular a la València del 1400: “¿Pensau-vos, mes filles, que Déus vos haje donades les mamelles per mostrar les frexures als milans, com a putanes?”⁹⁹

2.15 Una ‘manca de procacitat i de cultura teològica’

Volent emetre un judici ponderat sobre la qualitat literària del *Curial*, Riera troba que serien “trets negatius” (sic) del *Curial* la “manca de procacitat i de cultura teològica” que manifesta l’autor, en contrast amb la seua variada, i fins i tot sorprenent, cultura literària.¹⁰⁰ Hauria de ser proçaç, l’anònim, com Martorell? O expert en teologia com Antoni Canals? No necessàriament. El que Jaume Riera interpreta com trets “negatius” (la subtileza en el llenguatge, l’erotisme contingut, l’enfocament paganitzant i mundà...), perquè descarten la novel·la com una obra genuïnament medieval, la descobreixen en canvi com un text fresc i innovador. I és que el *Curial* s’encarrila per les directrius ideològiques de l’humanisme italià, i se’l podria definir, fins i tot, com un text de “cavalleria humanística”, com els poemes èpics de la Florència dels Medici, on s’hibridaven cavalleria i mitologia pagana. No és estrany, en conseqüència, que Riera recorregués a citar Lola Badia: “Poesia i filosofia són per al nostre anònim dos vessants complementaris i en certa manera simètrics del saber, que desitja veure ben arrelats en el seu protagonista (...). Poesia i filosofia convergeixen cap a un mateix ideal ètic”.¹⁰¹ Aquesta actitud no té a veure amb el segle XIX, ni amb la Barcelona de Milà i Fontanals, sinó amb la Itàlia del *Quattrocento*; un país on, com explica Kristeller, *los humanistas eran identificados a menudo como “oradores”, o como “poetas y oradores”, antes de que el término humanista hubiera entrado en uso*.¹⁰² S’explica així que el desconegut autor del *Curial* corone simbòlicament el seu *alter ego* de paper com el “millor e pus valent entre los cavallers, e major de tots los poetes e oradors qui vuy són” (CeG III.34). Perquè cavalleria i humanisme eren compatibles per a ell.

3. Rareses i misteris: l’aportació de Rosa Navarro

Vint anys després que Riera formulara la seua controvertida teoria, difícil de sostenir a hores d’ara, Rosa Navarro Durán la reprengué amb voluntat d’augmentar els possibles indicis que apunten a Milà i Fontanals com a autor del relat. El *Curial*, qualificat de nou com una *extraña novela*, contindria encara uns altres *misterios a desvelar*.¹⁰³ La estudiosa, en successives aportacions al respec-

98. Peyralt, Guilhem. *Summae virtutum ac vitiorum* [ca. 1236]. Venècia: Francesco Ziletti, 1571: II, 63b, citat per Hauf, Albert. “Sedució (Làquesis)...”: 327-362, especialment 348.

99. Ferrer, sant Vicent. “Sermo Navitivitatis Virginis Mariae”, *Sermons*, ed. Gret Schib. Barcelona: Barcino, 1971-1988: III, 257. Citat per Hauf, Albert. “Sedució (Làquesis)...”: 349.

100. Riera, Jaume. “Falsos dels segles...”: 486.

101. Badia, Lola. “La segona visió mitològica de Curial i notes per a una interpretació de l’anònim català del segle XV”, *Actas del I Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval* (Santiago de Compostela, 2 al 6 de diciembre de 1985). Vicenç Beltrán, ed. Sant Jaume de Galícia: Promociones y Publicaciones Universitarias, 1988: 157-176. Badia, Lola. “La segona visió mitològica de Curial i notes per a una interpretació de l’anònim català del segle XV”, *Curial i Güelfa. Estudis de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes. XIV*. Barcelona: Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, 1987: 265-292, especialment 279.

102. Kristeller, Paul Oskar. “El territorio del humanista”, *Historia y crítica de la literatura española*, Francisco Rico, dir. Francisco López Estrada, ed. Barcelona, 1980: II/I, 34-44, especialment 39.

103. Navarro, Rosa. “Misterios de una extraña novela: ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Clarín. Revista de nueva literatura*, 96 (2011): 3-11; “Pistas literarias para desvelar el misterio del ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Subverso. Isla de libertad crítica, literaria y cultural*, 30 març 2013. Cátedra Miguel Delibes. 15 març 2013 <<http://www.subverso.es/?p=1164>>; Navarro, Rosa. “El general

te, ha assumit i defés els postulats bàsics de Riera (*extrañezas del códice* i altres incomprensions), i ha tractat de completar-los amb bon sentit de l'humor i algunes dosis de perspicàcia lectora. S'estranya Navarro, per exemple, que el *Curial*, examinat per Milà l'any 1876, no fóra publicat per Antoni Rubió fins al 1901. Hauria d'haver tingut en compte la lentitud dels processos editorials d'abans del 1900, i les difícils circumstàncies biogràfiques de Rubió, que l'obligaren a diferir l'edició alguns anys. Han tractat l'afer amb deteniment Eulàlia Miralles i Rafael Roca, en una trobada sobre el *Curial* que tingué lloc a Verona (octubre del 2016).¹⁰⁴ I no hi detectem res que defuja la normalitat.

3.1 'Hoc', Andrea i la serra de Montserrat

Segons Rosa Navarro, la partícula adverbial afirmativa "hoch", en comptes de "sí", no seria pròpia d'un autor que *se afirma... fue un valenciano que estuvo en la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo de Nápoles*, sinó d'algué de Gascunya o del Llenguadoc, però no de València.¹⁰⁵ Com bé coneixen els medievals i els lingüistes, en el segle XV la d'"hoc" era una manera d'afirmar tan corrent al Llenguadoc com a València; no sols en àmbit col·loquial, sinó també en registres formals i notariais. Valga de mostra la citació d'un testament del valencià Ausiàs Marc: "dixeren concordantment que 'hoch', e yo, dit notari, ab aquells. E que l'havien vist criar en la vila de Gandia."¹⁰⁶

Andrea, en italià, era i és nom masculí. I no es possible que un catalán de la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo en Nápoles, como se afirma, pueda ponerle ese nombre a dama tan destacada en la obra.¹⁰⁷ Ni la dama destaca en l'argument de l'obra, ni resulta estrany que l'autor —admirador de Boccaccio i radicat a Nàpols— volguera retre homenatge a Andrea Acciaiuoli, única dama famosa de la Itàlia medieval, insigne resident de la cort napolitana del segle XIV, per a majors detalls, que portava anecdòticament el referit nom masculí. El certaldés li dedicà el *De mulieribus claris* (ca. 1361-1362), un catàleg de dones de caràcter fort, i aprofità l'avinentesa per a relacionar el nom etimològicament "viril" d'Andrea —comtessa de Monteodorisio en el segle XIV— amb la fortalesa moral de la dedicatària, excepcional en el "sexe débile". De la mateixa fortalesa gaudiria l'Andrea del *Curial*, quan havia reduït el marit a un titella, un "efeminat ('submís a la dona'): tant se era enamorat lo marquès de Andrea, sa muller, que ja no curava de degú, ans oblidava totes altres coses". I Curial "per lo dit afeminat senyor era més en oblit" (CeG I.3). És una sàtira, i un homenatge a Boccaccio.

D'altra banda, *Monferrato* no admet cap confusió gràfica amb "Monserrat", com proposa Navarro. De manera que, on posa "marquès de Montferrat", no puede "verse" también la palabra "Monserat" con ese alta.¹⁰⁸ Si consulteu el manuscrit, ho comprovareu. Com també és incert que la novel·la francesa *Saintré* fóra font del *Curial*. Tret d'una coincidència argumental fortuïta (el *topos* de la dama

Curial y la literatura". *Clarín. Revista de nueva literatura*, 108 (2013): 6-10; Navarro, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', 'mélange de gothique et de Renaissance'", *El texto infinito. Tradición y escritura en la Edad Media y el Renacimiento*, Cesc Esteve, ed. Salamanca: Sociedad de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2014: 191-225; Navarro, Rosa. "The Gothic Novel 'Curial e Güelfa': An erudite creation by Milà i Fontanals". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 10 (2016): 54-94.

104. Roca, Rafael. "Quan i de quina manera Manuel Milà i Fontanals localitzà el 'Curial e Güelfa'", *'Curial e Güelfa'. La cavalleria umanistica italiana nel XV secolo. Convegno internazionale (Verona, 10-12 ottobre 2016)*, Londres: John Benjamins, 2017, en premsa; Miralles, Eulàlia. "Sulle prime edizioni catalane del *Curial*", *'Curial e Güelfa'. La cavalleria umanistica italiana nel XV secolo. Convegno internazionale (Verona, 10-12 ottobre 2016)*, en premsa.

105. Navarro, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 4.

106. Reproduït per García-Oliver, Ferran. *En la vida d'Ausiàs March*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1998: 262 (doc. núm. 3 de l'apèndix).

107. Navarro, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 4.

108. Navarro, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...", p. 4.



poderosa que afavoreix un petit vailet, deutor de la lírica cortesà), no hem trobat cap intertextualitat, ni gaires punts de coincidència. A més, La Sale sembla que acabà la seua obra amb posterioritat al *Curial*. Quant al *Novellino* com a font, no és cap descobriment. Com diu Navarro, Menéndez Pelayo ja en parlava, i després han precisat la relació entre ambdós textos diferents crítics.¹⁰⁹ Quant al *topos* literari del reconeixement d'algu per una cançó que el descobreix, no cal recórrer a les *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón*, obra espanyola d'autor ben posterior al *Curial*. Es podria retrocedir més oportunament cap al passat, fins al temps del famós Blondel de Nesle, un poeta que sí que coneixia l'anònim del relat català, mal que fóra pel lema *ami sans amie*.¹¹⁰

3.2 'París e Viana' i 'Tirant lo Blanc'

També era conegut que la història de *París e Viana*, parella citada explícitament en el *Curial*, conté elements en comú amb el relat que ens ocupa.¹¹¹ Ara, no cal pensar en Milà i Fontanals per a explicar-ho, quan sabem que el llibre apareix inventariat el 1417 al Palau del Real de València.¹¹² Allí pogueren haver-se conegut Martorell i l'anònim del *Curial* en la dècada del 1420. Però d'ací a titular un epígraf com *La fuente esencial* [del *Curial*]: "*Tirant lo Blanc*", se'n va un bon tros. Comprensiblement, Rosa Navarro s'ha esforçat a trobar paral·lelismes entre ambdues obres, però el resultat es redueix a quatre tòpics compartits per quasi tots els llibres de tradició artúrica: l'enfrontament del cavaller amb gegants o personatges zoomorfs, la peça de roba de la dama que llueix el cavaller en l'empresa d'un torneig, el naufragi marítim com a metàfora d'una caiguda espiritual o moral, i poc més. El *Curial* i el *Tirant* foren obres escrites en penínsules diferents i per homes de mentalitat divergent,¹¹³ tot i la insistència comparativa de Navarro: *Si Tirant se llama así porque su padre es señor de la marca de Tirania, Curial se llama de esta forma tan curiosa porque es hijo... de la curia*. Una altra lúcida reflexió, però tan difícil de verificar com l'anterior, li mereix el nom de l'*Arta*, que *tal vez cobrase sentido si lo asociáramos al gascón D'Artagnan de Alexandre Dumas*.¹¹⁴ Tampoc no escapa a Navarro una anecdòtica coincidència entre ambdós autors, advertida ja pels editors del segle passat: el fet d'"esclatar-li la fel" a algu com a causa de mort sobtada. Atenció: "la" fel, en femení, a la valenciana; no com a la major part del Principat. Segurament, fou una creença comuna a la cort valenciana del 1420-1430, donat que apareix en Martorell, el *Curial* i Marc.¹¹⁵

109. Començant per Sansone, Giuseppe-E. "Medievalismo del 'Curial e Güelfa'", *Studi di Filologia Catalana*, Bari: Adriatica editrice 1963: 205-242, especialment 211 [primera edició: "Medievalismo del 'Curial e Güelfa'" *Discorso inaugurale dell'anno accademico 1961-1962, letto il 18 novembre 1961*. Bari: Università degli Studi di Bari, 1962: sense pàgines.

110. Vegeu Soler, Abel, "'Cuer desirous'...": 261-263.

111. Vegeu Pellissa, Gemma. "'Paris e Viana i Curial e Güelfa': un estudi comparat". *España y América en el bicentenario de las independencias*. Francisco Fernández, Lucía Casajús, eds. Castelló de la Plana: Universitat Jaume I, 2012: 531-548, especialment 531.

112. Alòs, Ramon d'. *Documenti per la storia della Biblioteca d'Alfonso il Magnanimo*. Roma: Tipogr. del Senato, 1924: 403 (doc. núm. 3).

113. Vegeu Ferrando, Antoni. "'Curial i Tirant', cara a cara". *La novel·la de Joanot Martorell i l'Europa del segle XV*. Ricard Bellver, coord. València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2011: II, 415-450; Soler, Abel. "La relació de Martorell amb la cort de Nàpols i la discreta presència d'Itàlia en 'Tirant lo Blanc'". *More about 'Tirant lo Blanc'. From the sources to the tradition. I Més sobre 'Tirant lo Blanc'. De les fonts a la tradició*. Anna Maria Babbì, Vicent-Josep Escartí, eds. Londres: John Benjamins, 2015: 35-52.

114. Navarro, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 6. El nom à *clef* d'aquesta dama, pel que sembla, té a veure amb la reivindicació que la consort del duc Ferran de Calàbria podria fer del despotat de l'*Arta* (Grècia), però aquest no és lloc on desplegar erudició sobre l'assumpte.

115. March, Ausiàs. *Poesies*. ed. Vicent-Josep Escartí. València: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1993: 241, vv. 33-34.



3.3 Divertint-nos amb la paròdica genialitat de l'autor

Un dels mèrits atribuïbles als articles de Rosa Navarro és el d'haver documentat alguns dels nombrosos episodis paròdics, satírics, irònics o directament burlescos que l'escriptor dissimula —o no— al llarg d'un discurs que sosté en to *seriofaceto*, ambigu. Ja ho havia expressat abans Ramon Aramon (*L'humorisme en el "Curial e Güelfa"*, 1936),¹¹⁶ però sense arribar a capir del tot la intenció literària i la relativa modernitat del text en aquest aspecte. Navarro gaudeix dels episodis *trágicamente divertidos*, com el fet que una donzella que llig i estudia l'*Eneida*, ajudada per un cavaller estudiós, mostre després la seua eloqüència, bastida sobre els clàssics: *¡Quién hubiera imaginado tales comentaristas!*¹¹⁷ Doncs, per exemple, Leonardo Bruni, en el *De studiis et litteris* (1424), dedicat a la culta dama Battista da Montefeltro, la cloenda del qual serviria d'inspiració per a l'episodi.¹¹⁸ ¿I el *melocotonero mayor*, als peus del qual trobarà "Johan" el tresor de Camar? Doncs, sols cal llegir el *Decameron* (VII.1) per a trobar-hi un hort, un tal Gianni i un *pesco grosso* als peus del qual també calia descobrir alguna cosa. L'autor del *Curial*, que s'inspira en aquesta *novella*, tradueix l'*unto bisunto* del certaldés pel valencianisme "almànguena". Ho degué fer en deferència a uns oients que devien ser majoritàriament valencians; com majoritàriament valencians eren els cortesans del Nàpols alfonsí, on segurament s'escrigué el *Curial*.

*¡Hay que ver cómo besa Camar, casi con ventosa!, y ¡qué brazos de pulpo tiene!*¹¹⁹ Es tracta, en efecte, d'una paròdia satírica del *polypus* que evoca Ovidi quan la nimfa Sàlmacis (*Metam.* IV, 366) atrapa Hermafrodit per a forçar-lo a copular amb ella. Amb tot, la definició grotesca de l'enamorada com "aquell magre cors e flach, penjat del coll" de Curial enllaça —de cara a uns oients cultes, i de la cort napolitana— amb una lletra de Valla adreçada el 1444 al rei Alfons, on constava que un vers de l'*Eneida* (IV, 79: *Pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore*) havia sigut imitat per Ovidi en les *Heroides* (I, 30: *Narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore viri*).¹²⁰ L'escriptor aprofita els digníssims precedents per a destrossar-los líricament, i fer riure de pas els amicals oients. Això, és clar, resulta enginyosament humanístic. I cal celebrar-ho, però sense estranyeses.

Detecta també Navarro el caràcter paròdic de les parelles d'amants insignes que ballen entorn de la Güelfa, a l'estil del que trobem al *Tirant* i en altres obres medievals, inclosos els tapissos flamencs. És un vell *topos* literari i artístic. *Podemos asombrarnos*, doncs, *al ver a Fedra e Hipólito* (¿tal vez éste reconsideró su negativa en el Hades, y el autor del Curial se enteró?), y ¡a Aquiles amenazando a su hijo Pirro!¹²¹ Certament, és còmica i rompedora la intromissió de la parella tràgica Hipòlit-Fedra. Quant a l'Aquil·les solter, podria explicar-se pel paral·lelisme que els lectors establirien entre el nou Aquil·les del segle XV, un Magnànim "tot sol", i el Pirrus vingut per mar des de València (1438) per a ga-

116. Aramon, Ramon. "L'humorisme en el 'Curial e Güelfa'". *Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch*. Barcelona, 1936: III, 703-723.

117. Navarro, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 7.

118. Bruni Aretino, Leonardo. *Opere letterarie e politiche*. ed. Paolo Viti. Torí: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1996: 250. Vegeu també Cappa, Carlo. "Creatività e mellificazione. L'Anno europeo della creatività, tra avvenire e memoria". *La creatività: percorsi di genere*. Margarete Durst, Maria Caterina Poznanski, eds. Milà: Franco Angeli, 2011: 11-38, especialment 24.

119. Navarro, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 7-8.

120. Valla, Lorenzo. *Laurentii Valle epistole*, eds. Ottavio Besomi, Mariangela Rregoliosi. Pàdua: Antenore, 1984: 260 (doc. núm. 27). Vegeu també Soria, Andrés. *Los humanistas de la corte de Alfonso el Magnánimo, según los epistolarios*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1956: 293-297.

121. Navarro, Rosa. "Misterios de una extraña...": 9.



rantir la caiguda de la nova Troia: el Nàpols dels Anjou. *Amençar*, ací, és sinònim de ‘reptar’ el fill perquè estudie. S’ha de saber, a més, que l’empresa del futur Ferran I de Nàpols (la divisa del munt d’àgata —que no de diamants, com sovint s’ha dit— amb el mot *Naturae non artis opus*) evocava el camafeu del mític Pirrus d’Epir, decorat amb el cor de les Muses dirigit per Apol·lo (la mateixa imatge que desplega l’autor en el treballat pròleg al llibre III del *Curial*).

Molts dels presumptes “misteris” es resolen quan es contextualitza on cal el text: a la cort napolitana d’Alfons V d’Aragó. És comprensible, doncs, que Navarro no entenga correctament allò de tenir a la vista “moltes bèsties en pastura”. La frase, de connotacions eròtiques, apareix de manera recurrent en el *Novellino* de Masuccio, cortesà de Nàpols i èmul de Boccaccio. Curiosament, és compartida per aquest autor i pel del *Curial*, en un mateix ambient cultural i lector, però en idiomes diferents i amb enfocaments literaris diversos. No obstant això, cal reconèixer a Rosa Navarro —lectora perspicax— el mèrit d’haver reconegut *el toque genial de la paròdia, que da tintes cómicos a la épica en el “Curial”*.¹²² Encerta, i tant que sí!, quan constata l’influx dels *Diàlegs dels déus* de Lluçà de Samòsata darrere del llenguatge còmic i caricaturesc dels episodis mitològics: *la Envidia, cuyos dedos eran sarmientos* “ja de dos o tres anys podats del cep” (*¡se puede apreciar la ironía lucianesca!*). La divertida *imitatio* de Lluçà —directa, italiana, humanística— ja havia sigut advertida l’any 1936, per a sorpresa i incredulitat seua, per Ramon Aramon, però des d’aleshores ningú no l’havia revisada.

L’aparició de *Venus, cuya cabeza estaba ceñida por los ojos de Argos (tal vez Juno se los había prestado, aunque nada precisa la historia)*¹²³ no és ja producte de cap broma erudita, sinó una nota d’interès pel neoplatonisme italià coetani. La conversió dels ulls d’Argos (el *Curial* remet a Ovidi, *Metam.* I, 720) en corona d’estels al cap de Venus és un recurs poètic del neoplatonisme, mancat emperò de fonament mitològic, per a caracteritzar la Venus *Urània* (“Celest”) com a protectora de l’amor pur (*El convit* de Plató) i matrimonial (en substitució de Juno). Així començaven a representar-la els pintors del Renaixement italià. És tracta del famós tema de la *Venere con la corona di stelle*. L’anònim escriptor combrega amb els pintors del *Quattrocento* que, seguint l’associació platònica entre harmonia celestial i harmonia amorosa (*El convit*, 187a-188b),¹²⁴ posaren en circulació la nova icona d’una Afrodita celest.¹²⁵

La suïcida Camar exclama: “Johan, aparella a mi los teus... christiana són e he nom Johana!” (*CeG* III.66). En *La Celestina*, obra posterior al *Curial*, Calisto proclama: *¡Melibeo só!* Hi assistim a una osmosi onomàstica molt típica de la literatura amorosa medieval i popular (si ell és *Flores*, va bé que ella siga *Blancaflor*), a més d’intranscendent. I si el cadàver de la “màrtir” Camar de Tunis (l’antiga Cartago) apareix lligat “a un pal” i exposat als lleons, és perquè s’està parodiat la *Passio* (disponible llavors a Milà i a Nàpols) de la Perpètua de Cartago, lligada també a un pal i exposada als lleons.¹²⁶ No cal recórrer al *Tirant* per a explicar-ho. Ni sembla tampoc raonable buscar les fonts d’una novel·la del segle XV com el *Curial* en obres posteriors, com el *Lazarillo de Tormes*, el *Quixot* o *I promessi sposi* de Manzoni; aquesta última, perquè —vet per on— hi figura un Ambrogio di Spinola del segle XVI homònim del corsari del *Curial*. L’*Ambròsio de Spíndola* del *Curial* fou un corsari genovés

122. Navarro, Rosa. “Misterios de una extraña...”: 9.

123. Navarro, Rosa. “Misterios de una extraña...”: 8.

124. Plató. *Diàlegs*, volum VI. *El Convit*, ed. Eulàlia Presas, Barcelona: Fundació Bernat Metge, 1983: 53-54.

125. S’hi efectuà una transposició iconològica de la musa protectora de l’astronomia (Urània, esmentada expressament per Plató; que es pintava coronada d’estels en l’edat mitjana) a la reivindicada deessa de l’Amor.

126. Soler, Abel. “Perpètua de Cartago i Camar de Tunis. Sobre algunes fonts del ‘Curial’ accessibles a Itàlia”. *Scripta. Revista internacional de literatura i cultura medieval i moderna*, 8 (2016): 90-104.



protegit pel rei Alfons V, que perdé els seus vaixells a Gaeta (1437).¹²⁷ Estant uns anys després al ducat de Milà (1446), provocà l'entrada a la Llombardia de l'exèrcit venecià, i obligà el Magnànim a mobilitzar els seus exèrcits i a emprendre la marxa cap al nord.¹²⁸ La venjança literària servida en *Curial e Güelfa* resultava més que evident per als oients de la cort napolitana. Els lectors del segle XXI, però, necessitem d'una glossa explicativa que ens permeti accedir a la comicitat inherent al passatge. Però aquesta glossa, evidentment, no pot passar, anacrònicament, per l'obra de Manzoni.

Com bé constata Navarro, el *Curial és una divertida y documentada novela*, on els déus de l'Olimp s'insulten com si foren verdulaires, i on una caricaturitzada deessa Fortuna *¡manifiesta conocimientos elementales de cocina!* Recorda, concretament, el brogit de la paella quan hi sofriges la carn. En fi: ¿què podem dir d'*ese retrato del dios del mar que Luciano no hubiera podido imaginar...*? Són oportuns aquests interrogants retòrics, i demanen resposta, però la resposta no ens duu a un humor decimonònic, sinó de caràcter humanístic o quasi renaixentista: el característic d'un escriptor *format* en lectures medievals i clàssiques, que sap *deformar* hàbilment, conscient de la llibertat creativa que li proporcionava l'art de *poetar*. La *extraña modernidad de la obra, o más aún...*, la *audacia narrativa de esta novela que se dice fue escrita antes que el "Tirant lo Blanc"*,¹²⁹ és quelcom que la crítica hauria de celebrar en compte de qüestionar. De la mateixa manera que celebrem unànimement les genialitats —paròdiques i d'altra mena— que portaren Cervantes a plasmar fins a quina profunditat podia arribar la literatura de ficció del seu temps. El *Curial és una baula de la mateixa cadena*.

Insisteix en la qüestió còmica la professora Navarro quan afirma: *La parodia está presente en toda la obra (tanto en los episodios caballerescos como en los alegóricos y mitológicos), y tiene pinceladas geniales*. Potser més del que ella sospita. Tanmateix, a continuació busca explicació per al Sanglier que *spumava* per la boca en el Sanglier des Ardennes del *Quentin Durward* (1823) de Walter Scott,¹³⁰ i no —com pertocaria— en la descripció del Geoffroy del *Roman de Mélusine* (1404-1405) de Coudrette.¹³¹ O aborda la presència a la Catalunya del segle XIX del general francès Philibert Curial (1774-1829) com a justificació críptica del nom de l'heroi novel·lesc.¹³² També és original la proposta d'identificació del copista del *Matritensis* 9750 amb algun parent de Milà i Fontanals: *¿Su hermano Pablo, el pintor?* O la confusió amb un llapis modern (*la caja del manuscrito está dibujada a lápiz*)¹³³ de la tècnica de pautat i reglat a punta seca dels escriptors professionals del segle XV, com el que transcrigué l'esborrany o únic còdex de l'obra que ens ha arribat.¹³⁴ Quant a les presumptes terminacions en *-ba* en les formes verbals del pretèrit imperfecte, ja s'ha dit fa dècades que foren una confusió ortogràfica d'Agustín Durán, quan passà les seues notes a Milà, per haver llegit algunes v d'escriptura gòtica catalana —amb traç inicial alt— com si foren "b".

En general, les observacions que, com a lectora d'excepció, efectua la professora Navarro sobre el *Curial* resulten interessants per a ajudar a la interpretació d'aspectes de l'obra inusuals en les lletres coetànies. Per exemple, el comentat biaix paròdic. Tanmateix, algunes de les propostes

127. Zanotto, Francesco. *Il Palazzo Ducale di Venezia, illustrato*. Venècia: G. Antonelli, 1861: IV, 201-202.

128. Cognasso, Francesco. *Il ducato visconteo e la Repubblica Ambrosiana (1392-1450)*. Milà: Fondazione Treccani degli Alfieri per la Storia di Milano, 1955: 369.

129. Navarro, Rosa. "Pistas literarias...": 1.

130. Navarro, Rosa. "Pistas literarias...": 8-9.

131. Vegeu Coudrette. *Le roman de Mélusine*, ed. Laurence Harf-Lancner. París: Flammarion, 1993: 95.

132. Navarro, Rosa. "El general Curial...".

133. Navarro, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', 'mélange...': 193.

134. Vegeu Avenoza, Gemma. "De nou sobre el ms...": 6-8.



explicatives són hipotèticament arriscades o, si més no, epistemològicament qüestionables: Si ‘curial’ quiere decir ‘cortesano’, nada mejor que abrir las páginas de “El cortesano”, publicado en Valencia en 1561...¹³⁵ És una possibilitat. Però seria millor —al nostre criteri— evitar l’anacronisme.

3.4 Vestits amb llaços, pilota valenciana i torxes per a sopar

Entre el repertori de possibles *extrañezas* que creu detectar Navarro en el text italo-català, trobem la de Làquesis, quan regala a Curial un vestit seu de llaços i d’ulls, emblemes petrarquescos de seducció mundana. *Es justo reconocer —observa— que la idea del bordado de los ojos y ojales es valenciana y no alemana*. Ho justifica recurrent a *El cortesano* (segle XVI), on el Desig al·legoritzat es vist de terciopelo carmesí, con unos ojos en blanco mirando al cielo, broslados entre muchas alas de oro, unides al lema *El deseo siempre vela, mira y vuela*. La troballa seria interessant si el referent literari haguera sigut anterior a l’escriptura del *Curial*. Però cal tenir en compte que les dames de la cort napolitana del Magnànim vestien *gonnelle di tela d’oro o d’argento, di broccato o velluto, seminate dalla propria “impresa”*,¹³⁶ i adornades per “anelltes grosses” d’argent (en certa manera, ulls) i llaços, segons descripcions dels anys 1440-1450. Isabella, duquessa de Calàbria i muller del príncep Ferran, posseïa, per exemple, un bellíssim vestit de “cordellines” i “llaços de seda”.¹³⁷ I conste que no és la única referència a indumentària, modes i costums que ens duu de nou a Nàpols.

El joc de pilota —sí, l’actual esport nacional del País Valencià— era febrilment practicat pels cavallers del segle XV; inclosos, és clar, els que acompanyaren el rei a Nàpols. Però també era comú al nord d’Itàlia. Així que no és necessari relacionar-lo, com fa Navarro, amb *el juego de pelota muy canicular* que practicaven a València els protagonistes de l’opuscle renaixentista de Lluís del Milà.¹³⁸ Com també era corrent, i no cal buscar gaire lluny fonts literàries al respecte, que els cavallers de l’entorn del Magnànim (Jordi de Sant Jordi, Santillana, etc.) feren sonar l’arpa.¹³⁹

S’estranya també Navarro, prosseguint amb aspectes ambientals, de la humorada de l’anònim quan presenta els infants Jaume i Frederic sostenint sengles torxes a les mans per a il·luminar la taula on sopava llur pare, el rei Pere el Gran: “e com s’enujaven acompanyaven-les algun poch a cavallers notables qui de prop los staven, però com viandes venien o lo rey venia, ells prenien les torxes” (*CeG* I.46). No cal recórrer a Walter Scott, sinó a la Itàlia de vespres del *Curial*, on s’ironitzava sobre la prosperitat assolida per les oligarquies mercantils del septentrí. Riccobaldo da Ferrara recordava així els temps del rei Frederic II de Sicília (i de Nàpols, predecessor del Magnànim), quan regnava l’austeritat als palaus, i no la mol·lície baixmedieval:

*En aquellos tiempos, las costumbres y los hábitos eran rudos (...). Por la noche la mesa de la cena estaba iluminada por antorchas sostenidas por un niño o un sirviente; no se tenía por costumbre tener velas de sebo o de cera (...). Los hombres y las mujeres llevaban muy poca o ninguna plata como adorno de sus vestidos (...).*¹⁴⁰

135. Navarro, Rosa. “Curial e Güelfa”, ‘mélange...’: 195.

136. Montalto, Lina. “Vesti e gale...”: 71.

137. Montalto, Lina. “Vesti e gale...”: 143.

138. Navarro, Rosa. “Curial e Güelfa”, ‘mélange...’: 199.

139. Navarro, Rosa. “Curial e Güelfa”, ‘mélange...’: 209.

140. Citat per Hills, Paul. *La luz en la pintura de los primitivos italianos*, trad. Isabel Bennasar, Madrid: Akal, 1995: 123 (edició original: Hills, Paul. *The Light of Early Italian Painting*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).



L'escena de les torxes del *Curial*, precisament, té lloc a la fi d'un episodi on l'escriptor s'ha dedicat a impugnar la proverbial pobresa o austeritat de què tenien fama els catalans a Itàlia. El tòpic es difongué, sobretot, arran d'una xenòfoba i incorrecta interpretació dels versos de Dante sobre l'*avara povertà della Catalogna* (*Parad.* VIII, 77-78), que l'escriptor confuta poèticament, en un sentit positiu i elogiós per als naturals del Principat.¹⁴¹ Tanmateix, just quan ja s'ha arredonit la confutació, decideix adornar l'episodi amb una darrera nota d'humor basada en un altre tòpic, aquest així mateix italià, sobre aquells ancestres dels ufanosos italians del segle XV, tan pobres, que obligaven els fills a sostenir-los les torxes mentre sopaven.

3.5 Versemblança, subtileza irònica i private joke literari

El capellà del *Quixot* veia bé indultar el *Tirant*, perquè *aquí comen los caballeros y duermen*. Com constata Navarro, en el "*Curial*" *no solo duermen, sino que antes les preparan la cama; y no solo comen sino que cenan. No hay relato donde se detallen más los "sopars": desde el comienzo hasta el final*. Aquesta voluntat de transmetre versemblança i naturalitat era compartida amb Martorell per l'anònim del *Curial*. Així, quan porten de Tunis a la Güelfa un jupó del cavaller, la senyora envia Melchior a veure *si hauria Curial lexat algun jupó en casa sua*, a fi de comprovar si ambdós eren *fets per a un cors* (*CeG* III.41). Són detalls perfectament explicables en un autor lector entusiasta del *Decameron*, i no cal recórrer a comparances amb obres del segle XIX. Tampoc no sembla anacrònica la ironia de signe humanístic, que *está en todas partes*.¹⁴² O *ese sutil humor de vir facetus, de cortigiano del Renacimiento avant la lettre*,¹⁴³ que els humanistes de la cort de Nàpols recreaven literàriament per a traçar un retrat humà del rei Alfons.¹⁴⁴ O la paròdia metaliterària (falsos elogis a *maestre Guido*) i literària que fustiga alguns excessos de la vella literatura medieval: "*Vírats... peus e mans tallats volar a la terra, caps asclar, polmons e fetges pecejar, gemechs e crits*" (*CeG* III.91). A la Itàlia del temps del *Curial*, les cavalleries artúriques eren un material poèticament obsolet, que demanava a crits ser sotmés a paròdia. No debades, com constata Rosa Navarro, l'ambivalent i subtilíssim "narrador" —que no pot ser Milà, insistim— *pregona su procedimiento con su genial invocación, al comienzo del libro tercero, no a las Musas (...), sino a las Piérides (...): "yo, axi en aquesta obra com en totes les coses que parle, són imitador de les míseres es garrules filles de Piérides"*. Fins i tot aquesta *captatio benevolentiae* és susceptible d'una doble lectura o significació, per part d'un escriptor que parlarà "rudament e grossera" de mites grecollatins.¹⁴⁵ En efecte, l'autor del *Curial* —i en açò concordem plenament amb Rosa Navarro— confeccionà un llibre *llo de parodia erudita, de diversión literaria, de ingenio (...); jugaba con la literatura confiando en que los lectores sabrían gozar como él d'aquest plaer*.¹⁴⁶

141. Soler, Abel. "Italians contra catalans? Rerefons dantesca i circumstàncies històriques d'un episodi de 'Curial e Güelfa', *XVIIè Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes* (València, 7-10 de juliol del 2015). València: Universitat de València, 2017, en premsa.

142. Navarro, Rosa. "'Curial e Güelfa', 'mélange...': 218.

143. Luck, Georg. "'Vir facetus': A Renaissance Ideal". *Studies in Philology*, 55 (1958): 107-121.

144. Montaner Frutos, Alberto. "La palabra en la ocasión. Alfonso como 'rex facetus' a través del Panormita". *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*. 4 Desembre 2007. 26 Juny 2014 <<http://e-spania.revues.org/1503>>; DOI: 10.4000/e-spania.1503>.

145. Navarro, Rosa. "*Curial e Güelfa*, 'mélange...': 222.

146. Navarro, Rosa. "*Curial e Güelfa*, 'mélange...': 223.



3.6 *Imitatio renaixentista, ample món i cròniques catalanes*

En una revisió d'hipòtesi del 2016, Navarro fa de l'*extraordinary scholar* Milà i Fontanals el “descobridor” del *Curial*;¹⁴⁷ un paper atribuïble realment al bibliotecari Agustín Durán.¹⁴⁸ Reprén arguments de Riera i propis, al voltant de la incògnita identitat d'un autor que *uses compound imitation —of various literatures— like a Renaissance bee*, procediment compostiu inconcebible a la Catalunya del 1445,¹⁴⁹ però no a la Itàlia dels humanistes. Per al *Curial*, concretament, cal relacionar-lo amb el mètode del llombard Gasparino Barzizza, el fill del qual, Guiniforte, mantingué forts vincles pels anys 1432-1448 amb la cort del rei d'Aragó. Gasparino aconsellava una *imitatio* petrarquesca, basada en la imatge senequiana de les abelles i la mel, i donava instruccions per a practicar-la: *addendo, subtrahendo, transferendo et inmutando*.¹⁵⁰ L'autor del *Curial* les seguí de manera experimental i exitosa, com la crítica reconeix unànimement. Els opuscles del gramàtic circularen per les escriptories de Joan Olzina¹⁵¹ i Gabriel Altadell,¹⁵² cortesans —com l'anònim— del Nàpols alfonquí.

Més coses: que la frase proverbial “lo món és ample e gran” reaparega en Shakespeare (*the world is broad and wide*) podria ser una prova més, segons Navarro, d'un escrit elaborat en el segle XIX.¹⁵³ Tanmateix, el *Curial* és un text que recull múltiples proverbis, metàfores, etc., bíbliques o de repertori homilètic, les quals, lògicament, compareixen a l'atzar en obres ulteriors. En aquest cas, es tracta del *topos* evangèlic del *mundus amplius* (Jo 14:19) desplegat per Jesús abans de presentar-se dient: “Jo sóc el camí...” La frase ve a col·lació, perquè llavors *Curial* es disposa a emprendre el seu camí de cavaller errant. La resta és producte del atzar.

Seguint una qüestionable tesi de la crítica del segle passat, Navarro vol trobar en el *Curial* algun ressò de les cròniques catalanes de Desclot i Muntaner (segle XIV). Pamela Waley, Antoni Ferrando, Miquel Aguilar¹⁵⁴ i altres crítics han provat que aquest no es documentà amb les cròniques catalanes en mà; que preferí fonts cronístiques italianes. Les catalanes, les coneixeria —en qualsevol cas— d'oïr-les recitar a la cort. A més, com no tingué cap vocació de cronista i reproduí errors inconcebibles en cròniques catalanes, però reiterats en les italianes. Àdhuc la *llegenda del bon comte* (*de Barcelona*) i l'*emperadriu* depen argumentalment d'un relat de filiació centreeuropea accessible

147. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 56.

148. Vegeu Roca, Rafael. “Quan i de quina manera...”.

149. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 61.

150. García, Ángel. *La imitación poética en el Renacimiento*. Kassel: Reichenberger-Publicaciones de la Universidad de Deusto, 1992: 85-86.

151. Si no de Gasparino, sí d'un dels seus més reeixits deixebles. Vegeu Sabbadini, Remigio. “Notizie sulla vita e gli scritti di alcuni dotti umanisti del secolo XV raccolte da codici italiani (II)”. *Giornale storico della Letteratura italiana*, 6 (1885): 163-176, especialment 166.

152. Hernando, Josep. “Del llibre manuscrit al llibre imprés. La confecció del llibre a Barcelona durant el segle XV. Documentació notarial”. *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 21 (2002): 257-603, especialment 268 i 294.

153. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 60.

154. Waley, Pamela. “Historical Names and Titles in ‘Curial e Güelfa’”. *Medieval Hispanic Studies presented to Rita Hamilton*. Alan David Deyermond, ed. Londres: Tamesis Books Limited, 1976: 245-256, especialment 253; Ferrando, Antoni. “Introducció...”: 5-35, especialment 13; Aguilar, Miquel. “La llegenda del bon comte i l'emperadriu: entre l'amor cortès i la política d'estat”. *Journal of Catalan Studies*, 8 (2005): 63-76, especialment 68.

al nord d'Itàlia.¹⁵⁵ Quan Lola Badia afirmava el 1985 que l'anònim “coneixia clarament Desclot”,¹⁵⁶ ho faria per inèrcia de publicacions anteriors, no contrastades amb proves intertextuals. Per si fóra poc, l'anònim es prenía la llicència d'ironitzar sobre els “molts autèntics e grans llibres per diverses, grans e molt solemnes doctors escrits” (solemnes doctors...?), on es relaten “los strènuus actes d'armes” de Pere el Gran (CeG II.113). A ell, li interessaven directament els clàssics: Cèsar, Livi, etc.

Més qüestionable que la relació del *Curial* amb les velles cròniques és la idea d'explorar clàssics del segle XIX, com *Ivanhoe*, per a trobar-hi paral·lelismes.¹⁵⁷ Es difícil sostenir un ventall de propostes que bascula entre Muntaner i Walter Scott, i que la proposta conserve sentit i coherència. En efecte, l'atzar proporciona coincidències tals, que *Salonés de Verona* (que no *Salones*), contrincant del llombard i dels catalans, seria *undoubtedly (...) comparable with the name* Bonifaci de Verona, *cited by Muntaner in his “Crònica”*.¹⁵⁸ Si no fóra per una versemblant explicació alternativa, basada en la participació de fidels al rei d'Aragó en la disputa (1438-1440) del “Salonés” (Salò i la conca del Garda) i Verona entre Milà i Venècia.¹⁵⁹ És una de les diverses referències autobiogràfiques resseguibles en el llibre.

3.7 En algun lloc entre Fulgenci i Cervantes

Més fonament té la idea de buscar Fulgenci entre les fonts del *Curial*. L'autor el cita en el proemi al llibre III. Tanmateix, cal tenir en compte que els cavalls de Febus (*Titan, Etheus, Lampaus e Philogeus*) no depenen d'una consulta directa del clàssic, sinó indirecta (Pietro Alighieri, 3a. red., *Purg.* XV, 1-36 i XXXII, 52-72).¹⁶⁰ El mateix ocorre amb les Muses al·legoritzades, com estudià Xavier Gòmez.¹⁶¹ En realitat, l'anònim “compon” una versió original de la faula de Fulgenci a partir d'intermediaris italians, potser sense haver tingut mai accés a la font original. D'altra banda, els noms femenins de *Cloto i Làquesis* (dues de les tres Parques) no són estranys, ni s'han d'atribuir a un influx de Villena,¹⁶² sinó al fet que l'autor —lector privilegiat de la versió llatina de *La república* de Plató, un llibre expedit el 1440 de Milà a Nàpols— lligara la Làquesis del *Curial* amb la Làquesis del Mite d'Er: la parca platònica que obliga l'ànima de l'home a elegir entre la virtut i el vici, i l'adverteix que la responsabilitat d'aquesta elecció serà d'ell solament, sense possible atribució d'“errors” humans als déus o a la Fortuna. ¿No és exactament aquest l'argument del *Curial*?

155. Ferrando, Antoni. “Fortuna catalana d'una llegenda germànica: el tema de l'emperadriu d'Alemanya falsament acusada d'adulteri”, *Actes del desè Col·loqui de Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes (Frankfurt am Main, 18-25 de setembre de 1994)*, Axel Schönberger, Tilbert Dídac Stegmann, eds. Barcelona: Associació Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes-Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1996: II, 197-216; Ferrando, Antoni. “Els desenvolupaments quatrecentistes de la llegenda de l'emperadriu d'Alemanya, amb atenció especial a ‘Philipertus et Eugenia’ i al ‘Curial e Güelfa’”, *La cultura catalana en projecció de futur*. Germà Colón, Tomàs Martínez, Maria Pilar Perea, eds. Castelló de la Plana: Fundació Germà Colón-Universitat Jaume I, 2004: 187-213.

156. Badia, Lola. “La segona visió...”: 265-292, especialment 272, nota 11.

157. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 78-80.

158. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 80, nota 90.

159. Vegeu Soler, Abel. “Italians contra catalans?...”.

160. Alighieri, Pietro. *Comentum super poema Comedie Dantis (III red.)*, ed. Paolo Procaccioli, Roma: Lexis, 1999. Versió electrònica: *Biblioteca Italiana*, 2005, Sapienza Università di Roma, 16 Gener 2016 <http://www.bibliotecaitaliana.it/indice/visualizza_scheda/bibit001184>.

161. Gómez, Xavier. “‘Decem musae, ut vocis modulamina?’ (‘Curial e Güelfa’, III, 6-7)”, *Actas del VII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos (Madrid, 1987)*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1989: III, 493-500.

162. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 87-89.



Podrien causar “estranyesa” en el lector alguna referència satírica a autoritats eclesiàstiques en el *Curial*,¹⁶³ inaudita en àmbit català, però comprensible en una Itàlia de lectors de Boccaccio i de bromes anticlericals, on els humanistes propagaven tractats antifraescos. Contextualitzada en àmbit italià la novel·la, doncs, ja no resulta tan extraordinari el fet que el *Curial*, en alguns detalls, *surpasses the irony of “Quijote”*,¹⁶⁴ o que l'autor s'avance segle i mig a Cervantes en la paròdia del Donzell de la Cota Mal Tallada i d'altres mites de la matèria bretona. Té raó, doncs, Navarro, quan conclou: *Humour is a constant feature of “Curial”; in this case, the nickname of an Arthurian knight in “Quijote” és sotmés a burla; sense que aquesta actitud obligue a pensar en aquest prodigi de les lletres catalanes com un admirer of Cervantes' irony*.¹⁶⁵ En tot cas, se l'haurà de considerar un infravalorat precursor de l'autor del *Quixot*.

3.8 Les arts liberals i un amic dels seus amics

De cert interès és l'enllaç operat per Rosa Navarro entre la desfilada onírica de les arts liberals del *Curial* —paganitzant, humanística— i la *Visión deleitable* (1454) d'Alfonso de la Torre —escolàstica, teocèntrica.¹⁶⁶ Més interessant seria si es comprovara que la *Visión* és del 1437, com proposen alguns crítics, ja que podria interpretar-se la “visió” del *Curial* a títol paròdic. Tanmateix, tot sembla indicar que l'obra del batxiller De la Torre s'escrigué després. A més, hem comprovat que l'episodi curialesc depén d'un manual milanés del Trecento, la *Canzone de delle virtù e delle scienze*, amb plagi iconogràfic i repetició d'hàpaxs del tipus *Subeumetria*.¹⁶⁷

Descartable és, finalment, per raons cronològiques, que l'anònim tinguera accés a uns versos de Jorge Manrique (ca. 1476)¹⁶⁸ on s'usen expressions del tipus *amigo de sus amigos* i *¡qué enemigo de enemigos!* (*Coplas por la muerte de su padre*, vv. 301 i 304). En el *Curial*, Aquil·les és “amich de son amich e enemich de son enemich” (CeG III.31), locució comuna i calcada del castellà, una llengua que dominava l'autor i d'on emprà recursos com “fer lo buç” (< *fazer el buz*), “fincar los genolls” (< *hincar las rodillas*), etc. La frase que crida l'atenció de l'estudiosa deu tenir per font la versió llatina de la *Iliada* per Valla (Nàpols, 1440-1445; XX, 196-197: *Et Achilles hilarem..., inquit: “amici mei, atque amicorum praecipui...”*),¹⁶⁹ accessible on s'escrigué el *Curial*.

4. Conclusió

Els interrogants oberts per Jaume Riera i Rosa Navarro, que permeten plantejar la hipòtesi d'un *Curial e Güelfa* falsificat en la Renaixença catalana —i atribuïble a Milà i Fontanals—, col·lisien amb el criteri d'experts o especialistes en les més diverses disciplines (codicologia, paleografia, medievalística, lingüística diacrònica, etc.), que certifiquen la incontestable autenticitat del còdex i de l'obra que conté, escrita a mitjan segle XV. Els dubtes plantejats per ambdós estudiosos trobarien

163. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 89-90.

164. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 69-70.

165. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 84.

166. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 92-93.

167. Soler, Abel, “Iconografia italiana...”, en premsa.

168. Navarro, Rosa. “The Gothic Novel...”: 93-94.

169. Homer. *Homeri Ilias, per Laurentium Vallensem in latinum sermonem traducta*, trad. Lorenzo Valla, Manuscrit de la Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València, Ms. 413: f. 84v.



fàcil ressò, és clar, si admetérem la proposta d'un *Curial* escrit a la Catalunya de la reina Maria o de la Guerra Civil (dècades del 1440-1460), com sosté una part de la crítica. Tanmateix, deixen de causar la més mínima estranyesa quan hom situa la novel·la en el context geogràfic (la Itàlia d'Alfons el Magnànim), historicocultural (una cort de Nàpols influïda per l'humanisme) i cronològic (la dècada del 1440) que li pertoca.



DIEZ AÑOS DEL SEMINARIO DE ESTUDIOS HISTÓRICOS SOBRE LA EDAD MEDIA (SEHSEM-UNAM) 2007-2017. ANTECEDENTES, BALANCE Y PERSPECTIVAS

MARTÍN F. RÍOS SALOMA
UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA DE MÉXICO

RESUMEN

El artículo presenta un balance de los logros alcanzados a lo largo de una década de trabajo (2007-2017) por el Seminario de Estudios Históricos sobre la Edad Media (SEHSEM) que se desarrolla en el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) centrándose en las tres tareas sustantivas de la universidad mexicana: investigación, docencia y divulgación. Aunque el balance contempla logros importantes como la conformación de un fondo bibliográfico especializado, el elevado número de egresados en el campo de los estudios medievales o la aparición de publicaciones sobre la materia, el análisis muestra asimismo que quedan por realizar tareas importantes como el reforzamiento de los vínculos con América Latina y el mundo anglosajón.

1. Introducción

En el año 2010 suscribí en estas mismas páginas un artículo intitulado “The State of the Discipline of Medieval History in Mexico” en el cual presenté un balance sobre el estado de los estudios medievales en México.¹ En aquel texto subrayaba las dificultades que había tenido que enfrentar el medievalismo para su desarrollo en el país norteamericano —vinculadas en su mayor parte a una visión historiográfica que centraba el estudio del pasado a las fronteras nacionales—, así como los aportes que México había hecho a los estudios medievales, particularmente en el ámbito de la edición en lengua castellana de textos clásicos como los de Marc Bloch,² Henri Pirenne,³ Alfons Dopsch,⁴ James Brundage⁵ y Georges Duby,⁶ o de textos más recientes entre los que pueden mencionarse una de las últimas obras de Jacques Le Goff y el proyecto de Umberto Eco sobre la

1. Ríos, Martín. “The State of the Discipline of Medieval History in Mexico”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 4 (2010): 93-116.

2. Bloch, Marc. *Los reyes taumaturgos*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1988 (Existe una nueva edición del año 2006).

3. Pirenne, Henri. *Historia económica y social de la Edad Media*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1939; Pirenne, Henri. *Historia de Europa. Desde las invasiones al siglo XVI*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1942.

4. Dopsch, Alfons. *Fundamentos económicos y sociales de la cultura europea, de César a Carlomagno*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1951.

5. Brundage, A. James. *La ley, el sexo y la sociedad cristiana en la Europa Medieval*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2000.

6. Duby, George. *Obras selectas de Georges Duby. Selección y compilación de Beatriz Rojas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999.



Edad Media.⁷ De igual manera, incidía en las contribuciones hechas desde el campo de la literatura y la filología a través del proyecto *Medievalia* y su órgano de divulgación científica homónimo,⁸ de la historiografía a través de contribuciones como las de Norma Durán⁹ o Alfonso Mendiola¹⁰ y proponía un plan programático con el fin de impulsar los estudios medievales en México en el campo de la historia, la historiografía, la historia del arte y la arqueología.

Una de las medidas propuestas —planteada en realidad con anterioridad— fue la creación de un seminario permanente de investigación que sirviera como incubadora de proyectos de investigación —particularmente para los alumnos de licenciatura y de posgrado—, como espacio de discusión y generación de textos científicos, como receptáculo de profesores visitantes, como eje articulador de la vinculación institucional y, en fin, como puntal de las labores de divulgación y proyección social de los saberes generados por la investigación que tan cara resulta a la UNAM. Fue así que surgió el Seminario de Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media coordinado por el autor de estas líneas, cuya sede se encuentra en el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la UNAM, y que frente al importante desarrollo del estudio de las letras medievales y por la misma naturaleza científica de la entidad que lo acogía, decidió centrar su atención en el campo de la historia.¹¹ En este sentido, el presente texto quiere ser en realidad un balance de los logros alcanzados a lo largo de una década de trabajo por el grupo de investigación vinculado al SEHSEM, así como una proyección de los desafíos que se presentan a mediano y largo plazo en un contexto regional marcado por el desarrollo de los estudios medievales en Argentina,¹² Brasil,¹³ Chile¹⁴ y, recientemente, Costa

7. Le Goff, Jacques. *Hombres y mujeres de la Edad Media*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1914; Eco, Umberto, ed. *La Edad Media. I Bárbaros, cristianos y musulmanes*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2015.

8. *Medievalia*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 15 Diciembre 2017 <<https://revistas-filologicas.unam.mx/medievalia/index.php/mv/index>>.

9. Durán, Norma. *Formas de hacer historia. Historiografía grecolatina y medieval*, México: Ediciones Navarra, 2001 (2ª edición 2017).

10. Mendiola se propuso estudiar los elementos de la historiografía medieval presentes en las crónicas de la conquista de México: Mendiola, Alfonso. *Retórica, comunicación y realidad: la construcción retórica de las batallas en las crónicas de la conquista*, México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2003.

11. "Seminario Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media", *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 22 Diciembre 2017, <http://www.historicas.unam.mx/investigacion/seminarios/s_ehed.html>.

12. Sobre el medievalismo argentino véanse, entre otros: Carzolio, María Inés. "L'histoire du Moyen Âge en Argentine: Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz et ses disciples. Études et travaux", 7, (2002-2003): 99-112; González de Fauve, María Estela. "Don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz y el Instituto de Historia de España de Buenos Aires". *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, 77 (2001-2002): 207-211; González de Fauve, María Estela. "El medievalismo en la República Argentina". *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales*, 12 (2002): 273-289; Guance, Ariel. "La historiografía española y el medievalismo americano: Sánchez-Albornoz, Américo Castro y la construcción de la identidad nacional a través de la Edad Media", *La influencia de la historiografía española en la producción americana*, Ariel Guance, ed. Madrid: Marcial Pons—Instituto de Historia Simancas, 2011: 25-58; Pastor, Reyna. "El Instituto de Historia de España de Buenos Aires y la figura de don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz", *El destierro español en América*, Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, ed. Madrid: Instituto de Cooperación Iberoamericana-Sociedad Estatal del V Centenario, 1991: 125-132.

13. A propósito del medievalismo brasileño: Rivair, Jose. "Os studios medievais no Brasil: tentativa de síntese", *Reti medievale*, 7/1 (2006): 1-10. <<http://www.camerablu.unina.it/index.php/rm/article/view/4652/5242>> (Consultado el 12 de diciembre de 2016); Fernandes, Fátima. "The Challenges of Medieval Historiography in Brazil at the Beginning of the 21st century". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 6 (2012): 99-114; Barros Almeida, Néri de. "La formation des médiévistes dans le Brésil contemporain : bilans et perspectives". *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre*, 12 (2008): 145-159; Colares Asfora, Wanessa; Aubert, Eduardo; Carvalho Godoy, Gabriel de. "Faire l'histoire du Moyen Âge au Brésil: fondements, structures, développements". *Bulletin du Centre d'Études Médiévales d'Auxerre*, 12 (2008): 125-143; Cândido da Silva, Marcelo. "Les études en histoire médiévale au Brésil: bilan et perspectives". *Academia*, 14 Junio 2017 <https://www.academia.edu/5739458/LES_%C3%89TUDES_M%C3%89DI%C3%89VALES_AU_BR%C3%89SIL>.

14. Sobre el medievalismo en Chile: Rojas Donat, Luis. "Medieval Studies in Chile. Review of their Formation and Publications". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 9 (2015): 47-65.



Rica. De esta suerte, se ofrecen en primera instancia los antecedentes del inicio de los estudios medievales en el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas y posteriormente se analizan los logros del Seminario de Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media con base en las tres tareas sustantivas de la UNAM: investigación, docencia y divulgación, epígrafes a los que se añadirá un cuarto relativo a la vinculación institucional y el desarrollo de proyectos colectivos.

2. Luis Weckmann y Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz: dos lejanos antecedentes

El cultivo de la historia medieval en el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas cuenta con algunos antecedentes importantes. El primer cultivador de los estudios medievales fue Luis Weckmann Muñoz (1923-1995), quien en 1944 obtuvo su maestría en historia en la UNAM y posteriormente se trasladó a la Universidad de Berkeley, donde realizó su tesis de doctorado bajo la tutoría de Ernest Kantorowicz, obteniendo el grado en 1949. Tras una estancia de estudios en París (1950-1952), retornó a México y reinició sus clases en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM. En 1952 inició su carrera diplomática como secretario de las embajadas de México ante República Checa y Francia, convirtiéndose en 1967 en embajador. Su paso por las embajadas de México ante Israel, Austria, Irán, la República Federal Alemana, Italia, la Organización de Naciones Unidas y la Unión Europea, le alejaron durante más de dos décadas del cultivo de la historia, aunque al finalizar su carrera diplomática se incorporó de nuevo a la actividad docente e investigadora en el Colegio de México.¹⁵ Entre 1988 y 1995 ocupó el sillón número 23 de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia.¹⁶

A la pluma de Weckmann se deben tres libros elaborados en su juventud temprana. El primer texto, intitulado *La sociedad feudal. Esencia y supervivencia*, fue publicado en 1944 por la casa editorial Jus. Weckmann realizaba sus estudios bajo la dirección de Pablo Martínez del Río y mostraba ya en esta temprana juventud una marcada inclinación hacia el estudio de la Edad Media.¹⁷ En el prólogo del libro, el joven universitario afirmaba que era “necesario conocer una época histórica para juzgarla” y consideraba que ninguna época era “tan mal conocida entre nosotros y por lo tanto, tan mal juzgada, como la feudal”. Así pues, el texto, al que calificaba de “ensayo”, quería ser tan sólo una “modesta aportación a los estudios históricos” en la que el autor pretendía “dar un poco de luz sobre la más gallarda y menos comprendida de las épocas, la Edad Media, y sobre la más noble de sus manifestaciones, la jerarquía feudal [...]”. Para Weckmann, el desconocimiento de la Edad Media se atribuía a “la ausencia de un régimen feudal en América”, del cual nuestro joven autor quería precisar “los caracteres” que estimaba “específicos del feudalismo”.¹⁸

15. Mussacchino, Humberto. *Milenios de México. Diccionario enciclopédico de México*, 4 vols., Milán-México: Sifra Internacional-Raya de Arena, 1994: IV, 3255.

16. “Luis Weckmann Muñoz, 1923-1995”, *Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, 6 Abril 2018 <<http://www.acadmexhistoria.org.mx/>>.

17. Pablo Martínez del Río había realizado sus estudios de posgrado en Inglaterra y se había especializado en las civilizaciones antiguas. Miembro fundador del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la UNAM, se desempeñó como su director en dos periodos: 1945 y 1949 y 1956-1963.

18. Weckmann, Luis. *La sociedad feudal. Esencia y supervivencia*, México: Editorial Jus, 1944: 9-11. Quisiera remarcar la coincidencia temporal de la obra de Weckmann y los trabajos pioneros de Sánchez-Albornoz en Argentina, cuyo *En torno a los orígenes del feudalismo* se había publicado en Mendoza en 1942 y cuyos *Cuadernos de Historia de España* habían comenzado a editarse, precisamente, en 1944.

Tres elementos sin duda llaman la atención del lector: la primera, la similitud con el título de una de las *hombres cumbres* de Marc Bloch a la que, sin embargo, el autor no hace referencia a lo largo de sus más de doscientas páginas y no me es posible determinar si a causa del desconocimiento del libro por parte del autor mexicano o al hecho de que la primera edición francesa (1939) aún no había llegado a México; la propia bibliografía del trabajo sugiere que el título se inspiró en el texto homónimo de Joseph Calmette, publicada en 1930.¹⁹ La segunda, la utilización de una bibliografía para entonces sumamente actualizada entre las que se encontraban los trabajos de Johan Huizinga —en la traducción de Gaos—,²⁰ de Henri Pirenne —en la edición del Fondo de Cultura Económica a la que nos hemos referido más arriba²¹— o del propio Calmette.²² Por último, la reproducción de documentos —de fuentes— con las que analizar una sociedad y una institución —el feudalismo— que desde México parecían muy lejanos. Hasta donde me lo permiten aseverar mis investigaciones este sería el libro fundacional del medievalismo mexicano.

Profundizando en sus intereses científicos sobre el medioevo, Weckmann publicó en 1949 los resultados de su tesis doctoral bajo el título *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política del papado medieval. Estudio de la supremacía papal sobre las islas 1091-1493*, el cual iba acompañado de una introducción de Ernest Kantorowicz.²³ Si *La sociedad feudal* era un “ensayo”, el nuevo libro era la primera monografía científica —según los cánones del momento— publicada en México por un mexicano que trabaja como medievalista: en él se recurre, por ejemplo, a la *Patrología Latina*, a la *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* y a la edición de Duchesne del *Liber Pontificalis*; se reproducen en los apéndices diversos documentos latinos —como la bula *Cum universae insulae* de Urbano II— y se articula sobre una amplia y actualizada bibliografía europea y norteamericana que permitía al autor insertarse en los debates entonces vigentes sobre el ejercicio del poder en la Edad Media. Weckmann señalaba en este trabajo que las bulas Alejandrinas de 1493 eran documentos medievales tanto en su forma como en su concepción, dado que obedecían a lo que denominaba la “Doctrina Omni-Insular”. Para demostrarlo retrotrajo su estudio al siglo XI con el objetivo de analizar la forma en que a lo largo de la Edad Media la sede romana había considerado como propias las diversas islas sobre las que se tenía noticia y que no estaban bajo la jurisdicción de ningún príncipe. La rigurosidad del trabajo permitió a Kantorowicz ponderarlo como una [...] *remarkable contribution to medieval historical studies in general*.²⁴

La tercera obra de Weckmann, editada en 1950, tenía como objetivo manifiesto “divulgar algunos de los fundamentos trascendentales del pensamiento político del medioevo” y ofrecer un material para apreciar la utilidad que tal pensamiento podía tener en la época en que fue escrito “para

19. Calmette, Joseph. *La société féodale*. París: Armand Colin, 1930.

20. Huizinga, Johan. *El otoño de la Edad Media*. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1930.

21. Pirenne, Henri. *Historia económica y social de la Edad Media*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1941.

22. Calmette, Joseph. *Le monde féodal*. París: Presses Universitaires de France, 1937.

23. Weckmann, Luis. *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política medieval. Estudio de la supremacía papal sobre las islas 1091-1493*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Historia, 1949. Fue reeditado cuatro décadas después bajo el título *Constantino el Grande y Cristóbal Colón. Estudio de la supremacía papal sobre las islas (1091-1493)*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1992.

24. “contribución remarcable a los estudios medievales históricos en general”: Kantorowicz, Ernest. “Introducción” en Weckmann, Luis. *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493 y la teoría política medieval. Estudio de la supremacía papal sobre las islas 1091-1493*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Historia, 1949: 7-11, especialmente 9.



el mejoramiento y la consolidación de las relaciones internacionales”.²⁵ Elaborado también a partir de sus tesis doctoral, el libro analizaba los fundamentos políticos de las relaciones internacionales desde el medievo hasta la época contemporánea centrandose su atención en temas como la *Respublica Christiana*, la idea de imperio, el vasallaje y las concepciones sobre el poder y la soberanía elaboradas por la Iglesia, insertándose claramente en la línea de Kantorowicz. Es claro que con esta obra Weckmann encontraba una utilidad práctica al estudio del medievo desde México y que el bagaje adquirido durante el proceso de elaboración de sus tesis doctoral como el dominio de las lenguas y del derecho fueron instrumentos que facilitaron su ingreso al cuerpo diplomático de carrera. La labor de Weckmann en el servicio exterior mexicano y su posterior incorporación al Colegio de México, a las que aludimos más arriba, explican que su libro *La herencia medieval de México* no viese la luz sino hasta 1984 y ya no bajo el sello de la UNAM sino el del Fondo de Cultura Económica.²⁶

El segundo antecedente es el del célebre medievalista español Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893-1984). La relación de Sánchez-Albornoz con México tenía, a su vez, algunos antecedentes importantes. En el marco de la guerra civil española, como es sabido, el gobierno mexicano, turnó invitaciones a distintas personalidades universitarias y científicas de aquella nación para que pudieran continuar sus actividades en nuestro país mientras terminaba el conflicto. Sánchez-Albornoz recibió la invitación en agosto de 1938 en su exilio francés de Cauderán;²⁷ sin embargo, el otrora rector de la Universidad Central gestionaba al mismo tiempo una beca de la fundación Rockefeller con la idea de permanecer en Francia, por lo que declinó la invitación mexicana. Cuando en junio de 1940 tuvo que huir precipitadamente de la población bordelesa como consecuencia de la ocupación nazi el madrileño contactó de nuevo al gobierno mexicano, pero éste se vio imposibilitado para acogerlo. Sánchez-Albornoz finalmente fue recibido por Argentina, república a la que llegó en diciembre de 1940. Desde su exilio porteño, don Claudio mantuvo fecundas relaciones con algunas de las personalidades republicanas españolas que se habían establecido en México como Rafael Altamira o Agustín Millares Carlo, quienes fueron colaboradores habituales de los *Cuadernos de Historia de España*.²⁸ Casi dos décadas después, en febrero de 1959, a la vuelta de una estancia de investigación en la Universidad de Princeton, Sánchez-Albornoz tuvo ocasión de visitar México e impartir una serie de conferencias, según se desprende de una carta dirigida a su alumno Emilio Sáez fechada en Buenos Aires en abril de 1959. A tenor de hacer una investigación más profunda

25. Weckmann, Luis. *El pensamiento político medieval y las bases para un nuevo derecho internacional*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Historia, 1950.

26. Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de México*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984. Weckmann dejó testimonio de su labor diplomática en el libro Weckmann, Luis. *Diario político de un embajador mexicano, 1967-1988*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997. Quisiera remarcar la similitud entre la trayectoria vital de Weckmann y la del medievalista argentino José Luis Romero, quien en 1949 había publicado su propio ensayo en la colección “breviarios” del Fondo de Cultura Económica: Romero, José Luis. *La Edad Media*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1949. Tras varios años dedicados a la docencia en la Universidad de Buenos Aires, donde llegó a ser decano de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, sirvió también a su país como embajador. Sobre José Luis Romero véase: Astarita, Carlos. “José Luis Romero y la historia medieval”. *Anales de Historia Antigua y Medieval*, 28 (1995): 15-23; Burucúa, José Emilio; Devoto, Fernando; Gorelik Adrián, eds. *José Luis Romero. Vida histórica, ciudad y cultura*. San Martín: Universidad Nacional de General San Martín, 2013.

27. La carta fue publicada por Rodríguez Temperley, María Mercedes. “Lo que guardan los libros: la biblioteca de don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz”, *VI Jornadas Internacionales de Filología Lingüística y Primeras de Crítica Genética “Las lenguas del Archivo”*, La Plata: Universidad Nacional de la Plata, 2013: 1-13.

28. Véase al respecto el artículo de inminente aparición: Ríos Saloma, Martín, “De Europa a América. Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y la fundación de los Cuadernos de Historia de España”. *Medievalismo*, 27, en prensa.



sobre este viaje, es lícito pensar que fue esta la ocasión en la que la UNAM planteó al medievalista español la posibilidad de publicar una de sus obras.²⁹

El volumen vería la luz de la imprenta en 1965 bajo el título *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*. Se trataba en realidad de una obra miscelánea en la que se reproducían artículos correspondientes a diversas etapas investigadoras del historiador madrileño de muy difícil acceso desde tierras americanas y a la que la propia casa editora calificaba como una auténtica “rareza” en el panorama historiográfico mexicano.³⁰ El objetivo manifiesto de los editores era el de “contribuir al estudio de la historia institucional española y de señalar en ella importantes raíces de la realidad socio-económica de los pueblos hispanoamericanos”. Para el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la UNAM, don Claudio poseía “como historiador” una “reputación bien cimentada” y estaba considerado en un “primer plano, no sólo de los medievalistas españoles, sino entre los conocedores más completos de la historia española en todos los tiempos”.³¹ Los 1500 ejemplares que conformaron el tiraje de esta primera edición y lo grueso del volumen —800 páginas— dan cuenta del valor que para la UNAM tenía la obra científica de don Claudio. Los trabajos fueron agrupados temáticamente en tres grandes grupos: estudios sobre las clases sociales, los de historia fiscal y económica y, por último, “[...] los consagrados a la historia de las instituciones jurídicas y políticas —legislación, feudalismo, señorío, monarquía”.³² El volumen está constituido por un total de diez y seis artículos siendo el de más antigua data el que lleva por título “La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla” (pp. 791-822), publicado originalmente en 1914.³³

Desde el año de 1965 en que se publicó el trabajo de Sánchez-Albornoz hasta el año 2007 en que la dirección del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas decidió crear una plaza de investigación para impulsar el estudio de la Edad Media transcurrieron más de cuarenta años en los que tal especialidad fue abandonada y surge en consecuencia una pregunta insoslayable: ¿cómo explicar dicho abandono?

Para el autor de estas líneas la respuesta hipotética pasa por considerar tres elementos que confluieron. En primer lugar, la muerte de don Pablo Martínez del Río en 1963, pues en tanto director del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas había dado un especial apoyo al desarrollo de los estudios medievales, tal y como se desprende de la coincidencia cronológica de las obras aquí referidas con su mandato. Desde 1963 y hasta 1975 la dirección del Instituto estuvo presidida por Miguel León-

29. Sáez, Emilio. “Epistolario de Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz y Emilio Sáez V (1959-1967). *Signo. Revista de historia de la cultura escrita*, 9 (2002): 105-123, especialmente 108. Según Sonsoles Cabeza de Sánchez-Albornoz, don Claudio visitaría nuevamente México al principio de su gestión como presidente de la República en el exilio, puesto que desempeñó entre marzo de 1962 y febrero de 1971; la autora, sin embargo, no especifica la fecha concreta del viaje. Cabeza de Sánchez-Albornoz, Sonsoles. *Semblanza histórico política de Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz*, Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española-Diputación Provincial de León, 1992: 124 y 176 respectivamente. Mis pesquisas sobre el particular han resultado infructuosas hasta ahora. Sólo una investigación más profunda —que se aleja del interés primigenio de este trabajo— podrá aclarar esta incógnita y reconstruir los viajes de don Claudio a México. Dada la naturaleza política del segundo viaje y dado el número de páginas del grueso volumen, me parece plausible suponer que el proyecto editorial se planteara en 1959 en el marco de una visita académica y durante la segunda gestión de Pablo Martínez del Río al frente del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, personalidad que, como hemos visto, se interesó profundamente por el desarrollo de los estudios medievales.

30. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1965.

31. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas... cuarta de forros*.

32. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas...: 7*.

33. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. “La potestad real y los señoríos en Asturias, León y Castilla”. *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos*, 21 (1914): 263-293.



Portilla, especialista en la historia de los pueblos indígenas de México y para quien el cultivo de la Edad Media no era ciertamente una prioridad, aunque siempre hubiera reconocido la importancia de este periodo de la historia europea y su significación para la historia mexicana.³⁴

En segundo término, la difusión del materialismo-histórico y de la historia serial y cuantitativa que impulsó la elaboración de trabajos de historia económica y social cuyo reflejo más nítido fue el estudio de la encomienda, de las haciendas y de los precios del maíz en la época novohispana;³⁵ en este sentido, el estudio de la historia económica y social de la Edad Media europea era prácticamente imposible de cultivar ante la imposibilidad de acceder a las fuentes archivísticas.

Por último, la vigencia de un discurso nacionalista de marcado carácter indigenista entre el gran público que presentaba al pasado europeo como ajeno a la historia de México, que privilegiaba el conocimiento de Mesoamérica y que seguía considerando a los españoles como a un pueblo invasor y bárbaro que había destruido las “grandes” civilizaciones americanas. Tal discurso tenía su corolario académico en el hecho de que el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas centró su quehacer cotidiano en el estudio de los procesos históricos ocurridos dentro de sus fronteras y mantuvo su estructura administrativa en tres grandes áreas de investigación vinculadas a la historia nacional —“México prehispánico”, “México colonial”, “México contemporánea”— y la Edad Media difícilmente tenía cabida en esta organización administrativa.

Como quiera que fuese, el hecho es que el cultivo de la historia medieval iniciado con rigurosidad por Luis Weckmann sufrió una larga interrupción —40 años— y el Seminario de Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media hubo de retomar los estudios medievales prácticamente desde cero y condicionado por sus circunstancias geográficas e institucionales, pero siempre buscando incorporar los enfoques teóricos y metodológicos desarrollados por el medievalismo en los últimos años.

3. Los trabajos del Seminario de Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media (SEHSEM)

3.1 Investigación

3.1.1 Tesis de grado y posgrado³⁶

La investigación en el ámbito de los estudios medievales en la UNAM estuvo vinculada, tradicionalmente, al campo de la literatura y la filología. Ello obedeció no sólo a la fortaleza de los estudios literarios en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras y el Instituto de Investigaciones Filológicas, sino a cuestiones meramente pragmáticas como la dificultad de acceder a las fuentes primarias

34. Así me lo manifestó en las múltiples ocasiones en que tuvimos ocasión de conversar y lo ha hecho público en distintas conferencias.

35. Basten tan sólo dos ejemplos considerados como clásicos dentro de estas corrientes historiográficas: Florescano, Enrique. *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México (1708-1810): ensayo sobre el movimiento de los precios y sus consecuencias económicas y sociales*. México: El Colegio de México, 1969; Semo, Enrique. *Historia del capitalismo en México. Los orígenes: 1571-1763*. México: Era, 1973.

36. En la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México la graduación de los alumnos de licenciatura y maestría se realiza preferentemente mediante la elaboración de una investigación monográfica rigurosa, sustentadas en fuentes primarias y secundarias en las que el autor demuestre su dominio del tema y cuya extensión oscila entre las 90 y las 250 páginas, razones todas ellas por las que también reciben el nombre de “tesis”. La diferencia con la tesis doctoral radica, naturalmente, en la amplitud, profundidad y originalidad de los temas abordados. Las tesis que serán referidas en este apartado son libre acceso a través de la página electrónica TESIUNAM: <tesis.unam.mx.>



en tiempos donde el internet no existía y en una época donde los viajes para realizar estancias de investigación eran sumamente costosos. En este sentido, los trabajos pioneros de Luis Weckmann a propósito de la soberanía pontificia sobre las islas,³⁷ de Sánchez-Albornoz sobre las instituciones medievales españolas³⁸ a los que hemos hecho referencia en las páginas precedentes —o de Antonio Garrido Aranda sobre la evangelización de los moriscos en el reino de Granada— fueron, más que una “rareza”, trabajos excepcionales.³⁹

En la primera década del siglo XXI estas dos dificultades han sido superadas: por un lado, la red ofrece a través de distintas páginas científicas vinculadas a instituciones de reconocido prestigio internacional —como la Biblioteca Nacional de España⁴⁰ o la Biblioteca Nacional de Francia⁴¹— o a proyectos de investigación específicos, numerosos materiales documentales.⁴² Por el otro, la UNAM ha puesto en marcha numerosos programas de movilidad académica tanto para profesores como para alumnos y ello ha permitido acceder a fondos bibliográficos y documentales europeos especializados que desde América Latina resultaban de difícil consulta.

A pesar de estos avances, lo cierto es que el peso de la tradición historiográfica de la UNAM —marcada por un profundo carácter historicista representado por los trabajos señeros de Edmundo O’Gorman o Álvaro Matute—⁴³ en la formación de los alumnos sigue siendo importante y ello, sumado a un plan de estudios de licenciatura que no contempla el aprendizaje de las “ciencias auxiliares” hace que el dominio de la paleografía medieval y de la diplomática aún escape a la mayoría de los interesados en el periodo medieval.

Estos factores, a los que se añade la imposibilidad de acceder de forma sistemática y continuada a los archivos europeos, han hecho del estudio de la historiografía medieval un campo privilegiado de análisis para los miembros del seminario que han llevado a cabo investigaciones notables en las que se combina un profundo conocimiento de los contextos en que las fuentes narrativas fueron elaboradas, un dominio de las lenguas vernáculas propias del medievalismo —particularmente inglés, francés e italiano—, un conocimiento suficiente del latín para los casos correspondientes y un utillaje teórico y metodológico nutrido por las propuestas de Gabrielle Spiegel,⁴⁴ Rosamond

37. Weckmann, Luis. *Las bulas alejandrinas de 1493...*

38. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales española*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 1965.

39. Garrido, Antonio. *Moriscos e indios: precedentes hispánicos de la evangelización en México*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, 1980 (2ª edición 2013).

40. Biblioteca Nacional de España, 2018, 14 Enero 2018 <www.bne.es>. Particularmente importante para el medievalismo hispano es la Biblioteca Digital Hispánica, proyecto inserto, como es sabido, en el portal de la Biblioteca Nacional de España.

41. Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 14 Enero 2018 <http://gallica.bnf.fr>.

42. Cito, a modo de ejemplo, los *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 25 Diciembre 2017 <http://www.mgh.de>; *Documenta Catholica Omnia*, Cooperatorium Veritatis Societas, 25 Diciembre 2017 <http://www.documentacatholicaomnia.eu/>; o los *Cartae Cluniacenses Electronicae*, Universidad Münster, 25 Diciembre 2017 <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Fruehmittelalter/Projekte/Cluny/CCE/Welcome-e.htm>.

43. O’Gorman, Edmundo. *La invención de América*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1961; O’Gorman, Edmundo. *Cuatro historiadores de indias*, México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1972; Matute, Álvaro. *Teoría de la historia en México*. México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1974. Sobre O’Gorman y su vinculación con el historicismo véase el reciente libro de Gilardi, Pilar. *Huellas heideggerianas en la obra de Edmundo O’Gorman*. México: UNAM-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2015.

44. Sipiège, Gabrielle. *Romancing the Past. The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993; Sipiège, Gabrielle. *The past as text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, Baltimore: The John’s Hopkins University Press, 1999.



McKitterick,⁴⁵ Jaume Aurell,⁴⁶ Michel de Certeau,⁴⁷ Bernard Guenée⁴⁸ o Walter Ong.⁴⁹ De esta suerte, por ejemplo, Ana Ávila realizó un primer acercamiento y traducción al castellano de la obra de Gregorio de Tours,⁵⁰ en tanto que Tania Ortiz se ha abocado al estudio de la historiografía carolingia.⁵¹ De igual forma, Ricardo Sánchez ha estudiado la representación de Ricardo Corazón de León en las crónicas de las cruzadas.⁵² Por su parte, Fernanda Mora ha analizado las relaciones entre la Iglesia y la Monarquía en la *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos* de Hernando del Pulgar,⁵³ mientras que Ana Clara Aguilar se ha centrado en el estudio de la literatura y las crónicas italianas de los siglos XIII, XIV y XV.⁵⁴ Ramón Jiménez en el marco del seminario quiso estudiar de nuevo la *Historia de España* del padre Mariana y aunque no pueda decirse de ella que sea una investigación en historia medieval en sentido estricto, lo cierto es que desarrolló la metodología propuesta por Spiegel y que el pensamiento del sabio jesuita le obligó a estudiar con detenimiento las raíces medievales de sus saberes.⁵⁵

De igual forma, investigaciones vinculadas a la historia cultural, a la historia conceptual o a la antropología de la imagen han tenido en Hans-George Gadamer,⁵⁶ Roger Chartier,⁵⁷ Norbert Elías,⁵⁸ Pierre Bourdieu,⁵⁹ Reinhardt Koselleck,⁶⁰ Lévy-Strauss,⁶¹ Clifford Gertz⁶² o Hans Belting⁶³ a sus principales puntales. En este rubro pueden insertarse los trabajos de Diego Améndolla sobre el

45. McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Carolingians and the Written Word*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 1989; McKitterick, Rosamond. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2004; McKitterick, Rosamond. *The Formation of a European Identity*, Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2008.

46. Aurell, Jaume. *La historiografía medieval: entre la historia y la literatura*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2016.

47. Certeau, Michel de. *La escritura de la historia*. México: Universidad Iberoamericana, 2006.

48. Guenée, Bernard. *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*. París: Aubier, 1980.

49. Ong, Walter. *Oralidad y escritura. Tecnologías de la palabra*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2004.

50. Ávila García, Ana. *Entre la historia eclesiástica y la historia nacional: Gregorio de Tours, libros I y II de la Historia de los Francos*, México: Instituto Cultural Helénico-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis Doctoral), 2011.

51. Ortiz, Tania. *De la 'Vita' a la 'Gesta'. Construcciones historiográficas de Carlomagno en el siglo IX*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis doctoral), 2017.

52. Sánchez, Ricardo. *La imagen de Ricardo Corazón de León en las crónicas anglonormandas y del norte de Francia, (1189-1205)*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2017.

53. Mora Reyes, María Fernanda. *Propio es a los reyes el mando, y a los súbditos la obediencia: las relaciones de la monarquía con la Iglesia en la Crónica de los Reyes Católicos de Hernando del Pulgar*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis Doctoral), 2017.

54. Aguilar, Ana Clara. *Clero y religiosidad en el Decameron de Boccaccio*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis Doctoral) 2013; Aguilar, Ana Clara. *Florenia y la Iglesia a través de seis ciudadanos florentinos que escribieron su historia (siglos XIII-XV)*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría) 2016.

55. Jiménez, Ramón. *El rey y la potestad espiritual en la Historia general de España de Juan de Mariana*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría), 2017.

56. Gadamer, Hans-George. *Verdad y método*, 2 vols., Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2005.

57. Chartier, Roger. *El mundo como representación: estudios sobre historia cultural*. Barcelona: Gedisa, 1992.

58. Elías, Norbert. *La sociedad cortesana*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1982; Elías, Norbert. *El proceso de civilización: investigaciones sociogenéticas y psicogenéticas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987.

59. Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and symbolic power*. Oxford: Polity Press, 1991.

60. Koselleck, Reinhardt. *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing concepts*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002; Koselleck, Reinhardt. *Historias de conceptos: estudios sobre semántica y pragmática del lenguaje político y social*. Madrid: Trotta, 2012.

61. Lévi-Staruss, Claude. *Antropología estructural*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1987.

62. Gertz, Clifford. *La interpretación de las culturas*, Barcelona: Gedisa, 1996.

63. Belting, Hans. *Antropología de la imagen*, Madrid: Katz, 2007.

reflejo de los valores “feudales” en la obra de Chrétien de Troyes;⁶⁴ de Fernando Velázquez sobre la abadía de Saint-Denis y el proyecto político del abad Suger;⁶⁵ de Julián González sobre el mito artúrico;⁶⁶ de Marianne Hurtado sobre la amistad en la Castilla medieval;⁶⁷ de Jessica Chávez sobre Christine de Pizan;⁶⁸ de Olinca Olvera sobre la justicia divina en el *Flos sanctorum*;⁶⁹ de Fernando López sobre la prédica de Vicente Ferrer y los problemas religiosos de la Castilla del siglo XV;⁷⁰ de Alberto Trejo sobre la construcción del espacio en el campo de batalla de las Navas de Tolosa⁷¹ y de Walter de Santa María sobre las concepciones políticas en el reino visigodo.⁷²

Por otra parte, no han dejado de realizarse investigaciones de naturaleza historiográfica en las que se ha estudiado la utilización de la Edad Media en la conformación de los nacionalismos contemporáneos, la visión que se ha construido en los últimos siglos sobre la Edad Media —apoyadas en propuestas como las de Marc Fumaroli⁷³ o Chantal Grell⁷⁴— o bien, en la formación de conceptos caros al medievalismo, estudios estos últimos que se nutren del desarrollo de una línea de investigación en torno a la génesis, consolidación y utilización del concepto de Reconquista en la historiografía española contemporánea.⁷⁵ Así, Fernando Velázquez analizó el concurso de oratoria celebrado a fines del siglo XVIII dedicado a Suger de Saint-Denis, poniendo de relieve las imágenes que se construyeron sobre los siglos medievales en el tránsito del Antiguo Régimen a la

64. Améndolla, Diego. *Chrétien de Troyes y la Francia del siglo XII: una aproximación a las estructuras del feudalismo a través de la literatura cortesana*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura) 2009; Améndolla, Diego. *Creación del modelo de caballería a través de la cultura lúdica: producción, transmisión y recepción de las obras de Chrétien de Troyes, 1165-1300*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría), 2013.

65. Velázquez, Fernando. *La abadía de Saint-Denis: imagen del poder político*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría), 2013.

66. González de León, Julián. *Arthur pen teyrnedd yr ynys hon (Arturo líder de los príncipes de esta isla). La leyenda artúrica como vehículo de apropiación simbólica del espacio insular*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2012; González de León, Julián. *El mito artúrico y la cultura imperial en la elite de Inglaterra (1100-1272): un análisis histórico del mito bajo la teoría neo-estructuralista*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría), 2015.

67. Hurtado, Marianne. *Lazos de sacrificio. El concepto de amistad en la literatura castellana bajo medieval, S. XII-XV*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2016.

68. Peña, Jessica. *La ciudad de las damas, el pensamiento de las mujeres expresado por Christine de Pizan. Francia, siglos XIV y XV*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2016.

69. Olvera, Olinca. *El juez supremo: la justicia divina en el 'Flos Sanctorum' con sus etimologías*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2016.

70. López, Fernando. *Vicente Ferrer y el cisma de occidente: un análisis de la predicación en Castilla*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2016.

71. Trejo, Alberto. *El campo de batalla, ¿un lugar excepcional? las navas de Tolosa (16 de julio de 1212)*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2014.

72. Santa María, Walter. *La conversión de los visigodos al catolicismo como vía para superar la crisis y legitimar al Estado*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2014; Santa María, Walter. *La imagen del rey. Articulación del discurso simbólico en torno a la legitimación en el reino de Toledo*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría), 2016.

73. Fumaroli, Marc. *L'âge de l'éloquence : Rhétorique et 'res literaria' de la Renaissance au seul de l'époque classique*. París: Droz, 2002.

74. Grell, Chantal. *L'histoire entre érudition et philosophie. Étude sur la connaissance historique à l'âge des Lumières*. París: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993.

75. Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista: génesis y desarrollo de una construcción historiográfica (s. XVI-XIX)*. Madrid-México: Marcial Pons-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011; Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista en la historiografía española contemporánea*, Madrid-México: Sílex Ediciones – Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013.



Revolución francesa.⁷⁶ Mikel Luege, por su parte, se avocó al análisis de la utilización de la Edad Media en la conformación del nacionalismo alemán decimonónico,⁷⁷ al tiempo que Francisco Vera ha analizado la representación de la batalla de Crécy en la historiografía anglosajona contemporánea⁷⁸ y Erik Luna estudió la historiografía contemporánea en torno al Santo Oficio en época de los Reyes Católicos vinculando dicha producción con los momentos políticos e historiográficos de España en los siglos XIX y XX.⁷⁹ A su vez, Isis Guerreo estudió la utilización del pasado andalusí en la prensa española durante el primer franquismo⁸⁰ y Lizette Gauzín ha estudiado en su tesis doctoral —la Primera en el Posgrado en Historia de la UNAM vinculada con el estudio de la Edad Media— la génesis y desarrollo de los conceptos de convivencia y tolerancia en el arabismo decimonónico.⁸¹ En la actualidad, Diego Améndolla está por concluir su tesis doctoral a propósito del surgimiento y consolidación del concepto de “feudalismo” en la historiografía francesa durante los siglos XVIII y XIX, la cual deberá ser defendida públicamente en el verano del año 2018. El desarrollo de estas investigaciones naturalmente está vinculado con las líneas de investigación del autor de estas páginas, centradas en la génesis, desarrollo y utilización del concepto de Reconquista en la historiografía española de las épocas moderna y contemporáneas.⁸² En este sentido, me parece que es posible constatar no sólo la validez del método desarrollado, sino la riqueza y fecundidad de la mirada distante. Una mirada distante no sólo geográfica, sino también epistemológica, que permite adquirir una perspectiva particular y analizar estas problemáticas historiográficas, políticas y culturales de manera sosegada y libre de condicionantes ideológicas.

Las únicas dos tesis centradas en historia política y social (ambas de licenciatura) en la Edad Media —una sobre la ciudad de Florencia⁸³ y otra sobre la conquista y repoblación de Sevilla en el siglo XIII⁸⁴—, aunque han tenido la enorme virtud de abordar temas complejos con la bibliografía y las fuentes disponibles en México, adolecen —es necesario reconocerlo— de originalidad por

76. Velázquez, Fernando. *La elocuencia histórica de la Edad Media. Suger de Saint-Denis en el arte oratorio francés del Siglo XVIII*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría), 2017.

77. Luege, Mikel. *La formación de la nación alemana a través de su tradición medieval (1820-1920)*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2012.

78. Vera, Francisco. *Nexos en la historiografía: la construcción de la batalla de Crécy en la historiografía inglesa y estadounidense, 1885-2013*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2016.

79. Luna, Erick. *La fundación del Santo Oficio en la historiografía española: (de 1874 a la década de 1960)*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2016.

80. Guerrero, Isis. *Las relaciones político-culturales entre el franquismo y el islam a través de la prensa escrita durante la posguerra, 1945-1955*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (tesis de licenciatura) 2012. En la actualidad, Isis Guerrero realiza en la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana (UAM) su tesis doctoral sobre el arabismo del siglo XIX y se encuentra desarrollando una estancia de investigación en el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas de Madrid bajo la tutela del profesor Eduardo Manzano. Debo lamentar el que percepciones académicas poco favorables a la ampliación de los horizontes historiográficos en nuestro posgrado impidieran que en su día esta investigación pudiera realizarse en la UNAM. Afortunadamente, los criterios y las visiones han cambiado en tiempos recientes.

81. Gauzín, Lizette. *La tolerancia entre musulmanes y cristianos en al-Andalus a través de la historiografía española del siglo XIX*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis doctoral), 2017.

82. Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista: génesis y desarrollo de una construcción historiográfica*, Madrid-México: Marcial Pons-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2011; Ríos, Martín. *La Reconquista en la historiografía española contemporánea: un siglo de investigaciones*, Madrid-México: Sílex-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013.

83. Reyes, Ari. *Historias de Florencia. Desarrollo político, social y económico de una ciudad medieval italiana: siglos XIII, XIV y XV*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura) 2016.

84. Contreras, Karina. *La reconquista y repoblación de Sevilla (1248-1255)*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2012.

la imposibilidad de acceder a documentación inédita que permita o bien aportar nuevos datos o interpretaciones que enriquezcan los marcos generales ya conocidos.

Mención aparte merecen las tesis doctorales de Luis del Castillo y Rubén Andrés. Centrada la primera en el comercio novohispano del siglo XVIII⁸⁵ y la segunda en los juegos ecuestres en la Nueva España durante el periodo virreinal,⁸⁶ no han dejado de nutrirse de las reflexiones del seminario y, sobre todo, de visiones de largo aliento que les han permitido insertar sus investigaciones en dinámicas históricas mucho más amplias y en la proyección de experiencias del espacio mediterráneo sobre el espacio atlántico. Lo mismo podría decirse del trabajo de maestría de Claudia Hernández, que resulta una primera aproximación a las crónicas de la conquista de la Nueva España con el fin de rastrear las concepciones sobre la guerra justa y la guerra santa de raigambre medieval que éstas reflejan.⁸⁷ Si consideramos las tres investigaciones en su conjunto podríamos señalar que éstas serían continuadoras de la línea inaugurada por Luis Weckmann al estudiar “la herencia medieval” de México y Brasil, pero desde una perspectiva renovada que ha sabido incorporar los aportes del medievalismo contemporáneo.⁸⁸

Al hacer un balance general de las investigaciones en el marco del SEHSEM a lo largo de diez años, puede señalarse que se han presentado veintisiete trabajos de investigación vinculados con la Edad Media conducentes a la obtención del grado correspondiente: dos de doctorado, seis de maestría —el equivalente al Máster II europeo— y el resto de licenciatura. Algunas de estas investigaciones —u otras elaboradas en el marco de los seminarios de posgrado por los miembros del SEHSEM— fueron a su vez el germen de artículos de divulgación⁸⁹ o de textos científicos como los de Diego Améndolla,⁹⁰ Julián González de León,⁹¹ Francisco Vera⁹² y Walter de Santa María⁹³ que han sido publicados ya en Argentina, España, Estados Unidos y Francia, dando una proyección internacional al grupo de investigación del cual carecía hasta hace pocos años. En otros casos,

85. La tesis de Luis del Castillo deberá ser defendida a lo largo de 2018. Ya en su tesis de licenciatura del Castillo se había acercado al problema de la nobleza en América: Castillo, Luis del. *La nobleza y el comercio en la Nueva España del siglo XVIII: el primer conde de la Cortina (1741-1795)*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de licenciatura), 2008.

86. Andrés, Rubén. *Caballo y poder en el mundo hispánico: los juegos ecuestres y la traslación de un habitus caballeresco entre las élites española e india de la Nueva España*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis doctoral), 2017.

87. Hernández, Claudia. *Los conceptos de la guerra justa y la guerra santificada en los relatos de los conquistadores de México, Siglo XVI*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (Tesis de maestría), 2017. Diversos motivos impidieron a la autora profundizar en el análisis de algunos aspectos de la investigación, pero el trabajo tiene la virtud de mostrar las posibilidades que se abren al realizar una nueva lectura de las crónicas de la conquista de América que elimine las convenciones cronológicas tradicionales que resultan a todas luces inoperantes.

88. Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de México*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1984; Weckmann, Luis. *La herencia medieval de Brasil*, México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993.

89. Entre los artículos de difusión pueden citarse, por ejemplo: Mora, María Fernanda. “Adso de Melk, un cronista en busca de los signos”. *Scriptorium*, 9 (2016): 9-14; Vera, Francisco. “La tecnología al servicio de la guerra: los primeros pasos de las armas de guerra en Inglaterra, 1327-1346”. *Scriptorium*, 10 (2016): 5-12; Jiménez, Ramón. “La disolución de los recuerdos. Reflexiones en torno a la memoria a partir de tres momentos de la ‘Divina Comedia’”. *Scriptorium*, 12 (2017): 19-26; Noguez, Gabriela. “Reseña de la película ‘Hermano sol, hermana luna’”. *Scriptorium*, 14 (2017): 13-15.

90. Améndolla, Diego. “Una mirada desde la historia conceptual: orígenes lexicales e ideológicos del término ‘feudalismo’, siglos XVII-XVIII”. *Circé. Histoires, cultures & sociétés*, 7 (2015): 1-8 <<http://www.revue-circe.uvsq.fr>> (Consultado el 17 de noviembre de 2017); Améndolla, Diego. “‘Et qui or me vaurra entendre, cuer et oreilles me doit rendre’: Espacios de lectura y público de los roman courtois de Chrétien de Troyes (ss. XII-XIII)”, *Cuadernos Medievales*, 20 (2016): 51-74.

91. González de León, Julián. “The Arthurian Legend: A Vehicle for Symbolic Appropriation of the Insular Space”. *UCLA Historical Journal*, 26-1 (2015): 1-15.

92. Vera, Francisco. “El orden de los factores sí altera el producto: el uso de las fuentes primarias en la construcción de la batalla de Crécy por los historiadores ingleses, 1885-2015”. *E-Stratégica*, 1 (2017): 161-199.

93. Santa María, Walter de, “¿Podemos hablar de un Estado visigodo?”. *Cuadernos Medievales*, 22 (2017): 84-95.



permitió a sus autores acceder a la formación posgradual en Estados Unidos o España y en algunos más sus primeras participaciones en congresos internacionales.⁹⁴

En la actualidad, se desarrollan dos tesis más de doctorado, seis de maestría y varias más de licenciatura cuyos frutos se materializarán en los próximos años. En ellas, además de la continuación de las líneas de trabajo arriba descritas, es posible apreciar interés por la plasmación de las concepciones de la Edad Media en el arte y en los trabajos de restauración edilicia en la España del siglo XIX, así como por la difusión histórica y el impacto generado en el gran público por las series televisivas producidas en los últimos años. Sin duda, así como los videojuegos atrajeron la atención de los estudiosos,⁹⁵ creo importante reflexionar sobre el apogeo de dichas series, su impacto social y las visiones que proyectan en el gran público sobre el medioevo.

Los alumnos han tenido ocasión de presentar los resultados de sus investigaciones en congresos y foros de debate organizados en la propia sede del Instituto. En este sentido, debe señalarse que se ha pasado de articular eventos locales a organizar auténticos congresos internacionales en cuya última edición (2016) presentaron ponencias estudiantes de licenciatura y posgrado de Argentina, Alemania, Italia, Francia y Estados Unidos procedentes de los ámbitos de la historia, la literatura, la filosofía y la historia del arte; la creciente participación de ponentes ha servido también como un baremo para calibrar el interés por los estudios medievales fuera del grupo de investigación cuyos afanes venimos reseñando. Con el fin de garantizar la calidad de las ponencias presentadas, se ha solicitado la autorización de los profesores Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar (Universidad de Murcia) y de Gerardo Rodríguez (Universidad Nacional del Mar del Plata) para convertir estos eventos en la edición mexicana de los célebres encuentros de “jóvenes medievalistas” que se realizan ya en España y Argentina. Confiamos en que a lo largo de los próximos meses verá la luz el volumen misceláneo que recoge los trabajos de mayor calidad científica y que han superado los informes preceptivos correspondientes.⁹⁶

La descripción y análisis realizados permiten plantear dos conclusiones previas: en primer lugar, que existe un interés creciente por parte de los estudiantes en la historia medieval y que tal interés se ha materializado en el crecimiento exponencial de las tesis de grado y posgrado hasta hoy defendidas; en la actualidad, nadie podría afirmar que estudiar la Edad Media europea es una “rareza” —como en su día se decía del volumen de Sánchez-Albornoz— ni que no pueda hacerse de forma rigurosa, insertándose a su vez en los debates internacionales e incorporando los aportes teóricos y metodológicos generados en otras latitudes sin renunciar a la tradición propia.

94. Julián González de León cursa en la actualidad el doctorado en la City University of New York (CUNY) y desarrolla la tesis “A Medieval Myth for a Modern Empire: An Anthropological History of the Arthurian Myth in England (13th-18th centuries)”, mientras que Mikel Luege Mateos lleva a cabo su tesis doctoral en la Universidad del País Vasco bajo la tutela de José Ramón Díaz de Durana. En el caso de los congresos internacionales, Fernando Velázquez presentó en París la ponencia intitulada “L’Éloquence historique de la domination féodale dans les éloges de Suger de 1779” en el marco del congreso *Moyen-Âge et médiévalisme: les formes de la domination* organizado por el Institut National d’Histoire de l’Art (INHA) en marzo de 2016. Walter de Santa María, por su parte, presentó la ponencia “Arrianismo, diferenciación cultural y cohesión social en el reino visigodo” en el marco del VII Coloquio de Historia Medieval. *Circulación de ideas en la Antigüedad tardía y la Edad Media* auspiciado por el Instituto de Investigaciones Geohistóricas del CONICET en Buenos Aires en septiembre de 2017.

95. Por ejemplo: Jiménez, Juan Francisco. “Cruzada, cruzados y videojuegos”. *Anales de la universidad de Alicante*, 17 (2011): 363-407.

96. El programa entero puede verse en “Congreso internacional de jóvenes medievalistas 15, 16, 17 y 18 de marzo de 2016”, *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 18 Noviembre 2017 <http://www.historicas.unam.mx/eventos/2016/congreso_jovenes_medievalistas_2016.html>.



La segunda conclusión me lleva a remarcar la imperiosa necesidad de trascender los estudios historiográficos y culturales e incursionar en la historia política, social, económica y del arte. Para ello se hace necesario no sólo allegarse estudios monográficos actualizados —gracias a la importante labor de adquisición de materiales a través del canje, la donación y la compra por parte de la biblioteca Rafael García Granados del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas la sed de tales materiales que se tenía hace diez años ha sido subsanada parcialmente— sino de las fuentes. Y aunque muchas instituciones han puesto textos de enorme riqueza al alcance de los estudiosos gracias al internet, se hace necesario tener al alcance obras fundamentales como las Actas de los reinos de Castilla y León o la Colección Fuentes y Estudios de Historia Leonesa, por citar sólo dos ejemplos del ámbito hispano. De igual forma, es fundamental profundizar en el conocimiento de los archivos europeos y el dominio de la diplomática y la paleografía medievales. En este sentido, una de las tareas a la que el Seminario deberá dedicar sus energías en los próximos años es a la edición de fuentes primarias, bien sea de fuentes crónicas o bien colecciones documentales.⁹⁷

3.1.2 Proyectos de investigación

Uno de los sentidos más importantes de estudiar historia medieval desde América Latina radica en la posibilidad de entender los procesos de reconocimiento, conquista y colonización de América —y en general del proceso de conformación de la Monarquía Católica— en una perspectiva de larga duración que permita observar las continuidades, las rupturas y las innovaciones en la proyección de experiencias del espacio mediterráneo sobre el espacio atlántico.

Producto de esta inquietud fue la puesta en marcha del proyecto de investigación “El mediterráneo y su proyección atlántica: entre medievo y modernidad (s. XII-XVII)” que fue financiado por la Dirección General de Asuntos del Personal Académico (DGAPA) de la UNAM entre los años 2013-2015 en el marco del Programa de Apoyo a la Investigación e Innovación Tecnológica (PAPIIT) y co-dirigido por Estela Roselló y el autor de estas líneas.⁹⁸ En el seno del proyecto cuatro alumnos del Seminario realizaron la tesis correspondiente gracias al apoyo de una beca⁹⁹ y se celebraron dos reuniones científicas: “Religión y espiritualidad en el ámbito mediterráneo y atlántico (s. X-XVI): una mirada multidisciplinar al fenómeno jacobeo” (2013) y “Consecuencias y proyecciones de la expansión mediterránea en el Atlántico: prácticas, discursos, representaciones” (2014) y el ciclo de conferencias “Expansión atlántica y orígenes del Estado Moderno”, impartido por Eduardo Aznar Vallejo. En la actualidad se trabaja en la edición de los trabajos presentados en ambos simposios con el fin de integrar un volumen que materialice los esfuerzos institucionales y académicos realizados.

Finalmente, en el marco del proyecto, debe mencionarse la edición, con el apoyo financiero del proyecto, del volumen *El mundo de los conquistadores* (2014), coordinado por el autor estas líneas y que reúne los trabajos que en el año 2008 se presentaron al Congreso Internacional *El mundo de los*

97. Debe hacerse mención el importante logro científico que para el medievalismo mexicano resulta la edición castellana de la *Crónica de la primera cruzada* de Foucher de Chartres llevada a cabo por el Seminario Multidisciplinar de Estudios Medievales que coordina Antonio Rubial en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. La traducción fue realizada a partir de la edición latina de Guizot y diversos manuscritos accesibles a través de Gallica. Confiamos en que pronto pueda estar disponible para su consulta por parte de estudiantes y académicos.

98. Proyecto PAPIIT IN402913-3.

99. Marianne Hurtado, Jessica Peña, Olinca Olvera y Alberto Trejo.



conquistadores. *La península ibérica y su proyección en la conquista de América*.¹⁰⁰ Aunque naturalmente corresponde a otros ponderar los aciertos y debilidades del proyecto editorial, no quisiera dejar de subrayar al menos tres aspectos que me parecen novedosos: por un lado, es una primer propuesta para la discusión que debe iniciarse en breve en el marco de la conmemoración del quinto centenario del inicio de la empresa cortesiana; segundo, que representa un fecundo diálogo entre medievalistas y modernistas de ambas orillas del atlántico —diálogo que no es frecuente— y, por último, que subraya la inoperancia científica, epistemológica e historiográfica de la división tradicional entre Edad Media y Modernidad. Me parece, lo he dicho en distintos foros y otros textos, que la única posibilidad de comprender cabalmente los procesos detonados a partir de 1492 pasa no sólo por abandonar el marco de la historia nacional —nacionalista—, sino el de los corsés historiográficos de los cortes temporales convencionales.

Concluido el proyecto y a la espera de la publicación de los resultados, se han planteado nuevas metas con el fin de lograr la vinculación con otros centros y otros académicos de ambos lados del Atlántico interesados en las mismas problemáticas. De momento, un primer acercamiento con los grupos de investigación liderados por Eduardo Aznar (Universidad de la Laguna) y Gerardo Rodríguez (Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata) ha cuajado en la puesta en marcha de un proyecto de investigación conjunta que aborde los aspectos culturales, políticos, económicos y militares de la expansión castellana por el Atlántico.¹⁰¹

3.1.3 Participaciones internacionales y nacionales

“Laboratorio común” y marco privilegiado para la discusión crítica de las ideas y los saberes, según las palabras de Michel de Certeau,¹⁰² el Seminario de Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media ha acogido a lo largo de diez años a numerosos invitados internacionales que han tenido ocasión de presentar investigaciones en curso o difundir investigaciones ya cerradas. En la mayoría de los casos se trata de profesores ya establecidos, aunque no ha dejado de contar también con la intervención de jóvenes doctores o doctorandos con una prometedora carrera. De esta suerte, entre los primeros deben contarse a Dominique Iogna-Prat, Martin Aurell, Glauco María Cantarella, Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, Pascual Martínez Sopena, Flocel Sabaté, Martín Alvira Cabrer, Inmaculada Lorés, Enrique Rodríguez Picavea, Eduardo Aznar, Francisco Moreno Martín o María Isabel Pérez de Tudela; entre los segundos pueden citarse a Jesús del Prado, Blanca Ángeles, Mercedes Pérez Vidal, Esperanza de los Reyes, Francesco Renzi, Gisela Coronado o Lucía Beraldi.¹⁰³

Por lo que toca a los invitados nacionales, hasta el momento sólo se ha podido contar con la participación de la profesora Diana Arauz, miembro de la Asociación Zacatecana de Estudios Clásicos y Medievales (AZECME) y académica de tiempo completo de la Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas (UAZ). La falta de participación de colegas nacionales se explica en buena medida por la escasez de

100. Ríos, Martín, ed. *El mundo de los conquistadores*, Madrid-México: Editorial Sílex-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2015.

101. El proyecto ha sido presentado bajo el título *Las Fronteras Ultramarinas: el Atlántico en los orígenes de la monarquía hispánica (c. 1300-c. 1600)* y se espera su eventual aprobación y financiación por parte de la institución Casa Colón de Gan Canaria.

102. Certeau, Michel de. “Que est-ce que un séminaire?”. *Esprit*, 11-12 (noviembre-diciembre 1978): 176-181, especialmente 176.

103. “Seminario Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media... (<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/investigacion/seminarios/s_ehed.html>).



colegas dedicados a los estudios medievales, pero también porque aún no se ha trabajado lo suficiente en tejer redes con otros polos, como el que representa San Cristóbal, en el estado de Chiapas, donde radica Jérôme Baschet y donde recientemente se ha afincado Antonio García Espada. No han dejado de realizarse, sin embargo, actividades conjuntas con el Seminario Interdisciplinario de Estudios Medievales que coordina Antonio Rubial en la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la UNAM y que aglutina a estudiantes de historia, literatura y letras clásicas.

Este breve repaso hace patente dos tareas urgentes para el desarrollo del SEHSEM en particular y de los estudios medievales en general: por un lado, es necesario ampliar la red internacional del seminario con el fin de invitar a profesores tanto de América Latina (Argentina, Brasil y Chile principalmente) como del mundo anglo-sajón, hasta ahora el gran ausente en nuestras interlocuciones directas. Por el otro, impulsar la creación de polos de medievalismo en las universidades del interior de la república y que permitan crear una escuela de medievalistas de genuino carácter nacional.

3.2 *Docencia*

En el ámbito de la docencia se han conseguido también logros importantes. En el año 2010 señalaba la necesidad de ampliar la oferta de cursos temáticos sobre la Edad Media y que éstos fueran impartidos por especialistas, al tiempo que subrayaba la oportunidad que representaría la apertura de cursos especializados a nivel posgrado. Una serie de factores administrativos y sociológicos han permitido que ello suceda.

En el caso de la licenciatura, la jubilación de una generación de profesores que desde la década de 1960 venían impartiendo algún curso en los que de una u otra forma la Edad Media tenía cabida, sumada a la apertura mostrada por las autoridades del Colegio de Historia, permitió que jóvenes doctorandos pudieran hacerse cargo de alguna materia, si bien con la categoría docente más baja. La mayoría de los nuevos profesores están vinculados al SEHSEM y se han ocupado de los cursos “Comentario de Textos”, “Métodos de Investigación”, “Historia de España en la Edad Media”, “Imperio Bizantino” y el “Seminario Taller General. Edad Media. Metodología y Fuentes”, mientras que el autor de estas líneas imparte desde hace ocho años el curso general “Historia de Europa en la Edad Media”. Si subrayo este hecho como un mérito colectivo es porque, salvo las excepciones de Luis Ramos Gómez-Pérez —ya fallecido—, Antonio Rubial y Guadalupe Avilez, encargados de los cursos de “Imperio Bizantino”, “Cultura en la Edad Media” y las materias de arte medieval respectivamente, quienes se ocupaban de los cursos generales sobre la Edad Media no eran siempre especialistas. Ello permite ofrecer a los alumnos de grado una bibliografía actualizada, ofrecer una panorámica de los debates actuales y trabajar con fuentes primarias, con lo que se puede despertar en los más jóvenes el interés por los estudios medievales y generar una auténtica cantera.

En el caso del Posgrado en Historia de la UNAM, asistimos en el año 2008 a la aprobación de la reforma del plan de Estudios de la Maestría y el Doctorado y, por primera vez, se abrió un área de estudios específica para el estudio de la Edad Media: “Sociedades antiguas (antigüedad-siglo XV)”. La conformación de esta área representó una auténtica ventana de oportunidad que se vinculaba al proyecto del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de impulsar el estudio de áreas y temáticas distintas a la historia de México. Ello fue lo que permitió que los jóvenes egresados de la licenciatura pudieran continuar una especialización en temáticas medievales puesto que de otra forma los recortes a los programas de financiación de estudios de posgrado en el extranjero y lo elevado de



las matrículas en Europa —en España en particular— hubieran hecho imposible la consecución de carreras exitosas.

Como parte de la formación posgradual, la UNAM contempla la realización de estancias de investigación y el apoyo para participar en cursos de especialización y/o congresos internacionales para los cuales se otorga a los alumnos un apoyo económico para cubrir el costo del pasaje aéreo. Ello ha permitido que todos los alumnos que han presentado su tesis de maestría —o están en ello— hayan realizado estancias de investigación y que algunos de ellos hayan asistido ya —inclusive en un par de ocasiones— a las Semanas de Estudios Medievales del Centro de Estudios Superiores de Civilización Medieval (CESCM) de la Universidad de Poitiers (2014, 2015, 2016) y las Semanas de Estudios Medievales de Estella (2016). Lo que en la formación de un medievalista europeo forma parte del *cursus honorum* habitual, en el caso mexicano se ha convertido en un auténtico logro y en una importante superación de obstáculos geográficos, administrativos y financieros.

Finalmente, gracias al sistema imperante en programa de doctorado que hace obligatorio el seguimiento de la investigación por parte de un comité académico constituido por un tutor principal y dos miembros —que pueden ser académicos externos a la UNAM— ha sido posible que medievalistas de gran prestigio internacional como Martin Aurell, Dominique Iogna-Prat, María Isabel Pérez de Tudela o Francisco Moreno Martín enriquezcan el trabajo de los doctorandos mexicanos. Me parece un logro no menor frente a la inexistencia previa de estos vínculos que contribuye sustancialmente a la formación de los futuros medievalistas mexicanos.

A pesar de los objetivos y metas cumplidas, en el ámbito de la docencia quedan aún retos importantes. El primero de ellos es mantener el interés de los alumnos por la historia medieval. Al igual que ocurre en otras universidades del mundo, las nuevas generaciones de estudiantes se decantan por la historia contemporánea llevados por un legítimo interés en el conocimiento del pasado reciente que les explique su presente, pero también, me parece, llevados por la relativa facilidad de hacer historia de los últimos años gracias a la abundancia de fuentes en la lengua materna y a su accesibilidad a través de internet. Frente a ello, el estudio de lenguas modernas —inglés, francés, italiano y alemán, principales lenguas del medievalismo—, el aprendizaje del latín y el dominio de la paleografía y la diplomática representan esfuerzos añadidos a una formación que de suyo requiere, como cualquier campo de la historia, largas horas de lectura y estudio.¹⁰⁴

El segundo desafío consiste en lograr que los doctorandos mexicanos puedan incrementar su participación como auditores —o ponentes cuando sea el caso— en los cursos y congresos que forman parte del calendario científico regular del medievalismo internacional, desde las Semanas de Verano del Centro de Estudios Superiores de Civilización Medieval de la Universidad de Poitiers (CESCM) hasta las de Leeds, pasando por las de Prato, Spoleto, Estella, Nájera, Lérica o Buenos Aires. De igual forma, se hace necesario incrementar la participación de dichos jóvenes en reuniones científicas y seminarios especializados que toquen de forma directa sus campos de estudio. Por último, es imprescindible incrementar el número de publicaciones especializadas en revistas de reconocido prestigio tanto de América como de Europa que les permita insertarse en los debates internacionales, nutrir las investigaciones en curso desarrolladas en otros centros y alimentar y enriquecer sus propias investigaciones con las observaciones de otros jóvenes colegas y profesores

104. No es esta una crítica a los cultivadores de la historia del tiempo presente. Recientemente Rousso ha analizado con sumo detalle y profundidad los límites y posibilidades de la historia del tiempo presente y los complejos debates historiográficos, epistemológicos, heurísticos e ideológicos que suscita. Rousso, Henry. *La última catástrofe. La historia, el presente, lo contemporáneo*, Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 2018.

ya consagrados. Los primeros logros permiten augurar un buen resultado, pero es imperativo desde ahora apuntalar dicha proyección.

Una tercera problemática reside en incrementar los vínculos institucionales con otras entidades de Educación Superior nacionales y extranjeras que fomenten el intercambio de alumnos, docentes y resultados de investigación. Hasta ahora, los convenios firmados con la Universidad Complutense y con la Universidad de París I Sorbona han permitido la impartición de cursos de especialización por parte de los profesores Francisco Martín Moreno y Dominique Iogna-Prat sobre la península ibérica en la tardo-antigüedad y sobre la eclesiología medieval respectivamente, pero es necesario que esta movilidad docente sea sistemática y se planifique a un término cuatrianual, por ejemplo, para enriquecer la formación de los alumnos de posgrado. En este sentido, es necesario también formalizar los convenios de movilidad y cooperación científica que han intentado establecerse con el Centro de Estudios Medievales de la Universidad de Poitiers y que por diversas razones administrativas no ha logrado concretarse. Por último, sería un logro importante implementar la co-tutela y la doble titulación de los alumnos mexicanos merced a estancias anuales o semestrales en centros de investigación extranjeros de reconocido prestigio. Para ello será necesario modificar la legislación universitaria vigente puesto que la doble titulación no se contempla en la actual normativa, pero las autoridades correspondientes están explorando ya posibles caminos. En un mundo global e interconectado, la movilización académica y la internacionalización deben ser una prioridad para las instituciones universitarias y ello no sólo debe plasmarse en el discurso, sino que debe materializarse en la concesión de los recursos financieros adecuados y constantes y en la eliminación de trabas burocráticas.

Un cuarto problema, este de naturaleza administrativa, constituye en realidad una paradoja: mantener el interés de los alumnos e impulsar el desarrollo de tesis doctorales de temática medieval representa, sin embargo, la imposibilidad de que las universidades mexicanas absorban a un alto número de medievalistas, máxime cuando el estudio de los siglos IV al XV no está en los planes de desarrollo institucional de la mayoría de las Instituciones de Educación Superior (IES) nacionales y cuando el espacio curricular que se otorga a la Edad Media en las carreras de historia es, en el mejor de los casos, de dos semestres. En este sentido, es menester señalar el hecho de que algunos miembros del Seminario han tenido a su cargo los cursos de Edad Media impartidos en la Licenciatura en Historia de instituciones de Ciudad de México como la Universidad Iberoamericana —institución dependiente de la Compañía de Jesús—, la Universidad Anáhuac del Sur —también institución privada— o el Instituto “Dr. José María Luis Mora”, centro de investigación público vinculado al Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT). Si añadimos a la Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana y a la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia, se agotarían las instituciones de educación superior en las que se imparte la carrera de Historia en la capital mexicana; es decir, los miembros del seminario han impartido docencia a nivel universitario en cuatro de seis instituciones posibles. Es, pues, legítimo hacerse la pregunta: ¿para qué formar a tantos medievalistas si eventualmente no todos podrán ejercer como tales? El problema se ha planteado ya en Europa con toda su crudeza y sabemos que en casos como el italiano, el francés o el español muchos jóvenes doctores con *curricula* notables, han debido emigrar a otras partes del mundo o bien, en el peor de los casos, han debido abandonar su carrera científica. La solución pasa en realidad por diseñar una nueva política de Estado que otorgue el necesario reconocimiento a los estudios humanísticos y a las ciencias sociales en general y que ello se traduzca en la creación de nuevas plazas de tiempo completo. En la práctica, con mucha probabilidad los medievalistas mexicanos que se formen en



los próximos años tendrán que ampliar sus horizontes laborales o reconvertirse hacia el estudio de otros periodos o campos temáticos, pero armados con el bagaje y el instrumental teórico y metodológico que ofrece el medievalismo.

Podemos concluir este apartado subrayando la pujanza y el interés de los estudiantes de grado y posgrado en los estudios medievales —situación que contrasta, por ejemplo, con España, donde el número de doctorandos ha disminuido notablemente—, las nuevas posibilidades que se han abierto para enriquecer la formación de los estudiantes y la necesidad de estar alerta frente a los nuevos desafíos que se presentarán en el futuro a mediano plazo cuando el número de medievalistas egresados supere el número de plazas disponibles, incluso en los niveles más bajos de los escalafones académicos.

3.3 Divulgación

Para la UNAM, la proyección de los resultados de las investigaciones que se generan en su seno hacia el conjunto de la sociedad a la que pertenece y a la que se debe, es una prioridad. Entendida como sociabilización del conocimiento y circulación de saberes, la UNAM destina numerosos recursos —humanos, financieros y de infraestructura— a dicha labor. Cuatro han sido las principales vías de divulgación: a) la impartición de ciclos de conferencias y conferencias magistrales por parte de especialistas nacionales y extranjeros; b) la organización de congresos especializados; c) la impartición de cursos y diplomados y d) conferencias de divulgación en espacios múltiples.

En el artículo del año 2010 había señalado ya la importancia de que las charlas, ciclos de conferencias y cursos se alejaran de los tópicos más trillados y que apelan a la imaginación del gran público —la caballería, los templarios y los ciclos literarios— para dar cabida a temáticas no solamente más variadas, sino más importantes para los debates científicos vigentes en el ámbito del medievalismo.

A lo largo de casi una década estas actividades académicas, desarrolladas por especialistas, fueron financiados o bien a través de la Cátedra Marcel Bataillon de Historiografía francesa que posee el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas o bien a través del programa anual de intercambio de la UNAM que pone en marcha los distintos convenios de colaboración que la universidad mexicana ha suscrito con diversas instituciones extranjeras.

El programa de difusión en temáticas medievales se abrió en 2008 con el ciclo de conferencias “Introducción a la arqueología medieval: paisaje monumental en Hispania entre los siglos IV y X”, a cargo de Francisco Moreno Martín, al que siguió el mismo año el de Víctor Muñoz Gómez sobre “El señorío castellano en la baja Edad Media: conceptos, fuentes y métodos de análisis”. Francisco Moreno se ha convertido en un asiduo interlocutor, de tal suerte que en el año 2010 impartió junto con Laura Fernández unas “Lecciones sobre arte medieval hispano. Arquitectura y procesos históricos en la península ibérica antes del año 1000” y en el 2015 dictó unas nuevas “Lecciones sobre alta Edad Media Hispana”. Mención especial merece el ciclo de conferencias “Iglesia y sociedad en la Edad Media”, impartido por Dominique Iogna-Prat en el marco de la Cátedra Marcel Bataillon en el año 2008. Resultado de su intervención fue el libro homónimo, gracias al cual fue posible difundir entre el público de lengua castellana las tesis más importantes contenidas en sus obras *Ordonner et exclure* y *La Maison Dieu*, de difícil acceso en Latinoamérica a pesar de lo fundamentales



que resultan para quienes se dedican al estudio de la Iglesia y la religiosidad medievales.¹⁰⁵ Por su parte, Flöcel Sabaté impartió en el 2009 el ciclo de conferencias “La Corona de Aragón en la Edad Media, siglos XI al XV” y al año siguiente Alessandro Vanoli disertó sobre “El Mediterráneo en la Edad Media”. Con el fin de no abrumar al lector sintetizo señalando los nombres de Pascual Martínez Sopena, “Castilla y León entre los reinos de España. Territorio, sociedad y urbanización en los siglos XII-XV”, 2010; Martín Aurell, “Cultura escrita y caballería, siglos XI al XII”, 2011; Jaume Aurell, “La historiografía medieval, entre historia y literatura”, 2011; Glauco María Cantarella, “El siglo XI, marcas de identidad”, 2011; Inmaculada Lorés, “El edificio románico. Espacios, funciones e imágenes”, 2012; Martín Alvira Cabrer, “La cruzada contra los albigenses (1209-1229): historia, guerra y memoria”, 2012; Iñaki Martín Viso, “Paisajes y sociedades en los orígenes del mundo medieval”, 2014 y María Isabel Pérez de Tudela y Velasco, “Las mujeres en la Edad Media Hispana”, 2014.¹⁰⁶

Aunque en los últimos tres años los efectos de la crisis económica han mermado la participación de colegas extranjeros por no poder ofrecer las facilidades debidas para su desplazamiento, el balance global permite constatar la participación de destacados medievalistas europeos que, efectivamente, han permitido superar los temas más recurrentes y populares y hacer una divulgación de alto nivel. Pese a estos aspectos positivos, nuevamente se constata la ausencia de medievalistas anglosajones y latinoamericanos, ausencia que deberá ser subsanada en los años venideros.¹⁰⁷ Frente a la carencia de recursos financieros, se hace imperativo apelar a la disposición de los colegas para afrontar a las respectivas burocracias y explorar nuevas vías de comunicación —como las video conferencias, que son cada vez más frecuentes y cuya calidad no deja de mejorar con los avances de la tecnología— y de financiación mediante el desarrollo de proyectos colectivos o la participación en programas de intercambio internacional como el Programa Marie Curie de la Unión Europea.¹⁰⁸

Los congresos especializados son una actividad académica inherente al ser de las universidades en tanto permite reunir a especialistas en un área o temática para poner en común el resultado de sus investigaciones. Cuestionados por su utilidad en algunos casos y mermados por la crisis económica mundial, no han estado ausentes sin embargo del programa de trabajo del Seminario. Así en 2008 se celebró el *Congreso Internacional, El mundo de los conquistadores. La península ibérica en la Edad Media y su proyección en la conquista de América* al que hemos hecho mención páginas arriba. Entre los medievalistas que participaron en él hay que destacar los nombres de Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Francisco García Fitz, Carlos Reglero de la Fuente, María Isabel Pérez de Tudela, Francisco Moreno Martín, David Porrinas González, Marisa Bueno, Víctor Muñoz Gómez, Alessandro Vanoli, Daniel Baloup, Patrick Henriët, Hélène Sirantoine, Eric Palazzo, Eliana Magnani, Klaus Herbers, Alejan-

105. Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Iglesia y sociedad en la Edad Media*, México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, 2010. Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *Ordonner et exclure. Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam (1000-1150)*, París: Flammarion, 2004; Iogna-Prat, Dominique. *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'église au Moyen Âge*, París: Seuil, 2012.

106. “Seminario Estudios Históricos Sobre la Edad Media... (<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/investigacion/seminarios/s_ehed.html>).

107. No obstante, no hemos dejado de invitar a colegas argentinos, quienes han participado en distintos coloquios que se refieren más adelante: Ariel Guance, director del Instituto Multidisciplinario de Historia y Ciencias Humanas (IMICIHU) del CONICET; Gerardo Rodríguez, investigador del CONICET adscrito a la Universidad Nacional de Mar del Plata y Alejandro Morín, investigador de IMICIHU.

108. “Les Actions Marie Skłodowska-Curie (A.M.S.C.)”, *Horizon 2020*, Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur, de la Recherche et de l'Innovation, 18 Diciembre 2017, <<http://www.horizon2020.gouv.fr/cid73279/les-actions-marie-sklo-dowska-curie.html>>.



dro Morín y Junko Kume. Nunca antes en México se había reunido un número de medievalistas tan alto y quizás este logro académico e intelectual sólo tenga un antecedente en México: la participación de Jacques Le Goff y Georges Duby en la Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia a fines de la década de 1980 de la que, lamentablemente, han quedado pocos testimonios.¹⁰⁹

El segundo congreso se celebró en 2011 bajo el título “Fernando III, tiempo de cruzada”, coordinado por Carlos de Ayala y el autor de estas líneas en el marco del proyecto I + D *Iglesia y legitimación del poder político. Guerra santa y cruzada en la Edad Media del occidente peninsular (1050-1250)*, financiado por el ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación entre 2008 y 2011 (HAR2008-01259) y dirigido por el propio profesor de Ayala. Construyendo una sinergia financiera entre la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid y la UNAM fue posible reunir a la mayoría de los investigadores vinculados al proyecto como Fermín Miranda, Santiago Palacios, Enrique Rodríguez Picavea, Philippe Josserand, José Manuel Rodríguez, David Porrinas o Carlos Barquero y a otros cuyas líneas de investigación eran afines, como Ariel Guance, Hélène Sirantoine, Laura Fernández o Alexander Pierre Bronisch. Al igual que ocurrió con el congreso de *El mundo de los conquistadores*, los resultados de la reunión científica fueron editados de forma simultánea en Madrid y México gracias a un convenio de colaboración entre la editorial española Sílex y la propia UNAM, lo cual garantizó su accesibilidad y disponibilidad a ambos lados del Atlántico. El modelo de colaboración podría servir para proyectos similares impulsados desde América Latina.¹¹⁰

Finalmente, en el año 2013 se llevó a cabo en ciudad de México la primera edición del Congreso Internacional *La Edad Media vista desde otros horizontes: problemas teóricos y metodológicos*. Impulsado por el autor de estas líneas y con la valiosa colaboración de Junko Kume, profesora de la Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS) de Japón, el congreso tenía como particularidad ser un primer esfuerzo para reunir en México a medievalistas que trabajaran fuera de Europa, independientemente de su nacionalidad de origen. Ello, a su vez, tenía un doble objetivo: por un lado, impulsar una red de colaboración internacional —particularmente con países de América Latina— no necesariamente vinculada a Europa; por el otro, generar una reflexión colectiva sobre los problemas teóricos y metodológicos —en suma, epistemológicos— a los que nos enfrentamos quienes pretendemos estudiar la Edad Media desde otros horizontes geográficos, metodológicos, historiográficos.

Naturalmente —como casi siempre en todo— antes de esta propuesta se habían impulsado hasta entonces tres reflexiones de naturaleza semejante desde América Latina. En el primer caso se trata de las reuniones organizadas por la medievalista brasileña Eliana Magnani en Auxerre (2002), Sao Paulo (2003), Madrid (2005) y Buenos Aires (2006) bajo el título *Le Moyen Âge vue d'ailleurs* y que en su momento inspiró el título del encuentro mexicano como humilde reconocimiento a la labor desarrollada por esta medievalista brasileña.¹¹¹ El proyecto impulsado por Magnani tenía como objetivo fundamental “dar a conocer en Europa aquello que se hacía en el

109. El programa completo del congreso puede consultarse en: “El mundo de los conquistadores La península ibérica en la Edad Media y su proyección en la conquista de América: Ciudad de México, 4, 5 y 6 de junio de 2008”, *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 22 Diciembre 2017 <<http://www.historicas.unam.mx/eventos/2008/conquistadores.html>>.

110. Ayala, Carlos de; Ríos, Martín, eds. *Fernando III; tiempo de cruzada*, Madrid-México: Sílex Ediciones-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2012.

111. Los resultados de los encuentros fueron puestos en línea en el *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales Auxerre*: Magnani, Eliana, ed. *Hors-série n° 2*. (2008) [Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs] <<http://cem.revues.org/3912>> (Consultado el 18 de diciembre de 2018), en tanto que una selección conoció una edición impresa: Magnani, Eliana, ed. *Le Moyen Âge vue d'ailleurs. Voix croisées d'Amérique Latine et d'Europe*, Dijon: Université de Dijon, 2010.

medievalismo latinoamericano y de estimular los intercambios entre los jóvenes investigadores y los investigadores ya confirmados alrededor de la actualidad de una investigación múltiple en proceso de construcción”.¹¹² Los resultados de las cuatro reuniones fueron publicados en forma digital por el Boletín del Centro de Estudios Medievales de Auxerre y representan un enorme esfuerzo no sólo por valorizar los estudios sobre Edad Media realizados fuera de Europa, sino también por reflexionar sobre el sentido del medievalismo no europeo. En el segundo caso se trata de la reflexión que tuvo lugar en el 2008 en la Universidad de Sao Paulo y fue coordinada por Didier Méhu, Néri de Barros Almeida y Marcelo Cândido da Silva bajo el sugestivo título *¿Por qué estudiar la Edad Media? Los medievalistas frente a los usos sociales del pasado* y en el que participaron, entre otros, Eliana Magnani, Joseph Morsel y Jerome Baschet.¹¹³ En el tercer caso, se trata del proyecto dirigido por Gerardo Rodríguez y Andrea Vanina que vio la luz bajo el título *¿Qué implica ser medievalista? Prácticas y reflexiones en torno al oficio de historiador*. Los coordinadores sumaron voces de ambos lados del Atlántico con el objetivo de reflexionar “[...] en torno a la labor del historiador, el uso de fuentes y la construcción de marcos historiográficos y teórico-metodológicos para abordarlas” y contaron entre sus colaboradores a Flocel Sabaté, Maria Giussepina Muzzareli o la misma Nilda Guglielmi.¹¹⁴ Amén del número de investigadores, el texto resulta sumamente interesante por haber sido elaborado precisamente en uno de los grandes focos del medievalismo latinoamericano, la República de Argentina, y ello representa una reflexión sobre la labor realizada a lo largo de medio siglo por diversas generaciones que anualmente se dan cita en la reunión de la Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Medievales.

Frente a esta rica historiografía, ¿por qué era necesario realizar en México un nuevo coloquio alrededor de esta problemática? La respuesta era sencilla: porque el medievalismo mexicano se hallaba en proceso de consolidación y era imperativo generar una reflexión propia sobre nuestro quehacer cotidiano en contextos que *a priori* no son ciertamente favorables con el fin de encontrar un sentido a dicha labor, generando al mismo tiempo vínculos personales e institucionales con colegas de aquellos países americanos en los que el medievalismo cuenta con una larga tradición y se hayan plenamente consolidados —como Argentina, Brasil, Chile, Canadá y Estados Unidos— y con colegas de aquellos en los que el estudio del medioevo se halla en proceso de consolidación, como podrían ser Japón o Australia. A la cita mexicana acudieron la profesora Junko Kume, de Japón; los profesores Gerardo Rodríguez y Alejandro Morín, de Argentina; las profesoras Diana Arauz y María José Sánchez Usón, de la Universidad de Zacatecas y colegas mexicanos del ámbito de la literatura como Laurette Godinas o Gerardo Román Altamirano.¹¹⁵

Lamentablemente los invitados de Australia, Estados Unidos y Brasil, hubieron de declinar la invitación, por lo que el objetivo no se cumplió del todo y problemas de gestión institucional impidieron incluso materializar los esfuerzos de la mencionada reflexión. Afortunadamente, el relevo fue tomado por el profesor Gerardo Rodríguez, quien desde la Universidad Nacional de Mar del

112. Magnani, Eliana. “Avant propos”, *Hors-série n° 2*. (2008) : 1-3, especialmente 1 [Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs] <<http://cem.revues.org/10652>> (Consultado el 18 de diciembre de 2018).

113. Méhu Didier; Barros Almeida, Néri; Cândido da Silva, Marcelo. *Pourquoi Étudier Le Moyen Age Au XXIe Siècle ? Les Médiévistes Face aux usages sociaux du passé*, París: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2012.

114. Vanina, Andrea; Rodríguez Gerardo, eds. *¿Qué implica ser medievalista? Prácticas y reflexiones en torno al oficio de historiador*, 3 vols., Mar de Plata: Universidad Nacional del Sur-Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Medievales, 2012.

115. El programa completo puede consultarse en: “La Edad Media vista desde otros horizontes: problemas teóricos y metodológicos 18 y 19 de febrero de 2013”, *Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas*. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 18 diciembre 2017, <http://www.historicas.unam.mx/eventos/2013/coloquio_edad_media.html>.



Plata, impulsó una segunda reunión en 2015 bajo el mismo título que reunió a algunos participantes de la cita mexicana —a los que se sumó, entre otros Flocel Sabaté— y en 2017 la profesora Junko Kume organizó en la TUFS de Tokyo la tercera edición, en la que la participación de colegas japoneses y españoles fue numerosa; en este último caso el horizonte geográfico fue ciertamente muy distinto, pero mostró las posibilidades que brindan y las perspectivas que abren los diálogos y las interrogantes de largo aliento.

Tres han sido las conclusiones generales de estos encuentros. En primer lugar, se ha subrayado la necesidad de impulsar la creación de redes a nivel latinoamericano y global que permitan hacer circular entre los países de la región los conocimientos generados sobre el periodo que nos ocupa de la historia europea. En segundo término, se ha puesto de relieve el nivel alcanzado por los estudios medievales en la región, lo que permite a sus cultivadores participar activamente en los debates internacionales habiendo superado —al menos parcialmente— los problemas vinculados a la distancia geográfica como son las dificultades para acceder a las fuentes y a la bibliografía actualizada. Por último, se ha reivindicado la distancia geográfica como un factor positivo, que ofrece un punto de observación distinto que permite a los medievalistas que trabajan desde otros horizontes lanzar miradas de largo aliento, analizar procesos más que estudios de caso y contribuir desde sus propias tradiciones historiográficas locales a los estudios medievales hechos en Europa. No es desestimable el dato según el cual Fernand Braudel concibió su famoso libro sobre el Mediterráneo durante su estancia en Brasil,¹¹⁶ que Ernst Kantorowicz escribió *Los dos cuerpos del rey* desde su exilio norteamericano¹¹⁷ y que Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz concibió su *España, un enigma histórico*, desde su exilio argentino.¹¹⁸

La organización de cursos —sobre la que no es necesario detenerse demasiado— especializados enfocados a la Edad Media ha sido, como decíamos más arriba, uno de los vehículos privilegiados para difundir una visión renovada y científica entre un público general pero con cierto nivel cultural e intereses variados. En este sentido, el autor de estas líneas ha podido constatar en más de una ocasión el enorme desconocimiento que aún existe sobre este periodo de la historia europea y la vigencia de tópicos negativos sobre la Edad Media que la conciben exclusivamente como un periodo “oscuro”, “violento”, “analfabeta” y donde primaban el “fanatismo” y la “brujería” y no ha dejado de sorprenderse de la falta de conciencia acerca de lo que nuestro tiempo y nuestra cultura deben a los siglos medievales. A través de estos cursos y de conferencias impartidas en distintos foros externos a los recintos universitarios, los miembros del SEHSEM hemos querido contribuir a difundir una visión científica de la Edad Media.

116. Braudel, Fernand. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, París: Armand Collin, 1949. Paul Braudel, la esposa de Fernand Braudel, llegaría a escribir: *L'énorme documentation que mon mari a entre les mains le pousse à prendre le large. Il va choisir la Méditerranée. C'est donc pendant l'épisode brésilien qu'il a changé son sujet de thèse [...]*. Citado por Dax, Pierre. *Braudel*, París: Flammarion, 1995: 125. Sobre la importancia de la experiencia brasileña en la trayectoria intelectual de Braudel véase el capítulo 4, páginas 109-136 de esta obra.

117. Kantorowicz, Ernst. *The King's two bodies. A Studie in medieval political Theologie*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957. Recientemente Alain Boureau ha recordado el hecho de que la obra fue concebida en 1945 al calor de una discusión erudita que tuvo Kantorowicz con su colega en Princeton especialista en derecho Max Radin: Boureau, Alain. *Kantorowicz. Histoire d'un historien*, París: Les Belles Lettres, 2018: 57-58.

118. Sánchez-Albornoz, Claudio. *España, un enigma histórico*, Buenos Aires: Sudamericana, 1956. Sabido es que el libro nació como respuesta a las tesis de Américo Castro, quien también se encontraba en el exilio. De una ingente bibliografía sobre Sánchez-Albornoz elaborada tanto en España como Argentina destaco tan sólo el último trabajo que le dedicara Martín, José Luis. “Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz (1893-1984)”, *Rewriting the Middle Age in the Twentieth Century*, Jaime Aurell, Francisco Crosas, eds., Turnhout: Brépols, 2005: 149-170.

Dicho todo lo anterior, somos conscientes de la exigencia que se nos plantea: la de dar salida de manera sistemática a través de publicaciones al conocimiento generado en el marco del Seminario. Ello pasaría por crear una colección dedicada a monografías de temática medieval dentro del propio Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas —en el que como es natural los estudios sobre historia de México siguen marcando la pauta— y garantizar su adecuada financiación. De igual forma, sería deseable crear una revista científica propia como las que ya existen en Argentina (*Cuadernos de Historia de España; Estudios medievales; Cuadernos de Historia Medieval, Estudios de Historia de España*), Chile (*Revista chilena de estudios medievales*), Brasil (*Signum*) o Estados Unidos (*Iberian medieval studies*), o al menos un Boletín anual o bimestral como el que edita la Universidad Católica de Argentina (*Scriptorium*).

3.4 Vinculación institucional

Señalábamos más arriba que uno de los objetivos programáticos más importantes —y en realidad uno de sus desafíos más urgentes— era la construcción de vínculos institucionales con universidades y centros de investigación nacionales y extranjeros dedicados al cultivo de la Edad Media. Con lo dicho hasta aquí creemos que el objetivo se ha cumplido con creces y hoy el medievalismo mexicano de naturaleza histórica ha encontrado un espacio propio en el ámbito del medievalismo latinoamericano y europeo y para ello ha sido un factor determinante el apoyo incondicional y continuado de diversos colegas de estos países.¹¹⁹ Sin embargo, quedan en este rubro objetivos importantes por cumplir.

El primero de ellos, es reforzar e incrementar los vínculos institucionales con Brasil. A pesar de las problemáticas sociales, económicas y políticas que el gigante sudamericano ha enfrentado en los últimos años, Brasil mantiene su posición como referente latinoamericano en el campo de las ciencias sociales y las humanidades —la Universidad de Sao Paulo (USP) se ubica en el primer lugar de las universidades de la región— y cuenta con el número de medievalistas más amplio de Latinoamérica. Un primer paso ha sido dado. En el 2016 el Seminario fue invitado a participar en la reunión de trabajo de la Red Latinoamericana de Estudios Medievales que coordinan los profesores Marcelo Cándido da Silva de la Universidad de Sao Paulo y Armando Torres de la Universidad Nacional de Heredia, Costa Rica que se celebró en el mes de octubre de aquel año en el país centroamericano. Pensada no como una sociedad sino como una red de trabajo en torno a temas comunes, la Red está a punto de ofrecer a la comunidad científica su primer resultado editorial coordinado por Armando Torres. A partir de este contacto será imprescindible activar los mecanismos de intercambio existentes entre la UNAM y las universidades brasileñas y fomentar la circulación de profesores, alumnos y publicaciones.¹²⁰

El segundo reto es construir vínculos con el mundo anglosajón. Debe reconocerse que en buena medida la carencia de estos vínculos obedece a la formación y a los intereses científicos del autor de

119. No es un dato menor que el sitio del medievalismo francés *Menestrel*, contiene ya una entrada para “Mexique” que fue elaborada por Améndolla, Diego. “Institutions”, *Méneſtreſ, Médiéviſtes ſur le net: ſources, travaux et références en ligne*, 20 octubre 2015, Unité Régionale de Formation à l’Information Scientifique et Technique, 17 diciembre 2017 <<http://www.menestrel.fr/spip.php?rubrique1428&lang=de>>. De igual manera, tres miembros del Seminario (Martín Ríos, Walter de Santa María y Francisco Vera) poseen entradas y referencias en el portal español *Dialnet*.

120. Tales líneas propuestas valen sin duda también para otros países latinoamericanos como Argentina y Chile, aunque felizmente los vínculos con instituciones y colegas de estos países tienen ya varios años y gozan de buena salud. Razones estrictamente de orden financiero nos han impedido, sin embargo, cursar una mayor cantidad de invitaciones como es nuestro deseo.



estas líneas, centrados en la península ibérica. En este sentido y ante la enormidad de la tarea —se ha partido en muchos casos, si no de cero, si de una posición de cierta marginalidad— cuando se iniciaron los trabajos del Seminario se privilegió una vinculación con aquellas instituciones o colegas científicamente más afines. La vinculación con el medievalismo anglosajón es impostergable y habrá que encauzar los esfuerzos en ese sentido.

El último objetivo es fundar la Sociedad Mexicana de Estudios Medievales. Hasta ahora los contactos y los esfuerzos han sido infructuosos. Ello obedece, en parte, a la escasez de medievalistas profesionales en el campo de la historia, pues el total de profesores/investigadores de tiempo completo dedicados al cultivo de la historia medieval, incluyendo a los historiadores del arte, no supera la decena en todo el país. A esta situación se suman la marginalidad de los estudios medievales respecto de otros campos del saber histórico y la fuerza y el abolengo que poseen los estudios literarios de temática medieval. En este sentido, es necesario mantener los esfuerzos e impulsar un acercamiento con los colegas de otras disciplinas y tomar ejemplo de proyectos exitosos como los de la Sociedad Zacatecana de Estudios Clásicos y Medievales, asociación con la que existe ya una sólida vinculación y al que tanto impulso han dado los profesores Diana Arauz y Luis Felipe Jiménez y su equipo.¹²¹

3. Conclusiones

A tenor de lo hasta aquí expuesto podemos concluir, en primer lugar, que las labores desarrolladas por el Seminario de Estudios Históricos sobre la Edad Media (SEHSEM) a lo largo de una década en el Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas de la UNAM ha permitido abrir un espacio científico y académico para el estudio de la civilización medieval a través de la investigación, la docencia y la divulgación. Ello se ha traducido en la realización de publicaciones especializadas, en la elaboración de tesis de licenciatura, maestría y doctorado de temática medieval de alto nivel y en la realización de ciclos de conferencias, seminarios, congresos y charlas que han convertido el estudio de la Edad Media desde la perspectiva histórica en algo cotidiano y que ha construido su propia legitimidad científica frente a una tradición historiográfica centrada hasta hace pocos años en el estudio exclusivo de la historia nacional. De igual forma, puede señalarse que la producción científica del seminario se vincula con las tradiciones historiográficas propias que hunden sus raíces en los trabajos pioneros de Luis Weckmann y el historicismo de Edmundo O’Gormann, pero también con una serie de proyectos editoriales vinculados con la Edad Media impulsados por el Fondo de Cultura Económica o la propia UNAM y a la que nos hemos sumado en los últimos años con dos estudios monográficos especializados, dos libros colectivos resultado de sendos congresos y un libro de alta divulgación (Dominique Iogna-Prat).

En segundo término, puede considerarse que el medievalismo mexicano representado por el Seminario, si bien es joven en comparación a otras escuelas latinoamericanas, particularmente la argentina, la brasileña y, en menor medida, la chilena —la costarricense es de muy reciente creación—, posee el empuje necesario para consolidarse en la próxima década gracias a la constitución de un grupo de trabajo permanente, a la existencia de mecanismos administrativos y financieros

121. Asociación Zacatecana de Estudios Clásicos y Medievales, 17 diciembre 2017 <<http://azecme.com.mx/>>. Recientemente la profesora Arauz ha presentado los resultados de una década de trabajo de la Sociedad: Arauz, Dina, “Los estudios medievales en Zacatecas, México. Diez años de labores en la asociación zacatecana de estudios clásicos y medievales (AZECME)”. *Estudios de historia de España*, 19-1 (2017): 22-45.



para apoyar las estancias de investigación y el intercambio académico y, en fin, a las enormes posibilidades de comunicación e investigación que han generado los avances tecnológicos vinculados al internet. Esa madurez deberá traducirse, necesariamente, en un aumento de la producción editorial mediante la publicación de trabajos monográficos y colecciones documentales, así como en la constitución de una publicación periódica de carácter científico que se convierta en una vía de comunicación de las investigaciones elaboradas en México y en un espacio de diálogo con otras escuelas de medievalistas.¹²²

A pesar de los logros obtenidos, quedan aún desafíos importantes que deberán superarse en el corto plazo: a) abrir los campos de investigación más allá de la historiografía y la historia cultural practicadas hasta ahora, para lo que será necesario adquirir las herramientas metodológicas propias de la disciplina por parte de los interesados —paleografía, diplomática, allegarse las colecciones documentales pertinentes e impulsar las estancias largas de investigación que permita el trabajo en los diversos repositorios europeos; b) intensificar las relaciones institucionales con los polos mexicanos en donde se cultivan los estudios medievales, particularmente Zacatecas y San Cristóbal de las Casas; c) desarrollar e impulsar los vínculos académicos con los centros anglosajones y d) aumentar los intercambios académicos de profesores, alumnos y saberes entre la universidad mexicana y los centros latinoamericanos.

Para todos estos proyectos hace falta no sólo empeño personal de los miembros del Seminario, sino el apoyo institucional de los cuadros directivos y mecanismos permanentes de financiación. En este sentido, me parece que es necesario que el medievalismo latinoamericano en general tome conciencia de su condición de marginalidad en el conjunto de la investigación histórica actual la cual, por diversos factores, sigue manteniendo una impronta nacional que se traduce en el cuestionamiento recurrente por parte de las autoridades académicas y educativas del sentido de estudiar Edad Media desde América Latina, en la merma de los fondos para la investigación, los intercambios académicos y la realización de congresos, en la no apertura —o no en número suficiente— de plazas de profesor-investigador de tiempo completo y en la reducción de horas dedicadas al estudio de la Edad Media en los planes de enseñanza básica. De igual suerte, es necesario ser conscientes del enorme terreno que han ganado los estudios sobre historia contemporánea, particularmente entre los estudiantes más jóvenes, interés del que necesariamente deben hacerse eco las instituciones por obvias razones, pero que no debería traducirse en un cuestionamiento como el que lanzó el ministro argentino de educación sobre la legitimidad de los estudios medievales en aquel país.

En este sentido, considero que el medievalismo latinoamericano está llamado a sumar esfuerzos mediante el desarrollo de proyectos colectivos de investigación, de proyectos editoriales conjuntos —con lo que ello significa para superar las trabas burocráticas propias de la firma de estos convenios—, de programas de intercambio académico y, en fin, a través del diálogo permanente con los colegas europeos cuya historia estudiamos. Quizás el inicio de la segunda década del siglo XXI sea el momento para materializar un proyecto que diversos colegas de ambas orillas hemos planteado en más de una ocasión: constituir la Sociedad Iberoamericana de Estudios Medievales. El trabajo colectivo será un arma sumamente eficaz con la cual librar nuevos combates por la historia en tiempos de crisis.

122. Los esfuerzos de la revista *Medievalia* en este sentido han sido notables, pero pese a su anunciado carácter multidisciplinar, lo cierto es que por la propia naturaleza científica del grupo al que pertenece han primado en sus páginas los estudios literarios y filológicos como es fácil comprobar a través de los índices: *Medievalia*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. 18 diciembre 2017 <<https://revistas-filologicas.unam.mx/medievalia/index.php/mv>>.



LA ARQUETA ROMÁNICA DE SAN ADRIÁN Y SANTA NATALIA (THE ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO): CONTEXTO CULTURAL Y ANÁLISIS ARTÍSTICO

JOSÉ ALBERTO MORAIS
PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD CATÓLICA DE VALPARAÍSO

RESUMEN

Se realiza el estudio monográfico de la arqueta de los santos Adrián y Natalia del Art Institute de Chicago, pieza olvidada por la historiografía del arte románico, analizando el ciclo figurativo sobre la vida de los dos santos orientales que alberga, examinando su factura técnica, así como sus epígrafes.

Todo ello se enmarca en el estudio del origen de su culto en Bizancio, el traslado de sus reliquias a Roma y, durante los siglos IX y X, su expansión en el antiguo reino astur leonés. Finalmente se trata la iconografía en relación con la *Passio* escrita del mártir y se establecen comparativas con las obras de orfebrería realizadas en San Isidoro de León.¹

1. Introducción

El Art Institute de Chicago conserva entre sus fondos un relicario dedicado a San Adrián y Santa Natalia elaborado con láminas de plata chapadas sobre un alma de madera y que, atendiendo a la ficha catalográfica de la institución, se dataría en el siglo XII, teniendo como procedencia la provincia de León (España)² (Ilustraciones 1, 2, 3 y 4).

Resulta llamativo que, a pesar de la calidad artística de este objeto sacro, las referencias que se le dedicaron en los escritos científicos sean muy limitadas. De hecho, a propósito de la elaboración del célebre catálogo *The Art of Medieval Spain. 500-200* publicado en Nueva York en el año 1993, la completa ficha realizada por el profesor John Williams, sólo recogió tres menciones esporádicas realizadas por los investigadores.

Este trabajo tiene como objetivo profundizar en el conocimiento de esta presea, analizar su factura técnica, las imágenes que los orfebres románicos desplegaron en sus cuatro caras, así como acotar, en la medida de lo posible, su cronología y lugar de procedencia.

1. Trabajo enmarcado en el Proyecto de Investigación DI-VRIEA, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso (Chile) número 039.363/2017. Grupo de Estudios "Circulación de la información, objetos y personas", Pontificia Universidad Católica de Valparaíso, Instituto de Historia. Abreviaturas utilizadas: BnF, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

2. "Reliquary Casket of Saints Adrian and Natalia, 1100/50", *Art Institute of Chicago*, 26 marzo 2015 < <http://www.artic.edu/aic/collections/artwork/46230> > Número de inventario 43. 65. Las medidas de la pieza son: 15,9x 25,4x 14,5 centímetros.



2. Un limitado pasado historiográfico

La primera mención realizada sobre el relicario de la que tenemos constancia data del año 1914, cuando Josep Gudiol i Cunill respondía a la petición del Dr. Burkhard Mies, investigador del arte medieval, sobre “unos cofrecillos, de producción catalana, hechos de madera cubierta con delgada plancha de cobre estampado o repujado a molde”. Señalaba Gudiol que Julius Böhler, anticuario afincado en Munich, le había remitido dos fotografías de una lipsanoteca, que el autor catalán rápido ligó a las producciones orfebres de la Cataluña medieval y entendió como receptáculo custodio de “la mano de San Martín; pero los relieves y leyendas aluden a la muerte de San Adrián”.³

No resulta fácil seguir el rastro de la pieza desde que, hipotéticamente, saliera de España rumbo a Alemania. En todo caso, su presencia por esas fechas en la colección Böhler de Munich deberá vincularse al establecimiento en Estados Unidos de otra galería de arte que, a partir de los años veinte, abriría su hijo Otto Böhler, hecho que podría revelar la vía seguida por esta obra para su expatriación internacional.

Las informaciones conservadas en el archivo del Art Institute de Chicago revelan que ya en el año 1932 debía estar en posesión de Harry Fuld, ligado igualmente a los ambientes coleccionistas germanos y comprador de numerosas piezas medievales que hoy se reparten entre Boston y Chicago.⁴

Esas mismas fuentes informan de la cesión de la arqueta, el 17 de octubre del año 1942, al museo de Chicago a través de Raphael Stora, en una política de adquisición de objetos orfebres que se remontaba a la figura de Kate S. Buckingham (1858-1937), coleccionista, filántropo y promotora, junto a su hermana Lucie Maud, de la llamada Memorial Gothic Room, lugar que a partir de entonces conservaría la obra.⁵

Si tradicionalmente la presencia de la joya en las vitrinas del museo se relacionó con la figura de Kate Buckingham, el papel que jugaron Meyric Rogers y Oswald Göetz en su puesta en valor no fue menor, especialmente a partir de los años 40. De hecho, desde la publicación de Gudiol en la primera década del siglo XX, rige un silencio documental pasmoso que sólo se rompe a partir de las pequeñas menciones al relicario realizadas por estos y otros autores.⁶ Sólo tras el año 1945 se inicia un tibio conocimiento del relicario, defendiendo su procedencia hispana a partir del estilo de las

3. Gudiol i Cunill, Josep. “Una antigua producción catalana”. *Museum*, 4 (1914-1915): 37-44. Dató la pieza en el siglo XII y publicó, hasta donde conocemos, las dos primeras fotografías de la obra.

4. Dale, Thomas. “Meyric Rogers, Oswald Goetz, and the Rehabilitation of the Lucy Maud Buckingham Memorial Gothic Room at the Art Institute of Chicago in the 1940s”, *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008: 118-130; Swarzenski, Georg. “Die Sammlung Harry Fuld in Frankfurt”. *Das Kunstblatt*, 2 (1918): 78-90.

5. Nielsen, Christina. “Introduction”, *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008: 1-5; Seidel, Linda. “The Buckingham Head: An Incidental Portrait of its Accidental Patron”, *To Inspire and Instruct: A History of Medieval Art in Midwestern Museums*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008: 72-86; Fabens Kelley, Charles. “Kate S. Buckingham as a Collector”. *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 39, 1 (1945): 1-5; Rogers, Meyric. “The Rehabilitation of the Lucy Maud Buckingham Medieval Collection”. *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 39/3 (1945), 33-36.

6. La bibliografía que anoto cita muy puntualmente la pieza, sin profundizar en su estudio: Swarzenski, Georg. “Die Sammlung...”: 88; Rogers, Meyric. “Decorative Arts”. *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago: Report for the Year 1943*, 38/3 (1944), 17; Göetz, Oswald. “Medieval Enamels and Metalwork in the Buckingham Collection”. *Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago*, 38/7 (1944): 110-112; Foss, Helen. “News Reports”. *College Art Journal*, 8/4 (1949): 306; Gudiol, Josep. “Basic Spanish in the Middle Ages”. *Art News*, 53/8 (1954): 20; Butler, Ruth. “Frühe spanische Kunstschatze in The Cloisters von New York”. *Die Kunst und das schöne heim*, 55/12 (1955): 444-445; Wardropper, Ian; Springer Roberts, Lynn. *European Decorative Arts in The Art Institute of Chicago*. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1991: 10-12.



placas argénteas, dándole una cronología de entre los años 1150 y 1170 e insinuando la posibilidad de establecer comparativas con miniaturas y marfiles conservados en España.⁷

En 1961 ve la luz un estudio centrado específicamente en la técnica de la pieza, enumerando los daños sufridos y elucubrando sobre un posible remonte de las placas, identificando las escenas hagiográficas sin atender a su orden temático y estableciendo paralelos con las artes del libro del norte de Europa; a partir del *Codex Aureus* de Nuremberg y los relicarios de Saint-Hadelin de la colegiata de San Martín de Visé (Valonia, Bélgica) y los marfiles del área de Echternach. En dicho trabajo, finalmente, se niega la procedencia hispana con argumentos lacónicos y se concluyen datos interesantes a partir del estudio espectrofotométrico y microscópico de la plata.⁸

Con todo, resulta destacable la poca difusión que en estas aportaciones tomó el trabajo firmado por Charles Rufus Morey y donde precisamente se defendía que *relief studies and inscription evidence indicate an attribution to Leon, where it is known that an arm of Saint Adrian is conserved in the abbey of San Claudio*.⁹ La hipótesis, al contrario, se asume totalmente en el trabajo que Jesús Hernández Perera dedica monográficamente a las artes suntuarias del románico español.¹⁰

Este obligatorio recuento bibliográfico dedicado a la arqueta de San Adrián y Santa Natalia se cierra, como indicábamos, a partir de la ficha recogida en el catálogo de Nueva York del año 1993.¹¹ Aquí, no sin dudas, se defiende su procedencia leonesa, ligando la pieza con el monasterio de San Adrián de Boñar, insistiendo en la precocidad del culto al santo en el caso hispano al menos desde el siglo VII y ligando la factura del trabajo en plata a otras obras célebres de entre los relicarios románicos, como es el caso del arca santa de Oviedo, en el marco de un patrocinio de presea propio de los núcleos regios vinculados con San Isidoro de León y, en particular, con la figura de la infanta Urraca, hija del rey Fernando I y propietaria del enclave monástico citado, a partir del año 1099.

Menciones esporádicas más recientes han reiterado tales informaciones, valorando escasamente el ciclo iconográfico de la presea, limitándose estas a reafirmar su origen leonés¹² y transcribiendo los epígrafes ubicados en la base del relicario.

Entre los años 2004 y 2011 otras aportaciones la citaron, manteniendo la cronología indicada y vinculándola al culto desarrollado en la Península Ibérica a estos santos, sin ningún análisis más profundo.¹³

7. Göetz, Oswald. "Medieval Enamels...": 110-112.

8. Donnelly, Marian; Smith, Cyril. "Notes on a Romanesque Reliquary". *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 58 (1961): 109-119.

9. "El estudio de los relieves y la evidencia de la inscripción indican una atribución a León, donde se conoce que un brazo de San Adrián se conserva en la abadía de San Claudio"; "Chasse of St. Adrian", *Spanish Medieval Art. Loan Exhibition in honor of Dr. Walter W. S. Cook*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Cloisters, 1954: ficha catalográfica 5. A pesar de la intensa búsqueda no he podido acceder al trabajo original de Morey, pero intuyo que fue el primer autor en lanzar la teoría que conectaba la arqueta con León.

10. Hernández Perera, Jesús. "Las artes industriales españolas de la época románica". *Goya*, 43-45 (1961): 98-112.

11. Williams, John. "Shrine of Saints Adrian y Natalia", *The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200*. Nueva York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992: ficha catalográfica 122, 257.

12. Franco Mata, Ángela. "Las artes suntuarias en las Españas del Cid y del Cantar. Siglos XI y XII". *El Cid del hombre a la leyenda*. Burgos: Junta de Castilla y León, 2007: 161-183; Franco Mata, Ángela. "La amortización suntuaria: los tesoros de los monasterios románicos", *Monasterios románicos y producción artística*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2003: 163-186 y Franco Mata, Ángela. *Arte leonés fuera de León (siglos IV-XVI)*. León: Edilesa, 2010.

13. Nielsen, Christina. "Reliquary Casket of Saints Adrian and Natalia". *Devotion and Splendor: Medieval Art at the Art Institute of Chicago, Museum Studies*, 30/2 (2004) ficha catalográfica 11: 30-31; Rodríguez Montañés, José Manuel. "San Adrián de Boñar (o de Las Caldas)", *Enciclopedia del Románico de Castilla y León: León*. Aguilar de Campoo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 2002: 207-214.

3. El culto medieval a los santos Adrián y Natalia en el noroccidente de la Península Ibérica

Los orígenes entorno a los que se constituyó la tradición hagiográfica de San Adrián y Santa Natalia no son claros, aunque con seguridad se liga su martirio a la ciudad de Nicomedia —la actual Izmit, en el norte de Anatolia, Turquía—, dentro de un inseguro arco temporal que comprende los años finales del siglo III y hasta el año 303.

Los autores decimonónicos y, particularmente, la escuela bolandista, debatieron sobre este soldado al servicio imperial romano y que por su negativa a retractarse del culto cristiano fue encarcelado y condenado al martirio en la citada urbe, durante el mandato de Galero Maximiano. Sin embargo, sus restos rápidamente fueron trasladados a Argiópolis, de tal manera que sería “honrado por los griegos el 26 de agosto”,¹⁴ junto con su esposa Natalia y otros veintitrés mártires compañeros.

Sin embargo, más allá de la tradición eclesiástica más primitiva y la introducción de su *dies natalis* en los calendarios litúrgicos de tradición griega, las pruebas arqueológicas no han conseguido esclarecer el primer edificio, si es que existió, donde se depositaron las reliquias del santo tras la *translatio*.

De lo que no existe duda alguna es que la veneración a San Adrián pronto arribó a Occidente, pues ya en el pontificado de Honorio I (615-638) el antiguo edificio de la Curia Julia del foro de Roma fue transformado en templo cristiano, consagrándose al mártir, por primera vez en Europa occidental, un espacio eclesial.¹⁵

Años después, su culto fue tomando fuerza durante el pontificado de Sergio I (687-701), de familia procedente de Antioquía. Como revela el *Liber Pontificalis*, la conmemoración en Roma del *dies natalis* adquirió cada vez mayor desarrollo, celebrándose la noche del 14 al 15 de agosto una *letania* que, partiendo de San Adrián al Foro se dirigía hasta la basílica de Santa María la Mayor, desarrollando luego una *collecta penitencia* en su honor, con paseo de reliquias e iconos y el acompañamiento de cánticos.¹⁶

Ya durante el siglo IX, tras una vigilia, el papa León IV (847-855) presidió una comitiva en honor de San Adrián que partió esta vez de San Juan de Letrán, con parada, nuevamente, en Santa María la Mayor, para adentrarse en el foro y detenerse en las puertas de la iglesia adriana.¹⁷

Por otra parte, más complejo resulta obtener datos seguros a partir del análisis de los calendarios y martirologios, dada la disparidad de fechas que ofrecen y la dificultad de obtener referentes absolutos sobre su cronología. El *Martirologio Hieronimiano*, compuesto en el norte de Italia a mediados del siglo V pero que nos llegó a partir de una copia gala un siglo posterior, ubica el martirio de San Adrián el 4 de marzo mientras que, por su parte, el análisis de otros manuscritos de la misma

14. Baillet, Adrien. *Les vies des saints avec l'histoire de leur culte*. París: Jean de Nully, 1739: VI, 66; Salaville, Séverien. “Adrien (Saint)”. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. París: Librairie Letouzey, 1912: I, 608-609.

15. Quentin, Henri. *Les Martyrologues historiques du Moyen Age. Étude sur la formation du Martyrologe romain*. París: Lecoffre-Gabalda, 1908: 486-487; Krautheimer, Richard. *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308*, Nueva Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980 y Bordi, Giulia. “Commissenza laica nella chiesa di Sant’Adriano al Foro romano nell’alto Medioevo”, *Medioevo: i committenti*, Milán: Electa Edizioni, 2011: 421-433.

16. Andalaro, María. “Il ‘Liber Pontificalis’ e la questione dell’immagine da Sergio I ad Adriano I”, *Roma e l’età carolingia*. Roma: Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell’arte, 1976: 69-77 y Parlato, Enrico. “Le icone in processione”, *Arte e iconografia a Roma: da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*. Milán: Jaca Book, 2000: 69-92.

17. Blaauw, Sible de. *Cultus et decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale*. Roma: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1994: I, 195, 416-437.



naturaleza llevaron a H. Quentin a señalar la fecha del 8 de septiembre, que se hizo frecuente en este tipo de fuentes a partir de los siglos VII y VIII.¹⁸

Ya en el siglo IX y precisamente a partir de la difusión del *Martirologio de Adón*, la presencia litúrgica de San Adrián fue cada vez más frecuente, gracias a un autor como fue este monje benedictino que, parece, tuvo entre sus manos una de las fuentes que considero fundamentales para comprender la materialización iconográfica de la arqueta de Chicago. Me refiero precisamente a la *Passio* del santo, fuente sobre la que volveremos en las páginas siguientes.¹⁹

Para el caso hispano, la cuestión resulta aún más compleja, debido precisamente a la amplia difusión del culto —más incluso que en la propia Italia—, además de la rápida aparición del santo en los calendarios mozárabes que ofrecen la fecha de conmemoración el 16 de junio, del mismo modo que harán los llamados *Pasionarios* hispánicos, textos de naturaleza litúrgica cantados durante la misa y que contenían las actas o pasiones de los mártires, leídas para celebrar el *dies natalis*.²⁰

Pronunciarse entonces sobre una fecha concreta es inseguro. No se menciona a San Adrián en el conocido calendario de Carmona, uno de los más tempranos de la *Hispania* tardoantigua, por lo que se deduce que en tal momento su culto no era masivo.²¹

Por otra parte, los autores citados establecen la composición del *Pasionario* precisamente en el siglo VIII, pero habrá de tenerse en cuenta que, de aceptarse que, por ejemplo, el *Antifonario* de la Catedral de León se inspiró en un códice anterior del siglo VII, tendríamos un primer testimonio, muy temprano a nivel peninsular, pues allí ya se incluye no sólo la presencia del mártir Adrián, sino que —y me parece aún más relevante—, será en León donde la figura de Natalia irrumpa con protagonismo, al aparecer citada dos veces.²²

Precisamente a finales del siglo VII se ha venido datando el *Oracional* de Tarragona o *Libellus orationum* donde, como se ha indicado, entre las oraciones 1051-1062 se recogen datos esenciales para comprender la construcción hagiográfica de la iconografía de estos santos orientales. De esta forma, es posible que en dicha cronología ya fuese conocida la llamada *Post Sanctus* del oficio, donde se alude al pasaje en el que a San Adrián se le amputa la mano, objeto que habrá de convertirse en el punto fundamental de la liturgia y de sus reliquias.²³ Será precisamente en esta fuente donde se ponga el acento en el cruento martirio del santo pero, sobre todo, en el papel fiel y abnegado de Natalia, su esposa, que “alivió a los mártires en sus penas (...) que se mostró diligente en el sufrimiento de tus santos”. Natalia se presenta con “honor varonil”,²⁴ limpia del pecado marital y descrita en una categoría santificadora, a la altura de cualquier mártir, aunque nunca llegara a sufrir castigo.²⁵

18. Quentin, Henri. *Les Martyrologes...*: 486-487.

19. Quentin, Henri. *Les Martyrologes...*: 488.

20. García Rodríguez, Carmen. *El culto de los santos en la España romana y visigoda*. Madrid: Instituto P. Enrique Flórez de Historia Eclesiástica, 1966: 199; Fábrega Grau, Ángel. *Pasionario Hispánico (siglo VII-XI)*. Madrid-Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953; Ferrer Grenesche, Juan Miguel. *Los santos del nuevo misal hispano-mozárabe*. Toledo: Estudio Teológico De San Idelfonso, 1995: 70-75.

21. García Rodríguez, Carmen. *El culto...*: 201.

22. López Pachó, Ricardo. “El oficio de Santiago apóstol en el folio 176 del Antifonario Mozárabe de la catedral de León”. *Tierras de León*, 24/55 (1984): 124-130.

23. Vives, José, ed. *Oracional Visigótico*. Madrid-Barcelona: Monumento Hispaniae Sacra, 1946: 339-343.

24. Vives, José, ed. *Oracional...*: 339-343.

25. Vives, José, ed. *Oracional...*: 339-343.



Sin embargo y por encima de todos los datos expuestos en relación con la difusión de su culto en la *Hispania* de los siglos VII al IX, debemos llamar la atención sobre la que consideramos la fuente esencial para valorar la fortuna figurativa que el martirio de San Adrián tendría. Nos referimos a la *Passio*, narración detallada que, a pesar, otra vez, de las dificultades que presenta su datación, es posible que hubiera sido compuesta igualmente entre los años finales de la séptima centuria o el inicio de la siguiente y copiada ya en otros *Pasionarios* hispánicos durante el siglo XI.

El texto, publicado por Ángel Fábrega, en latín,²⁶ y nunca puesto en relación con el ciclo figurativo de la arqueta de Chicago, se convertirá en el elemento esencial para los análisis que llevaremos a cabo en la segunda parte de este trabajo, además de certificar el peso del culto adriano a las puertas del siglo IX.

Precisamente será en la novena centuria, por encima de los periodos y datos tratados anteriormente, donde hallemos noticias enjundiosas para comprender la difusión del culto a los santos orientales en el noroccidente de la Península Ibérica.

La iglesia de Santo Adriano de Tuñón, celebrada construcción prerrománica ligada al patronazgo de Alfonso III (866-910), supone uno de los primeros núcleos monásticos en los que sabemos que se rindió culto al santo en estos territorios. El monarca y su esposa, la reina Jimena, asisten a la ceremonia de consagración del templo el 24 de enero del año 891.²⁷

Si bien la historiografía ha puesto siempre el foco en este primer núcleo de deposición de reliquias, no habrá de olvidarse que, con anterioridad, se documenta en el año 863 la existencia de una iglesia dedicada al mártir de Nicomedia en Perlín, hoy una aldea de Santa María de Trubia y donde el documento señala que el obispo Glacilla de Braga —de ascendencia asturiana— consagró un templo en honor de San Cristóbal, Adrián y Natalia.²⁸

En todo caso, el mayor problema reside en explicar la vía por la que las reliquias del santo llegaron a *Hispania*, tarea compleja derivada de una serie de documentos interpolados y falsos.

Durante largo tiempo la historiografía valoró la recepción de este culto oriental a partir de los contactos del reino de Asturias con la ciudad de Roma, en el marco de las relaciones que el monarca Alfonso III estableció con el papa Juan VIII (872-882), tema por otra parte clásico dentro de los estudios asturianos. Así, el documento dado por el citado Santo Padre el 28 de noviembre de 898 y donde autorizaba la construcción de la catedral de Santiago de Compostela, consagrada en 899;²⁹ serviría a los investigadores para confirmar las relaciones del norte hispano con Roma. A este

26. Fábrega Grau, Ángel. *Pasionario...*, II: xxxii, 266-279. No contamos con una edición en castellano de la fuente, sin embargo, recientemente se llevó a cabo la traducción al portugués: Farmhouse Alberto, Paulo. *Sto. Adrião e Sta. Natália. São Manços. Santos e Milagres na Idade Média em Portugal*. Lisboa: Traduvárius, 2014: 26-48.

27. García Larragueta, Santos. *Colección documental de la catedral de Oviedo*. Oviedo: Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 1962: 48-53 (doc. núm. 13); Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier; Pedregal Montes, María Antonia. "Santo Adriano de Tuñón. Historia de un territorio en los siglos de transición". *Asturiensia Medievalia*, 8 (1995-1996): 79-110; Caballero Zoreda, Luis; Martín Talavero, Rafael. "Santo Adriano de Tuñón y su entramado de madera", *Las iglesias asturianas de Pravia y Tuñón: Arqueología de la arquitectura*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2010: 91-138, donde se recogen los principales aportes bibliográficos.

28. Calleja Puerta, Miguel. "La Catedral de Oviedo como centro de conservación de documentos en la alta Edad Media", *Estudos em Homenagem ao Prof. Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006: IV, 179-191.

29. La historiografía de las famosas bulas que citamos es larga y remito sólo a los títulos esenciales: Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. *Orígenes de la nación española. Estudios críticos sobre la Historia del Reino de Asturias*. Oviedo: Sarpe, 1975: III, especialmente véase el capítulo titulado: "Bula de Juan IX a Alfonso III de Asturias autorizándole a consagrar la iglesia de Compostela" y Floriano Cumbreño, Antonio. "En torno a las Bulas del Papa Juan VIII en la Catedral de Oviedo". *Archivum*, 12 (1962) 117-136. Véase también: Carriedo Tejedo, Manuel. "Relaciones entre Roma y el Reino de León (910-1090)". *Promonumenta*, 8 (2009): 64-69.



su sumaría, conjuntamente, otra carta donde el citado papa Juan VIII informaba al monarca de la recepción de otras misivas, además de solicitarle ayuda para la lucha contra los paganos, fuentes que hipotéticamente acabarían afianzando este argumento.

Sin pretender exhaustividad en este largo asunto, lo cierto es que autores como Peter Linehan, entre otros tantos, diseccionaron los documentos, concluyendo que se trataba en realidad de interpolaciones atribuibles al obispo Pelayo de Oviedo (1089-1153)³⁰ y en cierta manera se pasaron así a minimizar las supuestas relaciones entre el antiguo reino astur-leonés y Roma, marco idóneo para una traslación de reliquias como el que aquí se estudia.

Aún con todo, investigaciones más recientes volvieron sobre la cuestión, aceptando que, incluso tratándose de documentos falsos en su forma, más bien serían falsos diplomáticos, con informaciones veraces.³¹

La importancia de aceptar estas noticias estriba en el conocimiento de uno de los sucesos más importantes para el culto a San Adrián acontecidos en el reino astur-leonés y relacionado con un documento donde se cita a un tal abad Atanarico y la fundación de un monasterio en el lugar llamado *Katicas*, por parte de los monjes del cercano monasterio de San Andrés de Pardomino (León) entre los años 920 y 924.³² Y aunque los autores han discutido sobre si lo que realmente aconteció en estos años fue la fundación, la dotación o la consagración del edificio, lo que no parece dudarse es que el topónimo sería la mención más antigua recogida a un monasterio consagrado a San Adrián y Santa Natalia en La Losilla, cerca de Boñar (León).

La presencia fuera de Asturias de las reliquias habla de la expansión que en esta fecha gozaba su culto pero, además, las fuentes informan de la protección que les prodigaba la nobleza local.³³ Precisamente emergen aquí las figuras del conde Guisvando y su mujer, Leuvina, que la tradición ha querido ver como los promotores del citado cenobio. El origen aparece en el testimonio de Prudencio de Sandoval que manifestó haber visto en la Catedral de Oviedo unas “memorias” donde se indicaba que Alfonso III había enviado a Roma al conde Guisvando Braóliz, en el marco de estos intercambios epistolares y de petición de ayuda antes mencionados y ubicando aquí el traslado de las reliquias de los santos orientales y su supuesta repartición, entre Tuñón y Boñar.³⁴

Pero como decíamos, si las investigaciones debatieron largamente la autenticidad de los documentos, más recientemente se ha defendido la veracidad de la noticia,³⁵ sumándose a ello la

30. Linehan, Peter. *Historia e historiadores de la España medieval*. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad de Salamanca, 1999: 145.

31. Rodamilans Ramos, Fernando. “El Primado romano en la Península Ibérica hasta el siglo X: Un análisis historiográfico”. *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 27 (2014): 419-460.

32. Lucas Álvarez, Manuel. *El Reino de León en la alta Edad Media: La documentación real astur-leonesa (718-1072)*, León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1995: VIII, 236. Ambos monasterios se ubicaban en la ribera del río Porma, teniendo como núcleo principal la localidad de Boñar (León).

33. Pérez, Mariel. “El control de lo sagrado como instrumento de poder: los monasterios particulares de la aristocracia altomedieval leonesa”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 42/2 (2012): 799-822.

34. Yepes, Antonio de. *Crónica General de la Orden de San Benito*. Valladolid: 1615: III, 355-359 y Rollán Ortiz, Jaime-Federico. “Correspondencias entre San Adrián de Boñar (León) y Santo Adriano de Tuñón (Asturias)”. *Tierras de León*, 36/103 (1997): 63-78.

35. González García, Alberto. “La proyección europea del reino de Asturias: política, cultura y economía (718-910)”. *El Futuro del Pasado*, 5 (2014): 225-298.



mención del conde en un número importante de documentos ligados al antiguo reino de León y, particularmente, al monasterio de San Pedro de Eslonza.³⁶

Entre estas fuentes que corroboran la existencia de Guisvando Braóliz y su ligazón con las reliquias de San Adrián y Natalia destaca, entre todos, una importante inscripción —hoy desaparecida— (Ilustración 5) que ya Ambrosio de Morales tradujo:

Esta aula de Cristo dedicada bajo el nombre o advocación de los Santos Adriano y Natalia, construyó el siervo de Dios Gisvado con su cónyuge Leuvina, corriendo la era nongentésima quincuagésima octava. Séate acepto, oh Señor, el ofrecimiento purísimo de tus siervos ya que ellos lo prepararon para Ti con gozosa devoción en honor de tus Mártires. Sean acogidas por Ti, oh Dios piadoso, las oraciones de los miserables. Todo el que entra aquí triste reo, salga luego muy alegre mediante su oración. Fue consagrado este templo por los obispos Cixilano, Frunimio y Fortis, el día doce de octubre de la Era novecientos cincuenta y ocho.³⁷

Esta *dedicatio* resulta esencial para confirmar la protección que la aristocracia daría al templo de San Adrián de La Losilla y sobre ella la historiografía decimonónica asentaría la defensa del origen romano de las reliquias de estos santos, arribadas desde Roma hacia las áreas astur-leonesas y que aún permanece aceptada hasta en las publicaciones más recientes.³⁸ En todo caso se trata de uno los pocos vestigios materiales del que debió ser uno de los monasterios más importantes del noroccidente peninsular dedicados a estos santos orientales entre los siglos X y XI y que hoy ha desaparecido totalmente en su fábrica medieval.

Será precisamente a partir de los núcleos de Tuñón y, especialmente, para el caso leonés, de Boñar (La Losilla), cuando se documente una proliferación del culto a San Adrián y Natalia sin parangón en otras áreas de los reinos nortños.

El conocido monasterio de Santiago de Peñalba, fundación del abad Genadio (909-920), fue años más tarde regido por Salomón (931-937) —sucesor de Fortis, que aparece citado en el epígrafe de La Losilla. Poca relevancia podría aportar este dato para indagar en el culto a San Adrián y su extensión hacia las zonas galaico-bercianas de no ser por el reciente hallazgo de una inscripción esgrafiada en la moldura que recorre el ábside oriental del templo y donde se constata ya la presencia de las reliquias de San Adrián en este enclave sobre el año 937.³⁹ A la ceremonia de consagración de esta iglesia, celebrada en Peñalba el 9 de febrero de ese año, asistió el abad San Rosendo de Celanova (907-977) y quizás por sus relaciones con el cenobio berciano se explique la rápida veneración a San Adrián asumida ya en el contexto gallego, cuando el 25 de septiembre

36. Rollán Ortiz, Jaime-Federico. "Correspondencias...": 63-78, contabiliza catorce documentos, aunque intuyo que este punto deba ser revisado por los paleógrafos.

37. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Crónica General de España*. Madrid: Edición Benito Cano, 1791: VIII, 185. También realizó la transcripción y traducción, debatiendo la data: Yepes, Antonio de. *Crónica...: 355-359*. Conocemos la inscripción físicamente a partir de la fotografía publicada en: Gómez-Moreno, Manuel. *Catálogo monumental de España. Provincia de León*. Madrid: Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, 1906-1908: 162-167.

38. Rodríguez Montañés, José Manuel. "San Adrián...": 207-214; Nielsen, Christina. "Reliquary...": 30.

39. Junto a las de Santiago, San Torcuato, San Verísimo y posiblemente Santa Sabina. Véase: Guardia Pons, Milagros. "Los grafitos de la iglesia de Peñalba. Scariphare et pingere en la Edad Media". *Patrimonio Histórico de Castilla y León*, 33 (2008): 51-58.



de 942 invoca “a mi patrón el Señor Martín (...) a los santos Facundo y Primitivo, San Adrián y Natalia, San Miguel Arcángel (...)”.⁴⁰

Si la extensión del culto hacia el occidente del reino fue significativa, otros enclaves monásticos, ya en el oriente de la región, apuntan igualmente a una presencia temprana de los restos de San Adrián en los altares. Precisamente en el ara central de San Miguel de Escalada, al menos desde el año 913,⁴¹ los restos del mártir de Nicomedia aparecen citados en el epígrafe junto con otros santos orientales, como San Cosme y San Damián.⁴²

Finalmente, la misma capital legionense contó con el que debió ser un importante monasterio dedicado a San Adrián del que informan tanto los documentos históricos como los cronistas modernos. Dedicado al santo y a su esposa Natalia y de “fundación incierta” se debió ubicar “al lado del poniente de la ciudad, junto a la puerta del muro”, refiriéndose el padre Risco a la antigua muralla romana y su puerta *Cauriense*⁴³ y, por lo tanto, extramuros.

Además, tal espacio debió hallarse en la Alta Edad Media ciertamente concurrido, debido a la presencia, cercana, de otras fundaciones, como lo fueron un templo dedicado a San Miguel y otro a San Marcelo: (...) *situm ad portam Cauriensem foras murum ciuitatis; et est ipsa ecclesia inter duos monasterios, Sancti Micaelis et Sancti Adriane et Natalie, et sunt ipsos monasterios ipsu atrio de ipsa ecclesia Sancti Marcelli* (...).⁴⁴

Por otra parte, aunque los pocos investigadores que se ocuparon de este monasterio aludieron a la época de Ramiro I (842-850) —antecediéndose entonces a la llegada de reliquias a Boñar—, para ubicar su origen,⁴⁵ lo cierto es que aún en el año 1080 se documentan ciertos problemas en su gestión que llevan a un cambio de regla, abrazándose ahora la de San Benito,⁴⁶ y ya en 1090 Risco ubicó su posible restauración arquitectónica.⁴⁷

En definitiva, a finales del siglo XI el culto a los santos Adrián y Natalia era un hecho de plena actualidad en el antiguo reino de León. Precisamente en esta década será cuando el monarca Alfonso VI conceda un privilegio (ca. 1099) mediante el cual donaba el monasterio de San Adrián de La Losilla al de San Pedro de Eslonza, integrándose en el Infantado a través de Urraca, ahora propietaria de los dos monasterios por derecho hereditario y, lo más importante para nuestro estudio, dotándolos con varias obras artísticas.⁴⁸ Será a partir de tal cronología, adelantamos ya, y

40. Díaz y Díaz, Manuel Cecilio. *Ordoño de Celanova. Vida y Milagros de San Rosendo*. A Coruña: Fundación Barrié de la Maza, 1999: 247, Homilía del 25 de septiembre del 942.

41. Caverro Domínguez, Gregoria. “La dedicación de la iglesia en el monasterio de San Miguel de Escalada el 20 noviembre de 913”. *San Miguel de Escalada (913-2013)*. León: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de León, 2014: 39-65.

42. Es errónea, absolutamente, la interpretación que se realiza en: Rodríguez Suárez, Natalia. “Los tres altares de San Miguel de Escalada, algunas consideraciones”. *Rivista di Storia Scrittura e Società*, 1 (2015): 2-20. La autora identifica al Adrián citado en el ara con un “abad de Nérída (?)”, cerca de Nápoles, nacido en África (...) abad del monasterio de San Pedro y San Pablo de Canterbury (...) murió el 9 de enero del año 710”.

43. Risco, Manuel. *Iglesia de León, y monasterios antiguos y modernos de la misma ciudad*. Madrid: Don Blas Román, 1792: II, 94-96.

44. Sáez, Emilio. *Colección documental del Archivo de la catedral de León (775-1230)*. I: (775- 952). León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1987: 41 (doc. núm. 368).

45. Villacorta, Tomás. *El cabildo catedral de León: estudio histórico-jurídico, siglo XII-XIX*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1974: 110.

46. Espíritu Santo, Arnaldo do. “Los benedictinos en el reino de León”, *Monarquía y sociedad en el reino de León. De Alfonso III a Alfonso VII*. León: Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa, 2007: I, 713-731.

47. Risco, Manuel. *Iglesia...*: 96.

48. Ruiz Asencio, José Manuel; Ruiz Albi, Irene. *Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Eslonza 1 (912-1300)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2007: (docs. No. 70 y 71); Calvo, Aurelio, *San Pedro de Eslonza*,

en este marco histórico, donde debamos afrontar el análisis de la presea custodiada hoy en el Art Institute de Chicago.

4. El ciclo figurativo

El relicario dedicado a custodiar las reliquias de San Adrián posee forma prismática y cubierta troncopiramidal recubierta con escamado, mientras que las cuatro caras albergan los ciclos figurativos. Un reborde inferior, que sirve de base a la pieza, sirvió para acoger la serie de inscripciones,⁴⁹ mientras que, compositivamente, el orfebre acudió a las representaciones microarquitectónicas, en forma de galerías de arcos de medio punto, con hexafolias en las enjutas y sin apeos en los interiores ni *cul de lampe* alguno, que sin duda facilitaron el discurrir de las escenas. En los extremos, tales arquitecturas se elevan sobre columnas, de capiteles lisos que recuerdan el orden dórico, sin éntasis alguno pero que, de entre los ocho que se ubican en las esquinas de la cista, dos de ellos fueron ornamentados con bandas helicoidales, a modos de pequeñas cintas o lianas que los abrazan.

Aunque técnicamente se observan diversas áreas desiguales y posiblemente algunos fragmentos argénteos añadidos, por lo general la pieza se armó a partir de grandes placas autónomas, tanto en los dos frentes como en los lados cortos, si bien precisamente las dos más grandes pudieron ser reajustadas en el momento de su colocación, provocando el corte de las túnicas y los pies de las figuras.

Por otra parte, un análisis detenido de la forma en que fueron superpuestas las planchas, apunta a su concepción como receptáculo sellado, sin posibilidad de apertura, tal y como tenemos constancia, a partir de las narraciones de autores modernos, ocurría con otros importantes relicarios del contexto leonés, como la urna exterior —perdida—, de oro y plata, que custodiaba la otra pieza, el relicario dedicado en 1063 a San Isidoro y que aún hoy hemos conservado con el ciclo del *Génesis*.⁵⁰ De hecho, esta última obra resulta esencial para comprender algunos aspectos técnicos del relicario adriano, pues como advirtió hace más de un siglo Gómez-Moreno, la urna argénteo de San Isidoro recibió una reestructuración moderna que le privó de la forma original de su cubierta, que el granadino reconstruyó mediante un dibujo y que tenía, como la de Chicago, cubierta a cuatro aguas⁵¹ (Ilustración 6).

La que denominamos cara A del relicario (Ilustración 1), en un lado corto, fue identificada por los pocos autores que la trataron en sus investigaciones como un momento de la pasión de *Adrian, accompanied by Natalia, declaring their Christian faith to the emperor*.⁵²

Ciertamente son tres las figuras que se muestran en la escena: el soberano entronizado, con los *regalia* de poder, identificable quizás con la figura de Galerio Maximiano (260-311) y quien parece

Madrid: Instituto Enrique Flórez, 1957: 142; Rodríguez Montañés, José Manuel. "San Adrián...": 208.

49. Ya en las fotografías antiguas publicadas en los trabajos de Gudíol, Donnelly y Smith se percibe la pérdida de una de las bandas epigráficas, hoy ilocalizable.

50. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Viage...*: 46-47. Informa que el relicario exterior "no tiene ninguna cerradura, sino que está clava con la plata; y así nunca se abre jamás".

51. Gómez-Moreno, Manuel. "El arca de las reliquias de San Isidoro de León". *Archivo Español de Arte*, 48 (1940): 205-212.

52. "Adrián, acompañado de Natalia, declara su fe cristiana frente al emperador", Williams, John. "Shrine...": 257. Hace exactamente la misma interpretación: Franco Mata, Ángela. "Arte medieval leonés fuera de España", *La dispersión de objetos de arte fuera de España en los siglos XIX y XX*. Barcelona-Cádiz: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona-Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, 2011: 93-132.



ordenó el martirio del santo. Éste mira al otro extremo, donde un personaje aparece atado al fuste de la columna y otro, individualizado por sus cabellos en bucles sobre los hombros y la barba, empuña una lanza y mira al emperador.

No se trata, como se ha dicho, de la condena de San Adrián y ni tan siquiera la figura amarrada a la columna es identificable con Natalia que, como veremos de seguido, precisamente se caracteriza en esta obra por mostrarse velada, atendiendo a su dignidad santa, acorde con lo dicho por las fuentes más antiguas.

Son estos textos y, en particular, la *Passio* del santo de Nicomedia, los que permiten categorizar la representación. El emperador dicta la orden de aprisionamiento de los cristianos y, Adrián, aquí como soldado —*prior officii*— al servicio del poder imperial pagano, se revela como ejecutor, atando a sus compañeros con grilletes —*ferro vinctos*—, como indica la fuente del siglo VII.⁵³

Sólo continuando el relato se informa del arrepentimiento de Adrián que, dirigiéndose al emperador, finalmente se negará a adorar los ídolos paganos y solicitará que se inscriba su nombre en la lista de los cristianos.

Las dos caras que se extienden longitudinalmente en los lados largos de la urna (B y C) (Ilustraciones 2 y 3), muestran el mismo tipo de enmarque arquitectónico. En la primera de ellas, las figuras se distribuyen en tres grupos. A la izquierda tres personajes, dos imberbes y otro barbado, miran hacia el centro de la composición, sin distinguirse especialmente por su vestimenta —igual en los tres casos—, pero sí por las armas que portan, un hacha de filo en abanico y una espada de hoja larga. En el otro extremo se representaron dos figuras, una de ellas portando un machete.

La *Passio* del siglo VII alude efectivamente a los pelotones de soldados, verdugos que ejecutan el dictamen imperial, encargados de martirizar a San Adrián, quien ocupa el centro compositivo de la narración. Éste yace extendido, en el aire, como cayendo a los suelos tras recibir la amputación de su pie derecho sobre un yunque de bronce perfectamente descrito en el citado texto.⁵⁴ Al otro lado su mano diestra ha sido igualmente seccionada pero, resulta esencial, recuperada por el personaje que tomará absoluto protagonismo en todo el desarrollo hagiográfico del santo y, como se ha dicho, tanto en los textos litúrgicos más antiguos como en los calendarios y martirologios: Natalia.

Además del citado texto, no habrá de pasarse por alto tampoco su inclusión en una oración dedicada a los santos en la misa mozárabe *In diem sanctorum Adriani, Nataliæ et comitum, martyrum*. En el *Post Sanctus*, la esposa es descrita como mujer fiel, abnegada, cristianísima y acompañante a su marido en el martirio. En particular la misa señala que, tras las amputaciones, *cucurrit illa ad virum: et desectam corporis eius manum sibi amoris usurpavit (0750C) in signum: ut ea pars membri in qua significabatur affectus operis: esset illi pro mentione in solacio charitatis. Quo per hanc amor viri semper in eius viveret corde: et veram quodammodo eius presentiam retineret*.⁵⁵

Asistimos al punto culminante, esencial para la comprensión del culto a las reliquias, de la recuperación de la mano por parte de Natalia⁵⁶ y que la *Passio* particulariza así: “cuando los verdugos

53. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXXII, 8: 268 y XXXII, 2: 267.

54. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: 276.

55. “corre hacia su marido, y se queda como signo de amor con la mano cortada de su amado, de forma que aquella parte del cuerpo que significa el efecto de las obras, le sirviera de recuerdo y consuelo amoroso”, “In festo S. Martyrum Adriani atque Natalie”, *Corpus Corporum. Repositorium Operum Latinorum apud universitatem Turicensem*, Univerität Zürich, 27 de enero de 2016 <<http://mlat.uzh.ch/MLS/>>. Véase también: Tommasi, Giuseppe Maria. *Liturgia antiqua hispanica gothica, isidoriana, mozarabica, toletana mixta*. Roma: Mainardi, 1746: 119-127.

56. Para este pasaje en particular, efectivamente, sí se ha acudido al texto de la *Passio*, aunque sin desarrollar su contenido: Williams, John. “Shrine...”: 257.

colocaron el yunque de bronce debajo de sus pies, la bienaventurada Natalia sujetó los pies de San Adrián y los puso sobre el yunque. Los verdugos, golpeando con toda su fuerza, le cortaron los pies y le partieron las piernas”.⁵⁷ Para continuar indicando que, por miedo a su propio castigo y a perder el preciado tesoro, toma la mano amputada y la esconde —*abscondit manum*— entre sus ricas vestimentas. Justo en tal momento, continua el texto del siglo VII, el emperador mandó prender una gran hoguera y quemar los despojos de la carnicería y los cadáveres de aquellos cristianos que ya habían muerto.⁵⁸ Este último dato será relevante.

La otra placa de mayor tamaño (C) (Ilustración 3) se ubica en el lado contrario a la anterior. Las imágenes aquí representadas destacan por su dramatismo y violencia, apareciendo, en los extremos del panel, dos cuerpos. La figura del lado izquierdo ha perdido los pies y la mano derecha, mientras que a la de la derecha le han amputado el brazo y se muestra decapitado.

Es en las áreas vacías de la composición argentea donde los orfebres colocaron los despojos de las amputaciones, como fluctuando en el aire, pero sin interrumpir el punto focal de la composición, al centro, donde Natalia, velada, parece apresurarse en ademán rápido a postrarse en el suelo, recuperando con sus manos la preciosa reliquia: la mano del esposo.

Por lo general se ha comprendido esta escena de la cara C como una continuidad de lo narrado en la B, pero insistiendo en la rareza de un ciclo hagiográfico que otorgó tanto protagonismo al martirio y las crueldades sufridas por Adrián, hasta el punto de dedicarle los dos frentes mayores de la urna.

La *Passio* ya se detenía precisamente en lo sanguinolento del pasaje, describiendo sesiones de azotes, desgarramiento de vientre y desparrame de vísceras incluidos.⁵⁹

Sin embargo, en una obra de la calidad del presente relicario, resulta muy improbable un ejercicio redundante en los temas y mensajes figurativos. Muy probablemente las dos figuras masculinas, barbadas y con los ojos cerrados, representen, ambas, la muerte de San Adrián y la salvaguarda de su mano por parte de Natalia. Pero su dimensión textual va más allá. De hecho, la *Passio* puntualiza que, cumpliendo las órdenes del emperador, se prendió una gran hoguera con la intención de quemar los despojos santos, en un intento por privar posibles peregrinaciones y obtención de reliquias. Justo en ese instante, Natalia, “dominada por un impulso, gritando se quiso lanzar al fuego”.⁶⁰

Sólo el conocimiento de esta fuente puede explicar la elección de dos temas tan cercanos, aparentemente, pero que, por el lugar que ocupan, debieron ser los principales de esta obra. Más allá de reiterarse el martirio de San Adrián, el hecho de que Natalia se precipite, postrándose al vuelo en el espacio vacío de la plata y la importancia otorgada a los cuerpos y los miembros amputados, que parecen fluctuar en el vacío, apuntan sobre la necesidad de profundizar en la lectura de estas imágenes.

El texto de la séptima centuria sentencia a partir de estos sucesos lo siguiente:

Quando los cuerpos de todos los santos hombres fueron lanzados al fuego, golpeó una tremenda tempestad, con truenos, lluvia, ráfagas de granizo, relámpagos y temblores de tierra, de tal forma que la ciudad y toda la región quedó sumergida como en un diluvio. De inmediato la hoguera

57. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX: 276.

58. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX: 276.

59. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX: 274.

60. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX: 276: *Natalia vero, impetu facto, cum voce magna voluit se ipsam mittere in ignem.*



ardiendo se apago debido a la tromba de agua y ráfagas de viento. Los verdugos, al ver la terrible cólera, huyeron. Otros que aún permanecían allí caían de bruces al suelo y morían. Sin embargo, todos los que estaban en compañía de Natalia y de las otras señoras cristianas empezaron a correr y a recoger reliquias de los mártires. Las hallaron ilesas, de modo que ni siquiera los cabellos se habían quemado por el fuego.⁶¹

La composición articulada por el orfebre que planteó este panel fue tan conceptual como vanguardista. Los cuerpos flotan en el vacío de las aguas de una gigantesca tempestad, el *dilluvio*, la *tonitrua magna et pluvia et grandines et coruscationes vel terremotus* que dicta la fuente.

El insólito tratamiento, en blanco y sin más especificaciones, remite a soluciones plásticas, en palabras de Peter Klein, revolucionarias, utilizadas por el miniaturista de origen hispano Sthepanus Garsia, que en una cronología de entre los años 1038 y 1070, plasmó su particular visión del Diluvio Universal en el *Beato* de Saint-Sever⁶² (Ilustración 7).

En ella las aguas se limitan a dos franjas de color, neutras y sin ningún tipo de ondulación, escapando de los convencionalismos de su época.⁶³

El último de los paneles del relicario de Chicago (D) (Ilustración 4), en su lado corto, ofrece la imagen de un navío que surca las aguas, esta vez concebidas a partir de su oleaje y que se enmarca bajo la consabida galería trifora de arcos.

Nuevamente la *Passio* adriana especifica que, tras la gran tormenta, un hombre cristiano de la región propuso a Natalia un plan para salvaguardar la reliquia, trasladándola en barco —*navicula*— desde Nicomedia a la ciudad de Constantinopla, bajo una cuidada sacralidad, con el viento soplando a favor y donde se embarcarían igualmente los cuerpos de los restantes compañeros mártires.

No hay duda alguna de que la santa esposa aparece aquí mostrando al espectador la santa reliquia que ella delicadamente había “envuelto en un paño púrpura, perfumándola de mira y colocándola en su jergón, junto a la cabecera, sin que nadie lo supiese”.⁶⁴

Tanto Williams, Franco Mata, como Nielsen, identificaron a Natalia junto a dos de sus compañeros cristianos.⁶⁵ Sin embargo, resulta ciertamente diferente la caracterización de estos, especialmente en el que se ubica junto a la popa del barco, barbado y en todo similar a la manera en que se figuró la efigie de San Adrián en el resto de las placas.

La *Passio* relata el viaje emprendido por Natalia y su tripulación, con los soldados del emperador persiguiéndoles. Tras superar este primer escollo, el texto indica que “(...) en medio de la noche, apareció un espíritu ingenioso con la apariencia de un barco en el cual parecían estar soldados y marineros. Desde allí se les indicaba como con voz de marinero”, que continuasen navegando por una dirección errónea, pues “quería hacerles naufragar y destruirlos”.⁶⁶

61. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXIX: 276.

62. BnF, Ms. lat. 8878, f. 85r. Véase: Klein, Peter. “Les sources non hispaniques et la genèse iconographique du Beatus de Saint-Sever”, *Saint-Sever: Millénaire de l'abbaye: Colloque International 1985*. Mont-de-Marsan: Comité d'études sur l'histoire et l'art de la Gascogne, 1986: 317-333; Klein, Peter. *El Beato de Saint-Sever y su influencia en el Guernica de Picasso*. Valencia: Patrimonio, 2012.

63. Inmersos en un fondo azul, pero sin detenerse en la materialización de las ondas acuáticas, se representaron los cadáveres flotantes en el folio de la Tercera trompeta: BnF, Ms. lat. 8878, f. 139v.

64. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXXI: 277.

65. Williams, John. “Shrine...”: 257; Franco Mata, Ángela. “Arte medieval...”: 112; Nielsen, Christina. C. “Reliquary casket...”: 30.

66. Fábrega, Ángel. *Pasionario...*: XXXIII: 47.

La santa comitiva confió en la voz de ese marinero —*naute orientales*—, y cambiaron el rumbo de navegación. Pero el texto continúa señalando que, justo en ese instante, Adrián apareció en el navío y alertó a su esposa del engaño: el supuesto marinero era en realidad el demonio. Finalmente, el santo de Nicomedia, concreta la fuente, acompañó a los que transportaban su reliquia, caminando sobre las aguas a la vera del barco.

Tomando como punto de partida el texto, mucho más complejo que la simple identificación de la *translatio*, cabe valorar si, en realidad, la figura barbada presente en la cubierta de la embarcación, no sea otro más que Adrián, mientras que el joven imberbe, al que Natalia muestra la reliquia, no sea en realidad el demonio, figurado a la manera de marinero. El hecho de que el orfebre haya decidido ocupar el espacio compositivo mínimo que ofrece el barco con esas dos figuras y restar en cierta manera protagonismo a Natalia, obliga a valorar la relevancia de esos dos personajes a partir de la hipótesis que expongo.

5. Sobre los epígrafes

A pesar de que hemos perdido el primero de los epígrafes que se ubicaba bajo la escena de Adrián como soldado del emperador (cara A), aún restan en la base del relicario otras tres unidades, conocidas a partir de la lectura realizada por Williams y que los posteriores investigadores aceptaron.

En la cara B de la arqueta se lee: MARTIRIS EXIMI SACRUM, es decir, “Consagrado (a la memoria) del mártir exaltado”, mientras que bajo el panel C se indica: QUI MARTIR FACTUS SPREVIT EUM, “(Adrián) se ha convertido en mártir, Natalia se lo llevó”. Finalmente, en la cara C se ubicó el siguiente epígrafe: “(JA) CET HIC ADRIAN, “Adrián permanece aquí”.

Sin pretender adentrarnos en los pormenores que manejan los especialistas de la disciplina epigráfica, si conviene señalar que con cierto carácter conservador se consideraron este tipo de inscripciones como *explanations* o “letreros que acompañan a escenas iconográficas de todo tipo para explicar su significado. Unas veces consisten en el simple nombre del personaje, otras en un mensaje doctrinal alusivo a la escena”.⁶⁷

Sin embargo, a todas luces parece obligado hoy, a partir del avance en la investigación sobre esta tipología de inscripciones, ensayar de evitar generalizaciones y atender a cada caso específico. Con demasiada frecuencia cualquier mensaje escrito que acompañó —si es que se puede definir la acción tan ambiguamente— a una representación figurativa fue englobado entre las *explanations*, a pesar de que, en muchas ocasiones, dicho texto nada explicaba.

Precisamente la comprensión de los epígrafes de estas piezas bajo un criterio generalista ha llevado a considerar que una de sus funciones más destacadas era la de publicitar un mensaje, junto con la de identificar y acompañar, cuando se relacionaban con una representación iconográfica. Sin embargo, las más recientes investigaciones han acotado las funciones de los signos escritos de este tipo, alertando que las inscripciones ni acompañan ni identifican. Así, reducir estos mensajes a tales funciones parece empobrecer su naturaleza más compleja.⁶⁸

67. García Lobo, Vicente; Martín López, Encarnación. “La epigrafía medieval en España. Por una tipología de las inscripciones”, *VIII Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación de la Hispania altomedieval (siglos VI-X)*. Madrid: Cema, 2009: 185-213.

68. Debais, Vincent. *Messages de pierre. La lecture des inscriptions dans la communication médiévale (XIII-XIV siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2009: 206-207.



De hecho, si atendemos a las inscripciones de las caras B y D, pareciera que la función de acompañamiento de la imagen fue la menor. La alusión a la memoria del mártir al que se consagra y se exalta con el relicario y la utilización del tipo *funera* que refiere al *epitaphium sepulcrale* a partir de la fórmula *hic iacet*, parece insistir en la compleja catalogación de los tipos y objetivos de estos epígrafes.⁶⁹ El verbo notficativo *iacet* no hace más que incidir en la presencia corpórea de San Adrián, en forma de reliquias guardadas en el interior, pero la epigrafía redundante en este sentido, ampliando el significado a partir de nuevas dimensiones de corporeidad, pues también se hace presente, mediante el signo escrito, de su memoria, que la inscripción B llama a exaltar. Presencia física y memoria no son lo mismo y ello obliga a replantearse entonces la catalogación de los epígrafes y sus funciones que desde luego no podrían explicar aquello que el espectador no ve, los vestigios custodiados en el interior y que sólo la imagen, per se, hace presente.

La inscripción hace presente, con sus signos escritos, aquello que el espectador no puede ver, acciona su conocimiento de lo oculto y por lo tanto se aleja drásticamente sobre unas pretendidas funciones publicitarias.⁷⁰ De hecho, son numerosos los casos de relicarios —y con ellos sus inscripciones— que, según informan las fuentes, no eran visibles durante los siglos medievales.

Ya se ha mencionado el caso más cercano y relevante para el tema tratado aquí. La urna argentea de San Isidoro, conservada hoy en el Museo de la Real Colegiata, en León, con su elaborado ciclo del *Génesis*, presenta importantes desarrollos epigráficos que, en un primer momento, podrían entenderse como colocados a la espera de su lectura. Sin embargo, como hemos dicho, tal receptáculo estuvo durante el románico encerrado en otra urna mayor, también de oro y plata, y que privaba cualquier visión de la arqueta más pequeña.⁷¹ De hecho, Ambrosio de Morales, el personaje más cercano a la Edad Media que dejó constancia de la forma en que se exponía en el templo esta obra, reitera que el arca exterior estaba claveteada y que nunca se abría. Ello desacredita entonces atribuir a los epígrafes de la urna que hoy conservamos de San Isidoro cualquier función publicitaria, pedagógica y propagandística, al menos entendida como un consumo masivo de la escritura.

Al contrario, opino que la función de estos epígrafes se acercaría más a la naturaleza de los llamados endotafios, inscripciones ocultas en el interior de los sepulcros y cuyo alcance intencional se dirigía más hacia unos fines taumatúrgicos y simbólicos.⁷²

En definitiva, no puedo compartir que los tres epígrafes del relicario de los santos Adrián y Natalia sean un complemento de la imagen, no se subordinan al icono. Al contrario, las inscripciones actúan sobre la figuración, la dotan de nuevas implicaciones de acción. Así, la inscripción de la cara B apela a la presencia misma del icono, a su exaltación como contenedor de memoria, de

69. Véase el excelente trabajo de: Martín López, Encarnación. "La salvación del alma a través de las inscripciones medievales", *IX Jornadas Científicas sobre Documentación: La muerte y sus testimonios escritos*. Madrid: Cema, 2011: 255- 279.

70. Se duda del carácter publicitario, con buenos argumentos, en: Debais, Vincent. *Messages...*: 206-207. Se defiende dicha función en: García Morilla, Alejandro. *Las inscripciones medievales de la provincia de Burgos: siglos VIII-XIII*, Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid (Tesis doctoral), 2013: 221.

71. De hecho en la instalación museográfica actual, bajo el relicario pequeño del hispalense se ha colocado otra urna, de mayores dimensiones, realizada en madera y que ya ha perdido cualquier rastro de su decoración medieval. Suele considerarse como el armazón original del relicario exterior.

72. Treffort, Cécile. *Mémoires carolingiennes. L'építaphe entre célébration mémorielle, genre littéraire et manifeste politique (milieu VIIIe-début XIe siècle)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2007.

ahí la utilización de la palabra *eximi*, que en otros contextos epigráficos funerarios hace presente el cuerpo muerto, físico, mediante la imagen del alma en elevación.⁷³

Frente a la apelación a la memoria a quien se dedica el relicario de la inscripción anterior, la que aparece en la cara C, resignifica la idea a partir de la redundancia en tal acción: “Se convirtió en mártir”. Ello lo corrobora la utilización del verbo *sprevit*,⁷⁴ alusión velada a Natalia y personaje esencial en toda la acción hagiográfica.

El último de los epígrafes, el del lado D, introduce la fórmula *Hic iacet*, sin duda una de las más relevantes. Por ello no considero que haya sido casual la elección de uno de los lados cortos del relicario, bajo la escena de *translatio*, insistiendo así en una suerte de triple modalidad de la presencia del mártir a partir del adverbio *hic*. Efectivamente, aquí, es el lugar, el navío, donde se hallaba la verdadera reliquia recuperada por Natalia, pero también, aquí, es el lugar geográfico, donde reaparece Adrián para obrar su último milagro camino de Constantinopla. *Hic* pone el acento en la presencia verídica, en la aparición *post mortem* de Adrián, que evita el engaño del diablo.

Tampoco parece aleatorio que, siguiendo con la naturaleza de los *epitaphia sepulcrale* y el uso de la fórmula *hic iacet*, que con frecuencia aludía al cuerpo del fallecido, dicha inscripción se haya colocado bajo el panel donde la historia del martirio de Adrián pasa a revelarse, con la presencia de la mano convertida ya en reliquia santa. Es precisamente aquí donde la inscripción no menciona en absoluto el cuerpo, pero donde éste se hace presente a partir de la mano, en forma figurativa, arriba.

Las inscripciones, además de las informaciones aportadas, permiten obtener otra serie de datos relevantes para el enmarque cronológico de la presea. Así, los caracteres externos de las mismas pueden encuadrarse dentro del tipo de letra carolina cuadrada, con ciertas pervivencias, muy puntuales, de la visigótica, tal es el caso de la letra “M”, con los trazos paralelos y convergentes hacia arriba.⁷⁵

Por otra parte, la letra “A” de los epígrafes utiliza un trazo horizontal recto en la parte media, mientras el superior es una continuación del lateral derecho, hasta formar un apéndice ornamental.⁷⁶ Casos como el de la letra “E”, que aparece en su forma redonda conviviendo con la cuadrada, son también específicos de los epígrafes.⁷⁷ De hecho, es una de las características esenciales de las grafías, que en muchos casos tienden hacia las formas redondeadas⁷⁸ y recurren a los trazos curvos y sinuosos que se expanden hacia arriba y que, visualmente, llegan a entrelazar palabras enteras, asemejándose a los nexos propios de la escritura carolina.⁷⁹

73. Para el uso del concepto: Arco y Garay, Ricardo del. *Sepulcros de la casa real de Aragón*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1947: 45.

74. Tercera persona del singular, presente perfecto del verbo *sperno*, *sprevi*, *spretum* que significa, apartar, alejar, rechazar, echar. No obstante, posee un carácter polisémico, teniendo otras acepciones como despreciar o desdeñar. Véase: Sánchez Cid, Ignacio. *La repudiación de la herencia en el Código Civil*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2012: 138; Cange, Charles du. *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis*. Paris: Favre, 1681: III, col. 932.

75. De la palabra *martiris* en la cara B.

76. La letra “A” de la palabra *martiris* del panel B. Obsérvese que ninguna de estas letras utiliza el trazo intermedio quebrado en forma de “V”.

77. Como en la palabra *iacet* del panel D.

78. Véase la letra “D” de la palabra “Adrián” del panel D.

79. Se observa en las letras “A” de los tres epígrafes y, por ejemplo, en la palabra *factvs* del panel C.



Además, uno de los elementos más representativos de esta escritura es la abreviatura “US”, donde la “S” se transforma en una gran coma y que aquí aparece en la palabra *factvs* de la cara C del relicario.

Lejos de ser exhaustivo en el análisis del *ductus* de las inscripciones y a la espera de una investigación por parte de los especialistas en esta materia, conviene realizar un rápido repaso sobre aquellas producciones orfebres románicas del noroccidente de la Península Ibérica con la intención de establecer comparativas que permitan comprender el marco artístico en el que se facturó la presea adriana.

No obstante, antes habrá que mencionar el patrimonio artístico perdido en este sentido, cuestión insalvable, más y cuando, por ejemplo, hemos perdido obras que debieron ser relevantes en los templos del antiguo reino de León entre la primera mitad del siglo XI y las primeras décadas de la duodécima centuria. Nada resta, por citar un caso que debió ser magno de entre las obras de orfebrería románica, del antiguo frontal de altar y el baldaquino de orfebrería realizado bajo la comitencia del obispo Diego Gelmírez para la catedral de Santiago de Compostela.⁸⁰ Y pocos datos más conocemos sobre decenas de piezas que la *Historia Compostelana* menciona en poder del eclesiástico, como el misal de plata, un epistolario de plata, cajas, un *Lignun Crucis* del mismo material, una cruz de oro, tres cálices,⁸¹ así como el crucifijo *mirifica aurificis manu consculptum*, propiedad de Gelmírez y también desaparecido.⁸²

Menos datos se conocen aún del que, según Ambrosio de Morales, era el frontal de altar “mayor que creo hay en España”,⁸³ que el monarca Alfonso VI de León mandó realizar para el monasterio de San Benito de Sahagún. Ni tampoco evidencias mayores se saben sobre la cruz donada por la infanta Urraca a la catedral de León⁸⁴ o la que ofreció a los altares de la basílica de San Isidoro y que conocemos por una descripción de época moderna.⁸⁵

Las obras perdidas susceptibles de compararse con la arqueta de San Adrián son innumerables y su destino no debió alejarse del sufrido por la cruz propiedad de la infanta Elvira, facturada para el monasterio de Valcabado (Zamora) y que fue mandada *desfacere* ya en tiempos de su sobrina, la reina Urraca, para comprar un caballo con los nueve marcos que obtuvo.⁸⁶

Otras corrieron mejor suerte y aunque hayan permanecido desaparecidas durante todo el siglo XX, las investigaciones recientes han conseguido ofrecer alguna imagen para su estudio. Es el caso del ara portátil del monasterio de Santa María de Obona (Tineo, Asturias),⁸⁷ pieza de plata romá-

80. La datación de las dos piezas ha sido discutida pero en todo caso podrían encuadrarse entre los años 1105 y 1112. Un reciente estudio, con actualización bibliográfica, en: Castiñeiras González, Manuel; Nodar Fernández, Victoriano. “Para una reconstrucción del altar mayor de Gelmírez: cien años después de López Ferreiro”. *Compostellanum*, 55/3-4 (2010): 575-640.

81. *Historia Compostelana*, ed. Emma Falque Rey, Madrid: Akal, 1994: LVII, 409.

82. *Historia Compostela...* LIV, 162, que se citan acompañados de un ara portátil y un cáliz de oro.

83. Morales, Ambrosio de. *Las antigüedades de las ciudades de España*. Madrid: Benito Caro, 1792: X, 49.

84. Un reciente análisis de la compleja fuente donde se menciona en: Henriët, Patrick; Sansterre, Jean-Marie. “De ‘l’inanimis imago’ à ‘l’omagem mui bella’: méfiance à l’égard des images et essor de leur culte dans l’Espagne médiévale (VII-XIII siècle)”. *Edad Media: revista de historia*, 10 (2009): 37-92.

85. Manzano, José. *Vida y portentosos milagros del glorioso San Isidro*, arzobispo de Sevilla, con una breve descripción de su magnífico templo y real casa del mismo señor San Isidro en la muy noble ciudad de León. Salamanca: Imprenta Real, 1732: 352.

86. Ruiz Albi, Irene. *La reina doña Urraca (1109-1126), cancellería y colección diplomática*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 2003: 483 (doc. núm. 81).

87. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. “La imagen de la desaparecida ara de Obona (Asturias) en el contexto de la orfebrería romántica astur-leonesa”. *Codex aquilarensis*, 29 (2013) 223-250, donde se publica la única fotografía conocida, hasta el

nica cuya existencia se conocía ya en el siglo XIX a partir de dibujos que mostraban el desarrollo del epígrafe que corría por los bordes de la presea⁸⁸ (Ilustración 8) y de la que hoy contamos con una antigua fotografía que permite su estudio y añadirla a esta limitada nómina de objetos irrecuperables (Ilustración 9).

Finalmente, en el intento de enmarcar el contexto artístico en el que se pudo realizar la arqueta de Chicago, obviamente habrán de valorarse las necesarias comparativas con respecto a la urna de San Isidoro, en León (ca. 1063), al arca de la Cámara Santa de Oviedo (ca. 1072 aproximadamente), el citado ara de Obona y la cruz de San Salvador de Fuentes (Villaviciosa, Asturias), conservada hoy en el Metropolitan Museum de New York.⁸⁹

La comparativa epigráfica de las inscripciones que presentan estas piezas con respecto a las que recorren la parte baja del relicario de Chicago es bien representativa. En el cuadro comparativo que recojo (Ilustración 10), parece común a todas estas preseas ligadas al núcleo de orfebres del área astur leonesa la presencia, por ejemplo, de la letra “A” con un pequeño trazo horizontal sobre la unión de los dos extremos convergentes, especialmente visible en las inscripciones del arca santa ovetense. Este elemento particular, casi a modo de nexo une las letras en el ara de Obona.

Sin extenderme en explicar los paralelismos de todas las inscripciones, resulta sintomático la combinación de las letras cuadradas con minúsculas, rasgo que comparten todas las preseas. Con todo, mientras que las obras más tempranas, como el arca isidoriana y la de Oviedo parecen revelar ciertas pervivencias visigóticas, el ara de Obona, por ejemplo, ya destaca por la total ausencia de las mismas, al poder datarse esta pieza entre los años 1113 y 1138.⁹⁰

Al contrario, si la comparativa se establece con otras joyas del mismo círculo, como el altar portátil donado por la infanta Sancha Raimúndez en el año 1144 a San Isidoro de León y que se conserva en el Museo, los datos también confirman una fecha *ante quem* para la urna de Chicago (Ilustración 11). Los caracteres epigráficos del ara demuestran un pleno conocimiento de la letra carolina, más evolucionada y alejada de los modelos de la arqueta de San Adrián.

Todos estos datos habrán de servir entonces como base para las acotaciones cronológicas que se concluirán en el final de este estudio.

momento, de la obra y que se conserva en el Archivo del Instituto de Patrimonio Cultural de España.

88. Miguel Vigil, Ciriaco. *Asturias monumental, epigráfica y diplomática: datos para la historia de la provincia*. Oviedo: Imprenta del Hospicio Provincial, 1887: lámina QbIII, número Qb17.

89. Una tentativa de selección bibliográfica sobre estas piezas excede los intereses de este estudio. Remito entonces a los trabajos que suponen una síntesis actualizada sobre el conocimiento de las mismas. Sobre el arca de San Isidoro: Fernández González, Etelvina. “Relicario de San Isidoro”, *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006: I, 136-141. Sobre el arca ovetense, del que nuevamente se ha debatido su cronología: Fernández González, Etelvina. “El Arca Santa de Oviedo y sus precedentes: De Alfonso II a Alfonso VI”, *Alfonso VI y su legado*. León: Instituto Leonés de Cultura, 2012: 311-343; Bango Torviso, Isidro. “La renovación del tesoro sagrado a partir del concilio de Coyanza y el taller real de orfebrería de León. El Arca Santa de Oviedo (1072)”. *Anales de historia del arte. Alfonso VI y el arte de su época*, 2 (2011): 11-68; Alonso Álvarez, Raquel. “Patria uallata asperitate moncium. Pelayo de Oviedo, el archa de las reliquias y la creación de una topografía regia”. *Locus Amoenus*, 9 (2007-2008): 17-29 y Alonso Álvarez, Raquel. “La obra histórica del obispo Pelayo de Oviedo (1089-1153) y su relación con la Historia legionensis (llamada silensis)”. *e-Spania*, 14 (2012) <<http://e-spania.revues.org/21586>> (Consultado el 12 de abril de 2015). Sobre la pieza de Obona: Moráis Morán, José Alberto. “La imagen...”: 223-250 y Ruiz de la Peña González, Isabel. “El ara desaparecida del monasterio de Santa María de Obona (Tineo, Asturias)”. *El monacato en los reinos de León y Castilla (siglos VII-XIII)*. León: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2007: 531-546. Aún permanece pendiente el estudio monográfico de la cruz de Fuentes. Véase no obstante: Martin, Therese. “Exceptions and Assumptions: Women in Medieval Art History”, *Reassessing the Roles of Women as ‘Makers’ of Medieval Art and Architecture*. Leiden: Brill, 2012: I, 1-33.

90. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. “La imagen...”: 249.



6. Nuevamente el estilo como factor de datación

El último apartado del trabajo se centra en un análisis estilístico de las fórmulas empleadas por los orfebres que realizaron la arqueta de San Adrián. La ausencia de documentación específica que permita concretar más el origen de la pieza, así como los pormenores del hipotético taller al que deba ligarse obliga, nuevamente, a manejarse con la problemática contextualización estilística.

El método no posee pocos peligros, más aún si tenemos en cuenta las propuestas más recientes realizadas por los investigadores y que, para el caso de la orfebrería astur leonesa, han intentado perfilar un panorama renovado de filiaciones artísticas.

Este es el caso, por ejemplo, del arca santa de Oviedo, pieza de la que tradicionalmente se establecieron contactos puntuales con respecto a la urna isidoriana de León pero que hoy se ubica en el año 1072, “siendo una creación de un taller de orfebrería situado en la corte leonesa cuya actividad se debió iniciar con las obras de Fernando I y Sancha, y continuaría en vigor durante el reinado de su hijo Alfonso VI”.⁹¹

Esta tendencia ha sido cada vez más admitida en los últimos años, en un intento por reconstruir la naturaleza de ese taller ubicado al auspicio de la familia real leonesa. Piezas como el ara portátil de Obona,⁹² el cáliz del abad Giraldo (1096-1108), en la catedral de Braga y datado en torno al año 1004⁹³ o la cubierta del *Evangelario* de la reina Felicia, datado entre los años 1072-1094 y con indudables similitudes técnicas con respecto al cáliz de Urraca,⁹⁴ han permitido ampliar la nómina de trabajos procedentes de la capital legionense y, más tarde, trasladados hacia otras áreas más alejadas.

La técnica y las soluciones empleadas por los artífices de la plata en la arqueta adriana no posee consecuentes directos ni absolutos con las restantes piezas, hecho que, en ningún caso, justifica una desconexión con respecto a los talleres isidorianos. De hecho, esta será una de las principales riquezas del conjunto de orfebres y artistas del marfil en San Isidoro, caracterizados por su dilatada producción artística, iniciada probablemente en el año 1059 con la arqueta de San Pelayo y extensible hacia, por lo menos, el año 1150 y capaces de crear obras muy dispares estilísticamente, tan disímiles como la urna del hispalense y el cáliz de Urraca.

Entre un corpus tan heterogéneo de obras la arqueta de San Adrián enriquecería este manejo tan amplio de soluciones iconográficas y materiales.

El uso de microarquitecturas esbeltas, con arcos volados sin apeos, o la introducción de columnas con fustes entorchados o decorados con finas lianas helicoidales, es un rasgo que se ha entendido propio del taller legionense, apareciendo en el arca santa de Oviedo,⁹⁵ posiblemente en las cubriciones de oro del arca de San Pelayo y, ahora, presente también en la arqueta de San Adrián. En todas, la presencia de un tipo muy específico de capitel liso apunta hacia fórmulas unitarias (Ilustración 12).

Por otra parte, hace tiempo que, en un impecable estudio sobre algunas piezas relevantes de la orfebrería románica centroeuropea, Joachim Huber indicaba que uno de los rasgos más distingui-

91. Bango Torviso, Isidro. “La renovación...”: 46.

92. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. “La imagen...”: 249.

93. Nodar Fernández, Victoriano. “Cáliz y Patena de San Giraldo”, *Compostela y Europa: la historia de Diego Gelmírez*. Milán: Skira, 2010: ficha catalográfica 25 y 26, 364-367.

94. Bango Torviso, Isidro. “Cubierta del evangelario de la reina Felicia”, *Sancho el Mayor y sus herederos. El linaje que europeizó los reinos*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 2006: I, ficha catalográfica 116, 292-296.

95. Bango Torviso, Isidro. “La renovación...”: 55.

bles del arca isidoriana era su estructura de cubierta a cuatro aguas,⁹⁶ sin duda elemento original que comparte con pocas de las conservadas en el noroccidente hispano y de la que la urna de San Adrián sería total deudora.

Si bien el escamado como elemento decorativo será frecuente en este tipo de obras, tampoco habrá de olvidarse que fue uno de los motivos que mayor fortuna alcanzó a partir del año 1100 en edificios de la órbita hispano-languedociana,⁹⁷ de Toulouse a Compostela. Aún habiendo perdido los modelos románicos, la pequeña representación del sepulcro de Santa Eufemia de la catedral de Orense,⁹⁸ con su cubierta escamada, parecen rememorar unos tipos que debieron estar muy difundidos en el antiguo reino de León.

Soluciones menos originales, como la ubicación de hexafolias en las enjutas de las arquerías de la preseña adriana, poseen paralelos monumentalizados en piedra, por ejemplo, en la puerta del perdón de la basílica isidoriana, sobre las cabezas de San Pedro y San Pablo, evocadoras a su vez de fórmulas propias de la metalistería.⁹⁹

Finalmente, si valoramos la manida técnica de análisis del drapeado y a la que tantas veces se recurre —no sin problema— para emparentar producciones esculpidas del románico, se observará que desde luego los pliegues del arca adriana apuntan a una complejidad y naturalismo mucho mayor que los que ostentan las figuras del arca isidoriana. Más cercanos, aunque no como referentes absolutos, se presentan los facturados en el arca santa de Oviedo, especialmente por ser más complejos, arremolinándose a la altura del abdomen, en ambas piezas.¹⁰⁰

A modo de conclusión debe remarcarse que no parecen existir problemas en ubicar la factura esta obra de plata en el marco de la comitencia orfebre ligada a la familia real leonesa, especialmente entre el año 1099, cuando el monasterio de San Adrián pasa a manos de la infanta Urraca, y la factura de las últimas obras ligadas a los talleres isidorianos, en el año 1150.

Por otra parte, la nueva lectura del ciclo hagiográfico que aquí hemos presentando, parece poner el acento en la importancia que dentro de tales imágenes tomó Natalia, tanto en el episodio del martirio de San Adrián, en el pasaje de la hoguera extinta por la tormenta, así como en el de la aparición del demonio durante la *translatio*. Todo ello en el marco de, suponemos, un conocimiento de la *Passio* y el *Oracional* tarraconense.

Por último, aspectos formales y técnicos, la morfología de la escritura epigráfica y sus relaciones directas con otros relicarios del área astur-leonesa parecen confirmar tanto la adscripción geográfica como cronológica aquí defendida.

96. Incluso teniendo en cuenta las refacciones que la pieza leonesa sufrió modernamente, el autor indica que se trataría, junto al relicario conocido como la Gran Caja de Sion (Valais, Suiza), de las dos arquetas con cubierta troncopiramidal más antiguas conservadas: Huber, Joachim. "La Grande Châsse de Sion et la Querelle de las Investitures", *La Grande Châsse de Sion. Chef-d'œuvre d'orfèvrerie du XIe siècle*. París: Somogy, 2005: 73-98.

97. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. *Roma en el Románico*. Cáceres: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Extremadura, 2013: 303.

98. Sobre la cronología tardomedieval de esta imagen del sepulcro y su escamado, véase: Moralejo Álvarez, Serafín. "La reutilización de los sarcófagos antiguos en la España medieval", *Colloquio sul reimpiego dei sarcofagi romani nel Medioevo*. Marburgo: Verlag des Kunstgeschichtlichen Seminars, 1984: 187-203.

99. Moráis Morán, José Alberto. "Nuevas reflexiones para la lectura iconográfica de la Portada del Perdón de San Isidoro de León: el impacto de la Reforma Gregoriana y el arte de la tardoantigüedad". *De arte*, 5 (2006): 63-86.

100. Desisto de hacer una pormenorizada descripción comparativa entre los drapeados de los textiles de todas las obras citadas. Baste señalar, como rasgo específico, que la imagen de San Adrián en la cara A de la arqueta de Chicago muestra un pliegue de la túnica que se mueve al viento, del todo similar a las soluciones empleadas en la cubierta nielada del arca santa, donde el ángel ubicado sobre el brazo derecho de la cruz de Dimas, el Buen Ladrón, ofrece un paralelo directo.



UNA TERRA DI MIGRANTI NEL MEDITERRANEO. I FLUSSI MIGRATORI IBERICI IN SARDEGNA TRA IL XII E IL XV SECOLO

ALESSANDRA CIOPI
ISTITUTO DI STORIA DELL'EUROPA MEDITERRANEA
(CONSIGLIO NAZIONALE DELLE RICERCHE)

RIASSUNTO

La Sardegna, posta al centro del Mar Mediterraneo punto d'incontro di tre continenti, ha visto la costante presenza di correnti migratorie fin dai tempi preistorici. Attraverso l'utilizzo di fonti documentarie italiane e spagnole, il presente saggio prova a ricostruire l'andamento e la tipologia dei flussi migratori che dalla Penisola Iberica hanno interessato l'isola tra il XII e il XV secolo in maniera costante e consistente. Tale approccio non limita la visione del problema delle migrazioni all'epoca medioevale, ma cerca di approfondire quei fenomeni di mobilità interna ed esterna della popolazione e quel movimento intenso di uomini, idee e mercanzie che hanno profondamente caratterizzato le diverse realtà territoriali e urbane dell'isola. Lo studio intende riflettere sulle diverse dimensioni e tipologie delle migrazioni iberiche in Sardegna e sottolinea la distinzione fra il primo flusso migratorio, costituito da coloro che migrarono in terra sarda per partecipare alla conquista militare dell'isola al seguito dell'infante Alfonso e quelli che vi giunsero con una seconda diaspora per prendere parte effettivamente alla sua occupazione e dominazione.¹

1. Immagini e luoghi comuni

Parlare di Sardegna significa molto spesso parlare di una terra povera, isolata, sempre conquistata, sempre colonia degli invasori, una terra di emigrati piuttosto che una meta di migranti. Questo ritratto dell'isola, tuttavia, appartiene in maniera particolare alla letteratura e alla storiografia del XIX secolo e del principio del XX. Significativi, in questo modo di intendere la Sardegna, sono stati, per esempio, i giudizi e le impressioni dei numerosi viaggiatori che l'hanno visitata, lasciando traccia nelle pagine dei loro racconti di viaggio.

Fa quasi sconcerto sapere che molti di essi scelsero l'isola sarda proprio per la sua fama di terra primitiva, per la sua natura aspra e selvaggia, abitata da genti singolari, bizzarre e dagli arcani costumi e, comunque, perché era in generale una terra differente dai canoni europei del *Grand Tour*, ovvero di quel tipico viaggio di formazione che nel XVIII secolo era prerogativa della giovane e ricca nobiltà inglese.²

1. Relazione presentata al Seminario EMN tenutosi a Cagliari il 10 aprile 2015 e organizzato dall'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Cagliari), dal Ministero italiano dell'Interno (Roma), dall'EMN e dal Dipartimento di Scienze Umane e Sociali del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Roma).

2. La pratica del viaggio affonda le sue origini nel lontano Medioevo, ma è nel XVIII secolo che diventa una vera e propria istituzione per la formazione della classe aristocratica. Motore propulsore del movimento fu l'Inghilterra illuminata di Elisabetta I che lo sovvenzionò e lo promosse quale strumento indispensabile per la formazione culturale e spirituale delle élite inglesi. La bibliografia essenziale proposta privilegia solo alcuni testi di riferimento che offrono spunti di in-

Il caso più eclatante è rappresentato, appunto, dal romanziere anglosassone David Herbert Lawrence che visitò la Sardegna nel 1921. Nell'espone le ragioni per cui aveva intrapreso questo viaggio, grazie al quale poi scrisse il famoso libro *Sea and Sardinia*, pur tessendo le lodi dell'isola, sostenne che

*Sardinia, which is like nowhere. Sardinia, which has no history, no date, no race, no offering. Let it be Sardinia. They say neither Romans nor Phoenicians, Greeks nor Arabs ever subdued Sardinia. It lies outside; outside the circuit of civilisation (...).*³

Si potrebbe continuare con molti altri esempi di questo genere, tutti accomunati da un unico denominatore, rappresentato non dalla ricerca della multiforme e stratificata storia dell'isola quanto, paradossalmente, dalla sua inspiegabile negazione.⁴

Senza nulla aggiungere o togliere al valore di queste testimonianze —che peraltro andavano di pari passo con le opinioni degli storici dell'epoca—,⁵ si deve tener conto che esse riflettevano in gran parte la situazione contemporanea dell'isola: le sue difficoltà, la sua povertà, la sua effettiva arretratezza economica e sociale, l'isolamento nelle comunicazioni. Malgrado ciò, questi giudizi non possono essere estesi alla totalità della storia sarda o trasferiti dal XIX secolo a ciascuna epoca del passato isolano, tanto meno si deve ritenere che possano essere considerati l'unica chiave di lettura storiografica.

2. Storia di conflitti e integrazione

Dalle testimonianze dei viaggiatori dell'Ottocento e del Novecento e dalle interpretazioni della storiografia a loro contemporanea, è possibile evidenziare due aspetti fondamentali: in primo luogo la convinzione che questa immagine della Sardegna sia un cliché che si ripete in maniera pedisse-

dagine sul piano dell'analisi del fenomeno e sul piano puramente descrittivo. Vedere Trease, Geoffrey. *The Grand Tour. A History of the Golden Age of Travel*, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Wintson, 1967; Hibbert, Christopher. *The Grand Tour*, Londra: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1969; Pine-Coffin, Robert S. *Bibliography of British and American travel in Italy to 1860*, Firenze: Olschki, 1974; Lord Chesterfield, Philip D. *L'educazione del gentiluomo: lettere al figlio*, Milano: Serra e Riva, 1984; Black, Jeremy. *The British and the Grand Tour*, London: Croom Helm, 1985; De Seta, Cesare; Mozzillo, Atanasio; Vallet, Georges. *L'Italia dei grandi viaggiatori*, Roma: Abete, 1986; Olschki, Fiammetta. *Viaggi in Europa, secoli XVI-XIX*, Firenze: Olschki, 1990; Peyer, Hans C. *Viaggiare nel Medioevo. Dall'ospitalità alla locanda*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1990; Maczak, Antoni. *Viaggi e viaggiatori nell'Europa moderna*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1992; De Seta, Cesare. *L'Italia del Grand Tour. Da Montaigne a Goethe*, Electa, Napoli, 1992; Brilli, Attilio. *Quando viaggiare era un'arte. Il romanzo del Grand Tour*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995 e Brilli, Attilio. *Arte del viaggiare. Il viaggio materiale dal XVI al XIX secolo*, Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 1992.

3. Lawrence, David H., *Sea and Sardinia*, New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1921: 15, vedere anche p. 6 <<http://www.freeclassicebooks.com/Lawrence%20D%20H/Sea%20and%20Sardinia.pdf>> (Consultato il 7 giugno 2016).

4. Smyth, William Henry. *Sketch of the present state of the island of Sardinia*, Londra: John Murray, 1828; Pasquin, Antoine-Claude [Valery]. *Viaggio in Sardegna*, ed. Maria Grazia Longhi, Nuoro: Ilisso 1996 (edizione originale: Pasquin, Antoine-Claude [Valery], *Voyages en Corse, a l'île d'Elbe, et en Sardaigne*, Paris: Bourgeois-Maze, 1836-1837); Marmora, Alberto della. *Voyage en Sardaigne de 1819 à 1825 ou Description statistique, physique et politique de cette Ile, avec des recherches sur ses productions naturelles et ses antiquités*, Paris: Ed. Delaforest de Arthus Bertrand, 1826. Anche Eduardo Chicharro Agüera e Antonio Ortiz Echagüe, due pittori fra i massimi esponenti della corrente pittorica del costumbrismo attiva in Spagna fra Otto e Novecento, venuti in Sardegna rispettivamente nel 1901 e negli anni 1906-1909, avevano deciso di visitare l'isola in cerca di soggetti da dipingere "al di fuori di ogni civilizzazione". I loro intenti di documentazione etnografica e del contesto socio-culturale della Sardegna risaltano pienamente nei loro dipinti.

5. Carta Raspi, Raimondo. *Breve storia di Sardegna*, Cagliari, Ed. Fondazione Il Nuraghe, 1950; Manno, Giuseppe. *Storia di Sardegna*, Milano, Ed. Placido Maria Visai, 1835 e Manno, Giuseppe. *Storia moderna della Sardegna del barone Giuseppe Manno: dall'anno 1773 al 1799*, Torino: Fratelli Favale, 1842; Bellieni, Camillo. *La Sardegna e i sardi nella civiltà del mondo antico*, Cagliari, Ed. Fondazione Il Nuraghe, 1928-1931.



qua per tutta la sua storia; in secondo luogo l'impressione che esista una storia differente e separata dei Sardi rispetto a quella dei suoi molteplici invasori.

Una storia — questa dei Sardi — diversa dalla storia ufficiale, fatta di sottomissione e mancanza di aspettative, senza segni di integrazione e di sviluppo comune. Una storia di ribellioni e di continue lotte contro il potere straniero, di battaglie perdute e di magnifico eroismo, che ha alimentato la teorizzazione di una identità sarda mai conquistata, mai violata da nessuna invasione straniera, immutata e immutabile in qualsiasi secolo, soprattutto nella zona più interna dell'isola, ovvero nella inaccessibile e ribelle Barbagia. Una prospettiva che, seguita da molti, ha avuto la sua massima espressione nella teoria della "costante resistenziale sarda", formulata dal famoso archeologo sardo Giovanni Lilliu, il quale in un articolo dedicato a questo tema sosteneva che

la Sardegna in ogni tempo ha avuto uno strano marchio storico: quello di essere sempre dominata (...), ma di avere sempre resistito. Un'isola sulla quale è calata per i secoli la mano oppressiva del colonizzatore, a cui ha opposto, sistematicamente, il graffio della resistenza. Perciò, i Sardi hanno avuto l'aggressione di integrazioni di ogni specie ma, nonostante questo, sono riusciti a conservarsi sempre se stessi. Nella confusione etnica e culturale che li ha inondati per millenni, sono riemersi, costantemente, nella fedeltà alle loro origini autentiche e pure.⁶

Ma è stato effettivamente così? I Sardi hanno vissuto, sempre, in maniera separata la loro storia, lontano da Fenici e Cartaginesi, Romani, Genovesi, Pisani, Catalano-Aragonesi? Ed è una buona speculazione impostare la storia della Sardegna su un'opposizione etnica anziché, per esempio, sulle attività e lo sviluppo dei gruppi sociali? E la stessa Barbagia, fu una zona così inaccessibile e inviolata?

Le risposte possono essere numerose, a volte contraddittorie, senza dubbio differenti a seconda dell'epoca storica. In questo senso il tema delle migrazioni può essere fondamentale per chiarire e verificare teorie e situazioni.

Sicuramente, è fuor di dubbio che i fenomeni migratori siano da considerarsi fenomeni nuovi. Essi sono sempre stati alla base del popolamento dei vari continenti e, rappresentando un fattore significativo nello sviluppo demografico ed economico, hanno sempre determinato e sempre determinano forme di diffidenza e di conflitto. Fin dall'antichità stati e governanti hanno cercato continuamente di incanalare e controllare i movimenti migratori sia collettivi sia individuali.⁷

La Sardegna, posta al centro del Mediterraneo punto d'incontro di tre continenti, ha visto la costante presenza di correnti migratorie fin dai tempi preistorici. Non voglio affrontare in questo contesto il problema della mobilità nel lungo periodo, per cui non tratterò le colonizzazioni fenicie, fenicio-puniche, romane, né tantomeno quelle toscane e liguri, anche se per queste ultime ci si

6. Lilliu, Giovanni. *La costante resistenziale sarda*, Antonello Mattone, ed. Nuoro: Ilisso, 2002: 225-237, in particolare 225.

7. Pini, Antonio Ivan. *Le grandi migrazioni umane nell'antichità e nel Medioevo*, Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1969; Sordi, Marta, ed. *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico*, Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1994; Sordi, Marta, ed., *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico*, Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1995; Cavaciocchi, Simonetta, ed. *Le migrazioni in Europa, secoli XIII-XVIII*, Atti della XXV Settimana di studi dell'Istituto "F. Datini" di Prato, Firenze: Le Monnier, 1994; Balard, Michel; Ducellier Alain, eds. *Coloniser au Moyen Âge*, Paris: Colin, 1995; Pizzorusso, Giovanni; Sanfilippo, Matteo. "Rassegna Storiografica sui fenomeni migratori a lungo raggio dal basso Medioevo al secondo Dopoguerra". *Bollettino di Demografia storica*, 13 (1990) numero monografico; Fontaine, Laurence. "Gli studi sulla mobilità in Europa nell'età moderna: problemi e prospettive di ricerca". *Quaderni storici*, 93 (1996): 739-756; Petti Balbi, Giovanna, ed. *Comunità forestiere e "nationes" nell'Europa dei secoli XIII-XVI*, Napoli: Gisem-Liguori Editore, 2001; Koser, Khalid. *International migration. A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Pizzorusso, Giovanni. "Mobilità e flussi migratori prima dell'età moderna: una lunga introduzione", *Archivio storico dell'emigrazione italiana*, 3 (giugno, 2007): 205-222 <<http://www.asei.eu/it/2007/06/>> (Consultato il 7 giugno 2016).



dovrebbe soffermare a lungo e puntualizzare che lo spostamento nell'isola di Pisa e Genova non fu soltanto di tipo economico o di conquista, ma fu un flusso migratorio con implicazioni demografiche, sociali, antropologiche e politiche molto significative.⁸ In Sardegna, Pisani e Genovesi hanno costruito castelli, fondato villaggi e, soprattutto Pisa, ha eretto città che avrebbero avuto uno sviluppo importante nelle vicende dell'isola come Villa di Chiesa, attuale Iglesias, e Castel di Castro, attuale Cagliari.⁹

E non solo. Molti nobili, grazie ad accordi diplomatici o legami matrimoniali, si inserirono nelle dinastie regnanti dei quattro stati —meglio noti come “giudicati”— in cui era divisa all'epoca la Sardegna. Ci fu, quindi, una completa integrazione che permise a questi nuclei esterni di acquisire non solo il potere, ma di dare origine allo stesso tempo a nuovi gruppi familiari, in pratica a quella che potremmo definire la seconda generazione pisana in Sardegna, con l'acquisizione di quei caratteri di sovranità e di quelle nuove prerogative che li posero nella condizione di confrontarsi e scontrarsi con i propri luoghi di origine e di appartenenza. Questo accadde, per esempio, ad alcuni lignaggi pisani nei confronti del Comune dell'Arno, e a tal proposito vengono in mente i Visconti o i marchesi di Massa, e i Doria contro il Comune di Genova.¹⁰

3. Il fenomeno migratorio iberico nei secoli XII e XIII

Mi sembra doveroso, invece, soffermarmi sulla mobilità e sui flussi migratori iberici che a partire dal XII-XIII secolo hanno interessato la Sardegna in maniera consistente e costante. Il che non significa tornare inutilmente e noiosamente indietro all'epoca medioevale, ma cercare di ricostruire quei fenomeni di mobilità interna ed esterna della popolazione che hanno profondamente caratterizzato le diverse realtà territoriali e urbane dell'isola. Fenomeni per i quali siamo in grado di infrangere quelle scansioni temporali, a cui siamo stati tradizionalmente abituati tra epoca me-

8. Artizzu, Francesco. *Documenti inediti relativi ai rapporti economici tra la Sardegna e Pisa nel Medioevo*, Padova: Cedam, 1961; Artizzu, Francesco. *Pisani e Catalani nella Sardegna medioevale*, Padova: Cedam, 1974 e Artizzu, Francesco. *La Sardegna pisana e genovese*, Sassari: Chiarella, 1985. Sull'argomento vedere anche Meloni, Giuseppe. “La Sardegna nel quadro della politica mediterranea di Pisa, Genova, Aragona”, *Il Medioevo dai giudicati agli Aragonesi. II. Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, Guidetti Massimo, ed. Milano: Jaca Book, 1987: 49-96; Tangheroni, Marco. “Pisa e Sardegna: profondità di un rapporto e lacerazioni di un distacco”, *La Sardegna nel mondo mediterraneo. 4. La storia del mare e della terra*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Sassari: Gallizzi, 1984: 37-43 e ancora dello stesso autore, Tangheroni, Marco. “L'eredità pisana e genovese”, *La Sardegna*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 1988: 33-35; Tangheroni, Marco. “L'importanza della Sardegna nella storia di Pisa”, *Orme pisane in Sardegna*, Giovanni Padroni, ed. Pisa: Pacini, 1994 e i saggi raccolti in Tangheroni, Marco. *Sardegna Mediterranea*, Roma: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1983 (Fonti e Studi del *Corpus Membranarum Italicarum*. Prima Serie, Studi e Ricerche, XXIII) e in Tangheroni, Marco. *Medioevo tirrenico. Sardegna, Toscana e Pisa*, Pisa: Pacini, 1992.

9. Petrucci, Sandro. “Forestieri a Castello di Castro in periodo pisano”, *Commercio, finanza, funzione pubblica. Stranieri in Sicilia e in Sardegna nei secoli XIII-XV*, Tangheroni, Marco, ed. Napoli: Gisem-Liguori Editore, 1989: 219-276 e il saggio Petrucci, Sandro. “Tra Santa Igia e Castel di Castro di Cagliari: politica, società, insediamenti pisani nella metà del XIII secolo”, *S. Igia capitale giudicale. Contributo all'Incontro di Studio «Storia, ambiente fisico e insediamenti umani nel territorio di Santa Gilla (Cagliari)»*, 3-5 novembre 1983, Pisa: ETS, 1986: 235-241. Vedere anche il volume miscelaneo Artizzu, Francesco, ed. *Studi su Iglesias medioevale*, Pisa: ETS, 1985; Tangheroni, Marco. “I luoghi nuovi della Sardegna medioevale”, *I borghi nuovi. Secoli XII-XIV*, Rinaldo Comba, Aldo Angelo Settia, eds. Cuneo: Società per gli studi storici della Provincia di Cuneo, 1993: 137-152 e dello stesso, Tangheroni, Marco. *La città dell'argento. Iglesias dalle origini alla fine del Medioevo*, Napoli: Liguori, 1985.

10. Il concetto è stato ben sottolineato da Sandro Petrucci in, Petrucci, Sandro. *Re in Sardegna, a Pisa cittadini. Ricerche sui ‘domini Sardinie’ pisani*, Bologna: Cappelli, 1988 e in Petrucci, Sandro. “Storia politica istituzionale della Sardegna medioevale (secoli XI-XIV)”, *Il Medioevo dai giudicati agli Aragonesi. Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, Massimo Guidetti, ed. Milano: Jaca Book: 97-156. Vedere anche Meloni, Giuseppe. *Genova e Aragona all'epoca di Pietro il Cerimonioso, I (1336-1354), II (1355-1360), III (1361-1387)*, Padova: Cedam, 1971-1981.



dioevale, epoca moderna e contemporanea, riuscendo a saldare tra loro senza cesure questi ampi archi temporali, dal XIII-XIV secolo fino al XV-XVII secolo.¹¹

Non si può non ricordare, quindi, che anche i Catalano-Aragonesi giunsero in Sardegna già dal XII secolo e non per la prima volta nel XIV secolo, quando con la conquista armata dell'isola nel 1323 la Corona d'Aragona legittimava l' infeudazione del Regno di Sardegna e Corsica concessa a Giacomo II d'Aragona da papa Bonifacio VIII.¹²

In effetti, fu precisamente l'anno 1157 quello nel quale si celebrò il matrimonio tra Barisone I, giudice d'Arborea, e Agalbursa di Bas-Cervera, nipote di Ramon Berenguer IV, conte-re di Barcellona, in quanto figlia della sorella Almodis.¹³ Le ragioni di un tale vincolo matrimoniale sono da ricercarsi nelle relazioni esistenti già in questo periodo tra la Catalogna, la Sardegna e Genova; nell'importanza che lo spazio mediterraneo ebbe per Catalani e Genovesi; nell'interesse dello stesso Barisone I d'Arborea ad estendere i propri domini su tutta l'isola e ad accrescere a tal fine il numero dei suoi alleati.

Però, in questo discorso è opportuno puntualizzare che insieme ad Agalbursa giunsero in Arborea —e ne abbiamo prova documentale— molti Catalani suoi familiari, che qui si impiantarono e si unirono in matrimonio con “donnikelle” locali, acquisendo posizioni di primo piano nella gerarchia giudiciale¹⁴ e che furono accompagnati da altri nobili di varia provenienza e da cavalieri fedeli alla Catalogna. Anche questi ultimi si stabilirono nell'isola e ottennero cariche pubbliche e

11. Moatti, Claudia, ed. *La mobilité des personnes en Méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'époque moderne. Procédures de contrôle de documents d'identification*, Roma: EFR, 2004; Gabriella, Maria; Bertinelli, Angeli; Donati, Angela, eds. *Le vie della storia. Migrazioni di popoli, viaggi di individui, circolazione di idee nel Mediterraneo antico*, Roma: Giorgio Bretschneider editore, Roma, 2006.

12. Salavert Roca, Vicente. *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón 1297-1314*, Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1956; Del Treppo, Mario. “L'espansione catalano-aragonese nel Mediterraneo”, *Nuove questioni di Storia Medioevale*, Raffaello Morghen, ed., Milano: Marzorati, 1964: XI, 250-300; Santamaría, Alvaro. “Precisiones sobre la expansión marítima de la Corona de Aragón”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia medieval*, 8 (1990-1991): 187-255; Tangheroni, Marco. “Il ‘Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae’ nell'espansione mediterranea della Corona d'Aragona. Aspetti economici”, *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: I, 49-88; Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. “Giacomo II e la conquista del regno di Sardegna e Corsica”. *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [edizione speciale: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 251-316 e della stessa Cadeddu, Maria Eugenia. “Frontiere dell'espansione catalano-aragonese nel Mediterraneo. L'epoca di Giacomo II d'Aragona (1291-1327)”, *Frontiere del Mediterraneo*, Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, Maria Grazia Mele, eds. Pisa: ETS, 2003: 31-39.

13. Sull'origine dei Cervera si veda Duran Sanpere, Antonio; Sobrequés Vidal, Santiago; Fluvà, Armand de. “Cervera”, *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana, 1973: V, 38-40 e relativa tavola. Per il viscontado di Bas e le vicende dei suoi discendenti vedere Caula Vegas, Francisco. “Orígenes de la casa vizcondal de Bas”. *Pyrene*, 10 (1949) e Caula Vegas, Francisco. *El vizcondado de Bas y la Casa de Ampurias*. Olot: Patronato de Estudios Históricos Olotenses, 1951; Sobrequés, Santiago. “Bas, vescomtat de”, *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana*, Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana, 1971: III, 283-284. Sulle origini dei Bas-Cervera e dei Bas-Serra, giudici d'Arborea, si vedano le tavole genealogiche curate da Costa Paretas, Maria Mercedes, *Genealogie medioevali di Sardegna*, Cagliari-Sassari: DueD Editrice mediterranea, 1984: 373-397 e tavv. XXXI-XXXIII, 134-139.

14. Soprattutto il fratello di Agalbursa, Ugo-Poncio de Bas-Cervera, massimo artefice nelle trattative di nozze con Barisone I, dopo aver sposato nel 1177 Sinisella, figlia del cognato e della sua prima moglie Pellegrina de Lacon, acquisì una posizione di primo piano all'interno della gerarchia dinastica giudiciale. Suo figlio Ugone I, infatti, ereditò il viscontado di Bas in Catalogna e diventò giudice d'Arborea nel 1192. Dopo di lui fu la volta del suo primogenito, salito al trono arborense con il nome di Pietro II, e, di seguito, di tutti i suoi futuri discendenti, i quali mantennero il titolo di visconti di Bas e di giudici d'Arborea. Quei giudici che, a ben pensare, nella seconda metà del XIV secolo diventarono i principali avversari dei re d'Aragona in Sardegna. Vedere *Genealogie medioevali...*: 378-379 e 381-382.

proprietà, grazie alle quali si integrarono perfettamente nella struttura amministrativa, economica e sociale del giudicato.¹⁵

Sicuramente, un dato di fatto certo è che il legame tra la Sardegna e la penisola iberica, o meglio tra la Sardegna e la Catalogna, si consolida progressivamente dopo il XII secolo e che i contatti commerciali si intensificano a partire dal XIII secolo, perché si è a conoscenza con certezza della presenza di mercanti barcellonaesi prima del 1300 a Oristano e a Castel di Castro.¹⁶

A Oristano, per esempio, fulcro commerciale di un prospero entroterra agricolo, si ha testimonianza di un'intensa attività mercantile specializzata nel commercio mediterraneo —come ha sottolineato Carmen Batlle— e della presenza di fondaci, nei quali era conservata merce di diversa natura e provenienza appartenente a molteplici operatori catalani del settore: dai tessuti francesi alla carta, dalle scodelle di maiolica dipinta alle giare di aceto, dai sedili in cuoio di origine saracena a molte altre e varie mercanzie. Anche la colonia catalana a Cagliari doveva essere molto importante e popolosa —data la presenza di un console già nel 1301—, frequentata da armatori e patroni di navi utilizzate dai Pisani nel trasporto delle merci dalla Sardegna al Comune dell'Arno. Da varie fonti documentarie si può intuire che il numero dei mercanti legati alla piazza commerciale cagliaritana era considerevole e che non dovevano essere pochi quelli che vi si erano trasferiti in pianta stabile per lo meno, per una parte dell'anno.¹⁷ Questi imprenditori, soprattutto barcellonaesi e maiorchini, avevano stretto accordi con Pisa in relazione alle attività produttive e commerciali locali e apparivano legati in società con le più importanti famiglie pisane immigrate e stabilite definitivamente in Sardegna, quali ad esempio gli Alliata.¹⁸

In buona sostanza, nel XIII secolo, l'isola appare come una tappa ormai fondamentale nella rotta marittima dei mercantili catalano-aragonesi, specialmente di quelli diretti verso la Sicilia, il Nord Africa e il Mediterraneo orientale. E quando si programmò la conquista della Sardegna da parte della Corona d'Aragona è evidente che mercanti e operatori commerciali iberici videro in questa impresa un'occasione per incrementare le loro attività e una possibilità di intensificare la loro presenza nell'isola.¹⁹

Ciò non significa che essi ne furono i promotori né che in seguito considerarono appagate le loro aspettative dai risultati della campagna di conquista. Sicuramente dopo l'occupazione dell'isola non si può parlare di una classe di mercanti *tout court*. Ci sono differenze enormi fra loro, relative

15. Sui primi rapporti fra la famiglia vicecomitale catalana e la casata giudicale arborense vedere Sobrequés Vidal, Santiago. *Els barons de Catalunya*, Barcelona: Editorial Base, 1961: 33-34; Salavert Roca, Vicente. *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea...*: II, 1-3 e Artizzu, Francesco. *Pisani e Catalani...*: 9-23.

16. Artizzu, Francesco. "Penetrazione catalana in Sardegna nel secolo XII", *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Cagliari, 1957)*, Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1959: 87-102; Batlle, Carme. "Noticia sobre los negocios de mercaderes de Barcelona en Cerdeña hacia 1300", *La Sardegna nel mondo mediterraneo. 2. Gli aspetti storici*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Sassari: Gallizzi, 1981: 277-289; Manconi, Francesco. "Alcune considerazioni sull'economia e la società arborense (secc. XIII-XV)", *Società e cultura nel giudicato d'Arborea e nella Carta de Logu, Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Oristano, 1992)*, Giampaolo Mele, ed. Nuoro: ISTAR, 1995: II, 208-212.

17. Batlle, Carme. "Noticia sobre los negocios...": 278, 286. Il console della colonia cagliaritana era il cittadino barcelonense Ramon de Tolosa.

18. Tangheroni, Marco. *Gli Alliata, una famiglia pisana del Medioevo*, Padova: Cedam, 1969 e dello stesso Tangheroni, Marco. "Famiglie nobili e ceto dirigente a Pisa nel XIII secolo", *Medioevo tirrenico. Sardegna, Toscana e Pisa*, Pisa: Pacini, 1992: 197-220.

19. Batlle, Carme. "Noticia sobre los negocios...": 279; del Treppo, Mario. *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della Corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV*, Napoli: L'arte tipografica, 1972; Tangheroni, Marco; di Nero, Lilia. *Commercio e navigazione nel Mediterraneo medioevale*, Roma: Scolastica, 1981; Tangheroni, Marco. *Commercio e navigazione nel Medioevo*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1996 e Tangheroni, Marco. "Il Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae"...: 49-88.



all'epoca, alla provenienza, agli interessi, alla tipologia dei negozi, al ruolo e all'inserimento nel territorio. È evidente che un mercante catalano, residente a Cagliari alla fine del XIII secolo e che agiva in società con i Pisani, non è paragonabile al mercante residente nella stessa città alla fine del XIV secolo. Quest'ultimo è coinvolto nel conflitto tra Catalani e Sardi, vive una realtà di guerra, risiede in una città assediata e si dedica, talvolta, anche al commercio corsaro. Ancora differente è il mercante del XV secolo, che appartiene ad una famiglia stabilitasi nell'isola ormai da più di un secolo, è nato in Sardegna e partecipa all'integrazione del regno sardo nella Corona d'Aragona e, alla fine di quello stesso secolo, in quella di Spagna.²⁰

4. I flussi migratori del XIV secolo: modalità e personaggi

Dopo la conquista armata dell'isola, e comunque a partire dal XIV secolo in poi, inizia un vero e proprio fenomeno migratorio che, dalla Penisola Iberica verso la Sardegna e da quest'ultima verso i territori della Corona d'Aragona, coinvolse in maniera molto intensa l'isola. Quantificare questo flusso migratorio e individuarne le categorie e i personaggi che ne fecero parte è un argomento di grande rilevanza storico-antropologica, utile per capire la stessa conquista della Sardegna, per ricostruirne tutte le fasi e soprattutto per valutare il contributo che i sudditi della Confederazione iberica arrecarono al progetto di espansione mediterranea della Corona d'Aragona, le loro aspettative e i benefici assicurati a ciascuno di essi.²¹

20. Di Tucci, Roberto. "Le condizioni dei mercanti stranieri in Sardegna durante la dominazione aragonese", *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 8 (1911): 3-38; Manca, Ciro. *Il libro di conti di Miquel Ça-Rovira*, Padova: Cedam, 1969; Cabestany Fort, Joan. "I mercanti catalani e la Sardegna", *I Catalani in Sardegna*, Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi, eds. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984: 25-34; Manconi, Francesco. "Traffici commerciali e integrazione culturale nel Mediterraneo occidentale fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento". *Studi Storici*, 4 (1995): 1051-1073. Già negli anni Settanta Marco Tangheroni, in un saggio sul feudalesimo in Sardegna nell'età aragonese (Tangheroni, Marco. "Il feudalesimo in Sardegna in età aragonese", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, 3/3 [1973]: 861-892, in particolare p. 875), auspicava lo studio delle figure dei grandi mercanti finanziatori della conquista sarda e appaltatori delle entrate del *Regnum Sardiniae*. In questi ultimi anni, una serie di ricerche si sono orientate su questa realtà mercantile sardo-catalana nel tardo Medioevo, mettendo in evidenza singoli esponenti la cui attività offre un interessante spaccato dell'epoca. Al riguardo Soldani, Maria Elisa. "Dalla bottega al feudo: l'ascesa sociale dei de Doni tra Barcellona e la Sardegna nel Basso medioevo", *XVIII Congrès International d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, Valencia: Universitat de Valencia- Fundació Jaume II el Just, 2005: II, 1159-1173 e della stessa, Soldani, Maria Elisa. *Uomini d'affari e mercanti toscani nella Barcellona del Quattrocento*, Barcellona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2010; Oliva, Anna Maria. "Andrea Sunyer cittadino di Cagliari e corsaro nella guerra luso-castigliana (1475-1476)", *Estudos em homenagem ao professor Doutor José Marques*, Porto: FLUP, 2006: I, 245-257 e Oliva, Ana Maria. "March Jover uomo del re e uomo dei consiglieri di Cagliari nella Sardegna tra Tre e Quattrocento", *Sardegna e Mediterraneo tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Maria Giuseppina Meloni, Olivetta Schena, eds. Genova: Brigati, 2009: 283-327.

21. Salavert Roca, Vicente. "El problema estratégico del Mediterráneo occidental y la política aragonesa (siglos XIV y XV)", *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Palma de Mallorca, 1955)*, Palma de Mallorca: Diputación Provincial de Baleares, 1959, I: 201-221 e Salavert Roca, Vicente. "Los motivos económicos en la conquista de Cerdeña", *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Cagliari, 1957)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1959: 433-445; Tangheroni, Marco. "El Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae"...: 49-88; Fábrega Grau, Angel. "Ayuda económica de la Iglesia a Jaime II de Aragón por la conquista de Cerdeña". *Anthologica Annua*, 11 (1963): 13-46; Mitjá Sagué, Marina. "Barcelona y el problema sardo en el siglo XIV", *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Cagliari, 1957)*. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1959: 447-459; Orcástegui Gros, Carmen. "Contribución económica de los aragoneses a las empresas de Cerdeña (siglo XIV)", *XIV Congreso di storia della Corona d'Aragona, Sassari-Alghero, 19-24 maggio 1990*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1993: III, 659-666; Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. "Contributi finanziari di città e ville della Catalogna alla conquista del regno di Sardegna e Corsica (1321-1326)", *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [Edizione speciale: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 317-352 e Sánchez Martínez, Manuel. *Pagar al rey en la Corona de Aragón durante el siglo XIV*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003; Muñoz Pomer, Maria Rosa. "Las Cortes valencianas y su participación en las empresas italianas", *XIV Congreso di storia della Corona d'Aragona, Sassari-Alghero, 19-24 maggio 1990*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1993: III, 615-628.



Ugualmente, prima di parlare di migrazioni iberiche in Sardegna durante il XIV secolo, vi è da fare una sottile distinzione fra il primo flusso migratorio, costituito da coloro che migrarono in terra sarda al seguito dell'infante Alfonso e quelli che vi si insediarono in un secondo momento per prendere parte effettivamente all'occupazione e alla dominazione dell'isola.²²

Per quanto riguarda il primo fenomeno migratorio, ovviamente non esiste un elenco unico e completo di tutti i partecipanti alla conquista che, peraltro, furono tantissimi, ma esistono diverse fonti documentarie, di cui alcune molto significative ed esaustive —per esempio i privilegi concessi da Giacomo II a chi si proponeva di combattere nell'armata di Sardegna— che ci rivelano tutte le caratteristiche del futuro migrante, cavaliere o soldato che fosse. Dati alla mano, dai documenti si evincono tutti i particolari relativi alla sua identità e condizione sociale, alla provenienza, alla parentela, alla professione e alle ragioni che lo spingevano a partecipare a questa impresa militare.²³

Nobili, cavalieri e soldati, però, non partirono alla volta dell'isola unicamente con il primo flusso migratorio durante il periodo della conquista. Essi rappresentarono anche la gran parte del secondo fenomeno che investì la terra sarda quando Giacomo II, ma soprattutto l'infante Alfonso, si resero conto del potenziale strategico e militare che una rapida colonizzazione della Sardegna poteva rappresentare.

Un esempio concreto di questo secondo movimento migratorio è rappresentato dal Castello di Cagliari e dalla sua conquista. Nel giugno del 1324, quando fu firmata la prima pace tra l'Aragona e Pisa, Castel di Castro, importante centro commerciale del Mediterraneo e capitale dei domini pisani nell'isola, rimase in mano alla repubblica dell'Arno.²⁴ L'infante, cosciente delle difficoltà che la conquista della fortezza sardo-pisana avrebbe presentato sia per la sua posizione sia per le sue im-

22. Bagué, Enric. *Alfons el Benigne*, Barcelona: Editorial Vicens Vives, 1980; Martínez Ferrando, Jesús Ernest. *Jaume II*, Barcelona: Editorial Vicens Vives, 1980. Su questo sovrano e i suoi rapporti con la Sardegna si veda il volume miscelaneo *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*, numero speciale di Medioevo a cura di Maria Eugenia Cadeddu (edizione speciale di *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*), di cui si suggerisce in particolare il saggio di Muñoz Pomer, María Rosa; Pinilla Pérez de Tudela, Regina. "Studi e Ricerche dedicati a Giacomo II d'Aragona in Spagna (1850-1995)". *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [Special edition: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 339-460, per la vasta bibliografia esaminata. Vedere anche Miret Sans, Joaquim. "Itinerario del rey Alfonso III de Catalunya, IV en Aragón, el conquistador de Cerdeña". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, V (1909-1910): 56-57.

23. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. 1978-1998: III, 159-160, 175, 185-186; Muntaner, Ramon. "Crònica", *Les quatre grans cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1971: 910 (capitolo CCXXI); 914-915 (capitolo CXXIII), Cerimoniós, Pere el. "Crònica". *Les quatre grans cròniques...*: 1009-1023 (capitolo 1); Arribas Palau, Antonio. *La conquista de Cerdeña por Jaime II de Aragón*, Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1952: 141-149, 168-187, 377-383; Cadeddu, María Eugenia. "I privilegi reali, nel regno di Sardegna e Corsica all'epoca di Giacomo II e Alfonso IV d'Aragona. Strategie politiche e militari", *Los cimientos del Estado en la Edad Media. Chancillerías, notariado y privilegios reales en la construcción del Estado en la Edad Media*, Juan Antonio Barrio Barrio, Alcoi: Marfil, 2004: 157-168; Carbonell Boria, María José; Cuñat Ciscar, Virginia María. "Pergamene di Giacomo II d'Aragona nell'Archivio Municipal de Valencia", *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 20 [Special edition: Maria Eugenia Cadeddu, ed. *Corona d'Aragona e Mediterraneo: strategie d'espansione, migrazioni e commerci nell'età di Giacomo II*] (1995): 99-111; Cuñat Ciscar, Virginia María. "Del privilegio al registro: la relación entre el consell de València y Cerdeña en tiempos de Jaime II y Alfonso IV a través del Archivo Municipal de Valencia", *XIV Congreso di storia della Corona d'Aragona, Sassari-Alghero, 19-24 maggio 1990*, Sassari: Carlo Delfino, 1993: III, 329-337; Cadeddu, María Eugenia; Muñoz Pomer, María Rosa; Pons Alós, Vicente; Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu. "Valencianos en la conquista de Cerdeña a través de un registro de "lletres" del Justicia Civil de Valencia", *XVIII Congrès Internacional d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó (València 2004)*, Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València Fundació Jaume II el Just, 2005: I, 225-250.

24. Per la resa pisana e i trattati di pace sottoscritti nel giugno del 1324 si veda Artizzu, Francesco. *La Sardegna pisana...*: 242-251. Sull'aspetto di Castel di Castro vedere: Finke, Heinrich. *Acta Aragonensia*, Berlin und Leipzig: Walther Rothschild, 1908: I, 572-573 (doc. No. 373); Scano, Dionigi. *Forma Karalis*, Cagliari: Società Editoriale Italiana, 1934 e sulla *forma urbis* e il modello urbanistico pisano si veda il volume miscelaneo Kirova, Tatiana K., ed. *Cagliari. Quartieri storici. Castello*, Cagliari: Comune di Cagliari, 1985; Tolaini, Emilio. *Forma Pisarum*, Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1979; Franchetti Pardo,



ponenti fortificazioni, pensò di ottenerne la resa senza alcun sforzo bellico, creandole un forte antagonismo che l'avrebbe portata allo sfinimento e alla capitolazione. Così, pose l'accampamento di fronte alla rocca cagliaritanica e si impegnò a trasformare ciò che era una installazione provvisoria in un vero e proprio agglomerato urbano, popolato di coloni provenienti dalla madrepatria iberica e al quale volle attribuire un ampio hinterland e un porto competitivo con quello di Castel di Castro. A questa nuova città, alla quale diede il nome di Bonaria, fu assegnato il compito di contrastare economicamente e demograficamente la capitale sardo-pisana per determinarne la crisi e il successivo spontaneo abbandono.²⁵ L'obiettivo non fu raggiunto, perché i Pisani tentarono un ultimo scontro diretto contro i Catalano-Aragonesi,²⁶ ma il progetto di sviluppo e popolamento di Bonaria ebbe, comunque, un esito strabiliante. La concessione di privilegi e le aspettative economiche che le condizioni del nuovo insediamento sardo offrivano, fecero giungere nell'isola in pochi mesi una significativa quantità di migranti da tutti gli stati della Corona d'Aragona, i quali portarono la città di Bonaria ad una densità di popolazione superiore all'incirca ai seimila abitanti.²⁷

Quando Castel di Castro aprì le porte all'infante Alfonso,²⁸ non in maniera pacifica come aveva supposto Alfonso, ma dopo un nuovo e duro conflitto, la fortezza fu immediatamente ripopolata da elementi catalani con l'espulsione massiccia e sistematica di tutti i cittadini pisani. In buona sostanza, se il piano dell'infante d'Aragona per conquistare Cagliari era stato ben definito e programmato, al contrario la politica di ripopolamento della rocca, importante chiave di volta del neo costituito regno oltremarino, seppure pianificata risultò mutevole, eseguita non senza poche difficoltà e, talvolta, con qualche aspetto contraddittorio. Alla fine si giunse all'abbandono definitivo di Bonaria e alla fondazione certamente non facile di Castell de Càller, la quale, assunta a capitale del nuovo *Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae* catalano-aragonese, divenne una città totalmente iberica e con tale fisionomia si mantenne nei decenni successivi.²⁹

Vittorio. *Storia dell'urbanistica. Dal Trecento al Quattrocento*, Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1994; Garzella, Gabriella. *Com'era Pisa: topografia e insediamento. Dall'impianto tardoantico alla città murata del secolo XII*, Napoli: Liguori, 1990.

25. Sul quartier generale nel colle del "Buen Ayre" lo Zurita dice che l'infante Alfonso *mandò labrar una villa con su castillo que le puso nombre Bonayre* ("Costruì una villa con il suo castello e la chiamò Bonaire") facendo intendere che il nome del colle ebbe origine con i Catalano-Aragonesi. Sul toponimo Bonaria si veda Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 3, vi, lrv, 207; Scano, Dionigi. *Forma Karalis...*: 26; Costa Paretas, María Mercedes. *El Santuari de Santa Maria de Bonaire a la ciutat de Caller*, Cagliari: Ettore Gasparini, 1973; Porrà, Roberto. "La questione dell'origine del toponimo Buenos Aires". *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 13 (1988): 171-187.

26. Sulle sortite e gli attacchi avvenuti attorno alle due piazzeforti pisana e catalano-aragonese vedere Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 3, vi, lx, 224-227 e Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La Sardegna aragonese...*: I, 171-177.

27. Sull'insediamento di Bonaria si veda Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 3, vi, lv, 209; Todde, Giovanni. "Castel de Bonayre: il primo insediamento catalano-aragonese in Sardegna", *XI Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Palermo-Trapani-Erice, 1982)*, Palermo: Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti, 1984: IV, 335-346 e Contu, Maria Giovanna. "Bonaria roccaforte catalano-aragonese: quale natura giuridica?". *Quaderni Bolotanesi*, 12 (1986): 139-148.

28. Sulla capitolazione di Castel di Castro e la resa definitiva di Pisa nel giugno 1326 si legga innanzitutto Arribas Palau, Antonio. *La conquista...*: 429-430; Casula, Francesco Cesare. *La Sardegna aragonese...*: I, 206-211 e Casula, Francesco Cesare. "I trattati diplomatici sardo-aragonesi del 1323-1326", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo. I. La Sardegna*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1993: 207-220. L'ingresso trionfale dei Catalano-Aragonesi nel Castello di Cagliari è felicemente tratteggiato nella "Cronica del magnificatissimo signore Ramon Muntaner", *Cronache catalane del secolo XIII e XIV*, eds. Leonardo Sciascia, Filippo Moisé, eds. Palermo: Sellerio, 1984: 381-383 (capitolo 290).

29. L'evacuazione del Castello di Cagliari da parte dei Pisani e il ripopolamento della città fortificata con elementi esclusivamente catalani sono descritti con precisione e dovizia di particolari da Conde Delgado de Molina, Rafael. *Castell de Càller. Cagliari catalano-aragonese*, Cagliari: Istituto sui rapporti italo-iberici-Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1984 e Urban, Maria Bonaria. "Nuovi elementi di storia urbana nel regno di Sardegna. Dalla fondazione di Bonaria al popolamento catalano di Castel di Cagliari". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 27/2 (1998): 819-866. Della stessa anche, Urban,

Quello che qui importa sottolineare, comunque, è l'utilizzo delle migrazioni come strumento di conquista e di dominio. Il sistema del ripopolamento con flussi di migranti iberici nei luoghi nevralgici all'interno del territorio sardo fu un espediente ampiamente utilizzato, anche in seguito, dall'Aragona nel corso della sua dominazione sull'isola. Si potrebbe fare, a questo proposito, l'esempio di Sassari nel 1329³⁰ e quello di Alghero a metà del XIV secolo. Soprattutto quest'ultima, dopo un lungo assedio e la conquista definitiva nel 1354 da parte del sovrano aragonese Pietro IV, fu protagonista di un cambio massiccio di abitanti. Flussi di popolazione catalana giunsero nella cittadina della costa occidentale sarda per garantirne la difesa e con essa il controllo di una delle zone più importanti dal punto di vista strategico di tutta l'isola.³¹

Le modalità per favorire il movimento migratorio furono sempre le stesse, utilizzate sin dal principio a Castell de Càller: vantaggi di tipo economico e giuridico, esenzioni di vario genere, salvacondotti, moratorie di debiti, aiuti alimentari, finanziamento dello stesso viaggio dalla penisola iberica alla Sardegna e, soprattutto, concessioni di terre, case e possedimenti feudali.³²

Successivamente, e soprattutto dopo la fine della guerra, la presenza di questi nuclei di provenienza iberica nelle città più importanti dell'isola fu fondamentale per favorire la tenuta e il consolidamento dell'occupazione catalana sul territorio sardo nonché l'integrazione del regno di Sardegna e dei Sardi nei territori della Corona d'Aragona.

Più difficile è quantificare e definire la migrazione catalano-aragonese all'interno dell'isola, ma il fatto che essa si sia comunque verificata è dimostrato dalla presenza nei bracci dei Parlamenti

Maria Bonaria. "Da Bonaria a Cagliari: problemi politici e scelte urbanistiche nel primo periodo del regno di Sardegna catalano-aragonese". *Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne*, 22 (1998): 93-148.

30. Solmi, Arrigo. "Una pagina di storia sassarese", *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 4/3 (1908): 373-384; Pala, Giuseppe. "Una nota sul ripopolamento di Sassari al tempo di Alfonso il Benigno". *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, 1/38, 1976-1977 (1980): 133-161; Miret Sans, Joaquim. "Saqueig de Sasser en 1329". *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 4 (31 julio a septiembre 1908): 429-447; Costa Paretas, Maria Mercedes. "Oficials de la Corona d'Aragó a Sardenya (segle XIV). Notes biogràfiques". *Archivio Storico Sardo*, 29 (1964): 323-377 e Costa Paretas, Maria Mercedes. "Oficials de Pere el Cerimoniós a Sasser (1336-1387)", *La Sardegna nel mondo mediterraneo*. 2. *Gli aspetti storici*, Manlio Brigaglia, ed. Sassari: Gallizzi, 1981: 291-314.

31. Bertran Roigé, Prim. "Les respostes de la baixa noblesa catalana al reclam de Pere el Cerimoniós per anar a Sardenya (1354)", *La corona catalanoaragonesa i el seu entorn mediterrani a la baixa edat mitjana*, Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, Josefina Mutgé Vives, Manuel Sánchez Martínez, eds., Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2005: 1-22; Turull, Max. "Respostes de nobles i cavallers de la vegueria de Cervera per a la campanya de Sardenya de 1354-1355". *Miscel·lània Cerverina*, 12 (1998): 131-134; Català Roca, Pere. "Pena d'exili a Sardegna", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo*. I. *La Sardegna*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1993: 337-340; Català Roca, Pere; Gala Fernández, Joan. "Entorn de 'Lo bon ayre e la nobleza d'esta illa de Sardenya'", *XIV Congresso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/1, 263-276; Meloni, Giuseppe. "Su alcuni feudatari maggiori e minori". *Studi Sardi*, 20 (1966): 285-298. Anche il processo di ripopolamento di Alghero risultò problematico e le difficoltà furono determinate in parte dagli effetti della peste nera che aveva colpito le terre iberiche in quegli anni, ma anche dalla complessa situazione sarda e dal nuovo scenario di diffusa ribellione anticalatana, che sconvolgeva il regno con gravi conseguenze economiche, politiche e militari. Vedere Manca, Ciro. "Notes sobre l'administració de la Sardenya catalana en el segle XIV: 'l'arrendament' de les rendes e drets reys". *Estudis d'Història Medieval*, 5 (1973): 73-74.

32. "La Sardegna si integra così nell'ingranaggio del potere catalano e persino del 'cursus honorum' degli ufficiali. Molti cavalieri potranno sostenere di aver già compiuto gli obblighi militari dopo aver realizzato i contributi di cavalli armati richiesti per le campagne in Sardegna. La grande maggioranza dei partecipanti alle imprese militari sarde, infatti, invocheranno, al loro ritorno, questi servizi d'armi per essere debitamente ricompensati attraverso l'ottenimento di terre, benefici e incarichi pubblici. In alcuni casi, la compensazione arriva per la scomparsa di familiari che perdono la vita sull'isola per vari motivi (...). In realtà, la Sardegna non godeva di un fascino tale da far abbandonare gli affari e andarci a combattere come chiedeva il re (...). La guerra e la malattia facevano sì che dalla Catalogna l'isola potesse essere vista come una tenebrosa isola di pena e castigo" (Sabatè Curull, Flocel. "Prefazione", Cioppi, Alessandra. *Le strategie dell'invincibilità. Corona d'Aragona e Regnum Sardiniae nella seconda metà del Trecento*, Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2012: 11-22).



sardi di funzionari regi e amministratori di feudi provenienti anche dalle Barbagie, da quelle zone più remote e impervie dell'isola, di cui si è tanto evidenziata la matrice resistenziale.³³

5. La diffusione del fenomeno migratorio dal XV secolo in poi

A partire dal XV secolo, il fenomeno dei movimenti migratori fra la Penisola iberica e la Sardegna ha come punto di partenza la risoluzione del secolare conflitto sardo-catalano, la quale determina, da questo momento in poi, un lento inserimento dell'isola nel mondo ispanico, nonostante sin dal principio sia palese un certo svantaggio del regno isolano rispetto agli altri facenti parte della Corona d'Aragona.³⁴

Di conseguenza anche la società sarda comincia, o prosegue con maggior vigore, il processo di iberizzazione e le relazioni non solo politico-economiche, ma anche sociali e culturali, che intercorrono con gli stati della Confederazione iberica, iniziano a diventare sempre più frequenti e significative.³⁵

A partire dall'ultimo decennio del secolo scorso si sono sviluppati molti studi su tematiche proprie della storia sociale sardo-iberica dal XIV al XVII secolo, i quali hanno evidenziato questo grande movimento demografico: la provenienza delle famiglie e i loro legami familiari; il loro rap-

33. Indicativo, a questo proposito è il parlamento celebrato in Sardegna nel XVII secolo (1698-1699) dal viceré de Solís Valderrábano. Fra' Salvatore Cuy, religioso, padre provinciale e sindaco generale in rappresentanza dell'*encontrada real* della Barbagia di Belvì —zona fra le più ribelli e resistenti dell'isola secondo le affermazioni di Giovanni Lilliu— dichiarava che la *dicha encontrada no fue conquistada ni fue del marqués de Oristan ni de ningún baron sino voluntariamente presentada a los serenissimos rey(es) de Aragon* ("questo luogo non fu conquistato, né fu del marchese di Oristano o da qualsiasi altro barone, ma fu presentato volontariamente ai serenissimo re di Aragona"), a dimostrazione di un'integrazione forte e antica degli iberici nella popolazione sarda. Vedere *Il Parlamento del viceré Giuseppe de Solís Valderrábano, conte di Montellano. Acta Curiarum Regni Sardiniae*, eds. Giuseppina Catani, Carla Ferrante. Cagliari: Consiglio Regionale della Sardegna, 2004: II, 984.

34. Manconi, Francesco. "De no poderse desmembrar de la Corona de Aragón": Sardegna e Paesi catalani, un vincolo lungo quattro secoli". *Archivio Sardo. Rivista di Studi storici e sociali*, 1 (1999): 43-65; Anatra, Bruno; Manconi, Francesco, eds. *Come governare un regno: centro madrillegno e periferia sarda nell'età di Filippo II*, Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni, 1999: 283-302; Belenguer Cebrià, Ernest. "El reino de Cerdeña de Fernando II a Carlos V: el largo camino hacia la modernidad", *De la unión de coronas al Imperio de Carlos V*, Belenguer Cebrià, Ernest, ed. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2001: II, 15-53; Manconi, Francesco. *Una piccola provincia di un grande impero. La Sardegna nella monarchia composita degli Asburgo (secolo XV-XVIII)*, Cagliari: Cuec Editrice, 2012. Si veda anche Anatra, Bruno. "Sardegna e Corona d'Aragona nell'età moderna", *I Catalani in Sardegna*, Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi, eds. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984: 59-65; Anatra, Bruno. *Istituzioni e società in Sardegna e nella Corona d'Aragona (secc. XIV-XVII). El arbitrio de su libertad*, Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni, 1997 e Cioppi, Alessandra. "Cerdeña, entre Europa y el Mediterráneo. Continuidad y memoria a través de cuatrocientos años de historia ibérica", *'El que del amistad mostró el camino'. Omaggio a Giuseppe Bellini*, Patrizia Spinato Bruschi, ed., Cagliari: Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2013: 41-64.

35. Manconi, Francesco. "L'eredità culturale", *I Catalani in Sardegna*, Jordi Carbonell, Francesco Manconi, eds. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 1984: 217-237; Manconi, Francesco. "Traffici commerciali e integrazione culturale nel Mediterraneo occidentale fra Quattrocento e Cinquecento". *Studi Storici*, 4 (1995): 1051-1073; Manconi, Francesco. "Catalogna e Sardegna: relazioni economiche e influssi culturali fra Quattro e Cinquecento", *La Sardegna e la presenza catalana nel Mediterraneo, Atti del VI Congresso (III Internazionale) dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Catalani (Cagliari, 1995)*, Paolo Maninchedda, ed. Cagliari: Cooperativa Universitaria Editrice Cagliariitana, 1998: I 35-54; Violant Simorra, Ramon. "Paral·lelism culturals entre Sardenya, Catalunya i Balears". *Studi Sardi*, 9 (1950): 277-298; Anatra, Bruno. "Economia sarda e commercio mediterraneo nel basso medio e nell'età moderna", *Dagli Aragonesi alla fine del dominio spagnolo. III. Storia dei Sardi e della Sardegna*, Massimo Guidetti, ed. Milano: Jaca Book, 1989: 109-216; Salvador Esteban, Emilia. *La economía valenciana en el siglo XVI (comercio de importación)*, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1972 e Salvador Esteban, Emilia. "Aproximación al tráfico marítimo entre la isla de Cerdeña y la ciudad de Valencia en el siglo XVI", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/2, 769-787; Igual Luis, David. *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV: rutas, mercado y ombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterraneo occidental*, Valencia: Bancaixa, 1998.

porto con le regioni iberiche non solo dal punto di vista amministrativo e istituzionale, ma anche culturale e personale;³⁶ i meccanismi di trasmissione del potere e il ruolo di alcuni clan che rappresentano la realtà dell'epoca nelle sue differenti articolazioni e forme, nonché il contesto dei sistemi produttivi e dell'organizzazione sociale.³⁷

Seppure con una certa difficoltà determinata dalla scarsità della documentazione notarile, familiare, cronachistica e letteraria, nell'ambito dell'Istituto di storia dell'Europa mediterranea del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche si sono avviate in questi ultimi anni una serie di ricerche sulla città di Cagliari e sulla società cagliaritana del tardo Medioevo, con analisi prosopografiche e studi sulle singole famiglie che offrono una ricostruzione viva e dinamica dei rapporti esistenti fra i diversi gruppi familiari e restituiscono in maniera articolata l'immagine del tessuto cittadino cagliaritano dal XIV al XVI secolo.³⁸

6. Conclusioni

Il discorso, quindi, va a farsi sempre più complesso e interessante, e poiché sono numerosi gli argomenti e gli spunti per un'analisi che non può essere correttamente valutata in questa sede, è opportuno concludere non senza aver posto, tuttavia, l'accento sulla complessità del fenomeno migratorio in Sardegna con due riflessioni.

36. Alcune casate d'origine catalana e valenzana esprimono viceré e funzionari regi. È il caso dei Centelles, Cardona, Erill e Crespi de Valldaura. Al riguardo Mateu Ibars, Josefina. *Los virreyes de Cerdeña. Fuentes para su estudio. I (1410-1623), II (1624-1720)*, Padova: Cedam, 1964; Floris, Francesco. "Feudi e Feudatari", *Sardegna*, Cagliari: Edizioni della Torre, 1996; Pons Alós, Vicente. "La documentación real del fondo Cerdeña en el Archivo Condal de Orgaz. La formación de un patrimonio: de los Aragall y Bellit a los Gualbes y Brondo", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/2, 715-745; Chiner Gimeno, Jaime José. "Los 'estados' en Cerdeña de la casa de Oliva durante el siglo XVI. Documentos en el Archivo del reino de Valencia", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: II/1, 291-304.

37. Olla Repetto, Gabriella. "La società cagliaritana nel '400", *Cultura quattro-cinquecentesca in Sardegna. Retabli restaurati e documenti*, Cagliari: Soprintendenza ai Beni Ambientali Architettonici, Artistici e Storici, 1985: 19-24 e della stessa, Olla Repetto, Gabriella. "L'organizzazione del lavoro a Cagliari tra '400 e '500: la confraternita dei falegnami", *Sardegna, Mediterraneo e Atlantico tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna: Studi storici in memoria di Alberto Boscolo. I. La Sardegna*, Luisa D'Arienzo, ed. Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1993: 429-449; Tore, Gianfranco. "Ceti sociali, finanze e 'buon governo' nella Sardegna spagnola (1620-1642)", *XIV Congreso di Storia della Corona d'Aragona (Sassari-Alghero, 1990)*. Sassari: Carlo Delfino Editore, 1993: IV, 477-496; Mattone, Antonello, ed. *Corporazioni, gremi e artigianato tra Sardegna, Spagna e Italia nel Medioevo e nell'età moderna (XIV-XIX secolo)*, Cagliari: AM&D Edizioni, 2000; Oliva, Ana Maria; Schena, Olivetta. "Il Regno di Sardegna tra Spagna e Italia nel Quattrocento. Cultura e società: alcune riflessioni", *Descubrir el Levante por el Poniente*, Luciano Gallinari, ed. Cagliari: Istituto sui rapporti italo-iberici-Cnr, 2002: 101-134; Manconi, Francesco. "Un letrado sassarese al servizio della monarchia ispanica. Appunti per una biografia di Francisco Ángel Vico y Artea", *Sardegna, Spagna, Mediterraneo dai Re Cattolici al Secolo d'Oro*, Bruno Anatra; Giovanni Murgia, eds. Roma: Carocci, 2004: 291-333.

38. Meloni, Maria Giuseppina, ed. *Élites urbane e organizzazione sociale in area mediterranea fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna. Atti del seminario di studi* (Cagliari, 2011), Cagliari: Isem-Cnr, 2013; Oliva, Ana Maria; Schena, Olivetta. "I Torrella, una famiglia di medici tra Valenza, Sardegna e Roma", *Alessandro VI. Dal Mediterraneo all'Atlantico*, Miriam Chiabò, ed. Roma: Roma nel Rinascimento, 2004: 115-146; Oliva, Anna Maria. "Bartolomeo Gerp giurista e bibliofilo a Cagliari alla fine del Quattrocento". *Acta Mediaevalia*, 26 (2005): 1073-1094 e Oliva, Anna Maria. "Andrea Sunyer cittadino di Cagliari e corsaro nella guerra luso-castigliana (1475-1476)", *Estudos em homenagem ao professor Doutor José Marques*, Porto: Flup, 2006: I, 245-257; Cioppi, Alessandra. "La cavalleria a Castell de Càller nella seconda metà del Trecento. Costruzione di un'élite urbana attraverso un'indagine microstorica", *Élites urbane e organizzazione sociale in area mediterranea fra tardo medioevo e prima età moderna. Seminario di studi* (Cagliari, 2011), Meloni, Maria Giuseppina, ed. Cagliari: Isem-Centre Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2013: 135-173. Per raccogliere e divulgare la notevole quantità di informazioni scaturite da queste ricerche è stata realizzata dall'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa mediterranea una banca dati consultabile sulla pagina web dell'Istituto: Sini, Giovanni, *La società cagliaritana tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 20 June 2016 <<http://www.isem.cnr.it/Cagliari/>>.



La prima è che avendo parlato di studi prosopografici è giusto evidenziare quanto questo approccio metodologico possa dare risultati proficui per ricostruire i legami sociali tra l'isola sarda e il mondo Mediterraneo e capire così in maniera più approfondita il carattere e il significato delle migrazioni in Sardegna. La seconda è che costruendo prosopografie individuabili per categorie e classi —nobili, feudatari, ufficiali, mercanti— è possibile analizzare i processi di discriminazione e conseguentemente di integrazione della società e il processo di naturalizzazione degli immigrati.

Nel nostro caso specifico, quindi, va da sé che si può valutare in quale maniera Catalani, Aragonesi, Valenzani e altri migranti di diversa provenienza iberica si sono radicati nell'isola, convertendosi territorialmente e politicamente in "Sardi" e contribuendo, così, a trasformare quello stesso concetto di "sardo", di cui si è precedentemente parlato.³⁹ Inoltre, si può valutare sia il grado d'integrazione delle famiglie iberiche e di quelle sardo-iberiche di seconda generazione sia, al contrario, il grado di integrazione di quegli emigrati che dall'isola si sono trasferiti in tutti gli stati della Corona d'Aragona, cercando di seguire effettivamente l'evoluzione storica e il loro movimento dentro un Mediterraneo senza frontiere.

39. Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. "Las ciudades de los reinos insulares de la Corona de Aragón. Historia municipalista e historia de la sociedad urbana", *Chiesa, potere politico e cultura in Sardegna dall'età giudicale al Settecento, II Convegno Internazionale di Studi (Oristano, 2000)*, Giampaolo Mele, ed. Oristano: ISTAR, 2005: 627-641.



RESCATE DE CAUTIVOS CRISTIANOS EN LAS TREGUAS ENTRE CASTILLA Y EL EMIRATO NAZARÍ DE GRANADA (SIGLOS XIII-XV): UNA PROPUESTA DE ANÁLISIS

DIEGO MELO Y FRANCISCO VIDAL CASTRO
UNIVERSIDAD ADOLFO IBÁÑEZ - UNIVERSIDAD DE JAÉN

RESUMEN

Análisis del rescate de cautivos en las treguas firmadas entre el emirato nazarí de Granada (1232-1492) y el reino de Castilla durante los siglos XIII al XV. Sabemos que uno de los mayores impactos de la actividad en la frontera y otras batallas más allá de ella fue la toma de cautivos, quienes sufrieron las consecuencias de este acto con la esperanza lejana de un rescate. Aquellos con más suerte pudieron salir de su condición ya sea por que fueran, efectivamente, rescatados o por que huyeran.

Para ambas situaciones, toma y rescate, los textos de tregua contemplan una serie de mecanismos y fijan una serie de condiciones que responden a un contexto o “ambiente” fronterizo que opera según unas determinadas fases de violencia, en las cuales influyen las situaciones internas que aquejan a cada uno de los estados protagonistas de estos enfrentamientos.¹

1. Introducción. El azote de la violencia fronteriza: La cautividad

El resultado más grave y devastador de la actividad depredatoria fronteriza fue el cautiverio,² fenómeno que se hizo presente tanto en los momentos de guerra abierta como en las etapas de tregua. El negocio de la cautividad se transformó en uno de los principales alicientes de los frontereros cristianos (jefes militares que residían en las poblaciones cercanas a la frontera), sobre todo porque el rescate de los cautivos alcanzaba, generalmente, grandes cantidades económicas. Por su parte, los reyes cristianos se preocuparon de atender, cuanto les fue posible, la redención de los cautivos cristianos, a veces facilitando la creación de fondos con este fin, como fue la concesión otorgada por Alfonso X el Sabio (1252-1284) al concejo de Murcia de un tercio de la renta de la tafurería, que

1. El presente trabajo se ha llevado a cabo con el apoyo del Proyecto FONDECYT de Iniciación N°11130061. Abreviaciones usadas: ADM, Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional; AMJ, Archivo Municipal de Jaén; BN, Biblioteca Nacional.

2. Las noticias de los cautiverios de cristianos aparecen con profusión en los testamentos, en pleitos, en instrucciones reales, en concesiones de mercedes y, sobre todo, en actas capitulares concejiles. En el caso de los cautivos musulmanes, las noticias son mucho más escasas, siendo más abundantes a partir del siglo XV. Al respecto véase, por ejemplo y entre otros: Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos en la frontera entre Jaén y Granada”. *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 215-217; Torres Fontes, Juan. “La cautividad en la frontera granadina (1275-1285). Estampas jienenses”. *Boletín de Estudios Giennenses*, 162/2 (1996): 895-910; Melo Carrasco, Diego. “Sobre el ‘entrar’, ‘vivir’ y ‘salir’ del cautiverio: un aspecto de la vida en la frontera castellano-granadina en los siglos XIII-XV”. *Iacobus, Revista de Estudios Jacobeos y Medievales*, 31-32 (2012): 181-214.



confirmarían sus sucesores.³ La misma situación es posible verificarla al otro lado de la frontera, pues la liberación de cautivos estaba entre una de las prioridades del Sultán, pues fue recomendada por el mismo Profeta. Asimismo, se puede observar la existencia de testamentos en donde se deja explícitamente establecida una cantidad de dinero para ser utilizado en el rescate de cautivos ya que ello se consideraba como una obra piadosa.⁴

Eran varias las formas por las cuales se podía ingresar en cautiverio; las más usuales eran: la guerra abierta, es decir, ataques de granadinos, benimerines, o también castellanos y aragoneses, seguidos de contragolpes de uno y otro lado; las cabalgadas de musulmanes o de cristianos a tierras de frontera del contrario; y, finalmente, la defensa y vigilancia de la frontera, actividad en la que intervenía mensajeros y correos, defensores de castillos avanzados o quienes vigilaban los movimientos del enemigo.⁵ Pese a lo anterior, no se debe desconocer que en muchas ocasiones el cautiverio se generaba como consecuencia de iniciativas y acciones bélicas propias mal planificadas o ejecutadas que acaban en derrota parcial o completa.⁶

De todas estas formas, una de las más frecuentes era aquella que se realizaba a manos de pequeños grupos de caballería, formadas por almogávares⁷ o ladrones. Estos caían generalmente sobre caminantes, agricultores, pastores, cazadores o leñadores. Otros eran tomados por encontrarse “descaminados”, es decir, por transitar sin salvoconducto, aunque a veces ni siquiera el salvocon-

3. Torres Fontes, Juan. *Instituciones y sociedad en la frontera murciano-granadina*. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 2004: 77.

4. “El rescate de cautivos es una cuestión tan importante que es considerado una obligación de la comunidad en su conjunto [...] El concepto de rescate de un prisionero ya se apunta en el Corán aunque aplicado no a cautivos musulmanes sino a infieles, sobre quienes, una vez vencidos, se dice: ‘Luego, devolvedles la libertad, de gracia o mediante rescate para que cese la guerra’ (XLVII, 5/4; trad. Cortés, 583). También aparecen en otras aleyas la idea de liberación, manumisión, redención y la necesidad de colaborar económicamente a ello [...] Así, la actividad jurídica de los grandes maestros, fundadores de escuelas, prestó atención al tema e incluso, se escribieron obras específicamente dedicadas al derecho de guerra y relaciones internacionales con los enemigos y los pueblos conquistados.[...] Los gastos del rescate del cautivo pueden ser pagados por diferentes personas y ser afrontados de diversas formas. Por ello, el pago puede ser, según quién lo efectúe, de carácter estatal, colectivo o individual y, según la forma de realizarlo, además del pago unívoco y directo, puede hacerse mediante prorrateo (en caso de pago de un colectivo) o intercambio de cautivos”: Vidal Castro, Francisco. “El cautivo en el Mundo Islámico: Visión y vivencia desde el otro lado de la frontera andalusí”, *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 787-788.

5. González Jiménez, Manuel. “Esclavos andaluces en el Reino de Granada”, *La sociedad medieval andaluza, grupos no privilegiados. Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. Jaén: Diputación Provincial de Jaén, 1984: 331-332. Ver también a Carmen Argente del Castillo: “[...] La cautividad se producía primordialmente en acciones de guerra y en esos casos podemos hablar de cifras bastante importantes, se trata indiscriminadamente de hombres, mujeres y niños, estas noticias nos las suelen transmitir las fuentes narrativas. Pero hay otra forma de llegar al cautiverio, más difusa, originada por la actividad de rapiña, que se realizaba a uno y otro lado de la frontera.”: Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 212.

6. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 238; Calderón, José; Díaz, Francisco. *Vae Victis: Cautivos y prisioneros en la Edad Media Hispánica*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2012: 19-50.

7. Se les llama así a aquellos hombres que en la frontera se encargaban de llevar a cabo la actividad de depredación, ya fuese robando o cautivando. La palabra almogávar deriva del árabe *mug wir* “el que hace una algará”, “una incursión”. Cuando el término penetró en castellano lo hizo, como muchos otros arabismos, con el artículo árabe incorporado, resultando la solución almogávar. Las palabras árabes de raíz *gwr*, llevan en su núcleo semántico la idea primordial de penetración, de adentramiento. Por ello, almogávar hace referencia al que efectúa alguna algará penetrando o adentrándose en territorio enemigo. Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. “Puntualizaciones acerca de la naturaleza de los Almogávares”. *Cahiers de Linguistique hispanique médiévale*, 9 (1984): 164.; Gámez, María. “Privilegios de Frontera: Quesada y Alcalá La Real”, *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 156; Porras Arboledas, Pedro. “Las relaciones entre la ciudad de Jaén y el Reino de Granada. La paz y la guerra según los libros de actas de 1480 y 1488”. *Al-qantara*, 9 (1988): 333; Corriente, Federico. *A dictionary of Andalusí Arabic*. Leiden: Brill, 1997: 385; Corriente, Federico. *Diccionario de arabismos y voces afines en Ibero-romance*. Madrid: Gredos, 1999: 198-199; Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 59; Rodríguez Molina, José. *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*. Alcalá de Henares: Alcalá Grupo Editorial, 2007: 51.

ducto garantizaba la inmunidad.⁸ El cautiverio de muchos cazadores y pastores se debió a que fueron tomados en “prenda” por entrar en términos de musulmanes o cristianos durante un periodo en el que ello no era permitido.⁹

Todas estas capturas, tanto de hombres como de mujeres, tenían una clara finalidad lucrativa, puesto que de unos y de otras se podía obtener sustanciosas ganancias al exigir un pago a cambio de su libertad. Así, el cautiverio de cristianos castellanos y musulmanes nazaríes en la frontera resultó ser distinto al del resto del Mediterráneo que se basaba mucho más en la práctica del corso y en el desarrollo de un sistema de trata que se orientaba a la obtención de una mano de obra barata; en cambio, los apresamientos de castellanos estaban dirigidos básicamente a conseguir la rentabilidad de la redención.¹⁰ Si bien es cierto que, mientras el pago se gestionaba, los dueños, que podían ser los captores o no, procuraban sacar algunos rendimientos de la explotación laboral de sus cautivos.¹¹

2. Destino de los cautivos

El prisionero, después convertido en cautivo, es parte sustancial de la ganancia bélica y resultaba muy beneficioso respetar la vida del enemigo derrotado para obtener pingües beneficios con el lucrativo negocio de su venta.¹² Así se constata, incluso, en el caso de la misma Corona de Castilla, que participó de los beneficios que reportaba tanto la venta como las donaciones, canjes y rescates de cautivos. Por no hablar del interés que generará esta actividad entre los particulares, algo noto-

8. Como el caso del valenciano Martín Pérez en 1451, ver Salicrú, Roser, ed. *Documents per a la història de Granada del regnat d'Alfons el Magnànim (1416-1458)*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 454-455; Peláez, Antonio. *Dinamismo Social en el Reino Nazarí (1454-1501): de la Granada Islámica a la Granada Mudéjar*, Granada: Universidad de Granada (Tesis doctoral), 2006: 454, donde se comenta sobre esta captura: “Se tienen noticias de otras formas de cautiverio, aunque en menor grado. Este es el caso de cautiverios a mercaderes realizados a expensas del salvoconducto que aseguraba su tránsito por el territorio granadino”.

9. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 84.

10. “[...] los propietarios de cautivos vieron que resultaba más beneficioso revender el cautivo a su lugar de origen que venderlo a precio de mercado”, Ramos Loscertales, José. *El cautiverio en la Corona de Aragón durante los siglos XIII, XV y XV*. Zaragoza: Publicaciones del estudio de filología de Aragón, 1915: 135-136.

11. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Cautiverio y martirio de doncellas en la frontera”, *IV Estudios de Frontera, Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera, Congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real en noviembre de 2001. Homenaje a Don Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 2002: 37.

12. En general, en relación con la venta de los cautivos, su valor estará en concordancia con el número de que se dispone, aunque la continuada afluencia a los mercados hará que impidan que alcancen altos precios. Algunos puntos de venta, en el caso del reino de Granada, serán:

a.- Plazas y fortalezas fronterizas donde se hacían unas primera ventas. Las más importantes de estas plazas, para el caso granadino, eran de este a oeste Vélez –Blanco y Purchena, en la frontera Murciana; Alicún, Guadix y Baza en el caso de la frontera de Jaén; en el sector fronterizo central Rute, desde donde se distribuían a Granada y Málaga y en la parte occidental la gran plaza de Ronda.

b.- Granada, como capital del reino y centro geográfico equidistante de la frontera territorial y marítima, centro de consumo y centro de redistribución.

c.- Los puertos granadinos y las ciudades muy próximas a la costa, a través de las que estos esclavos eran vendidos o revendidos a mercados norteafricanos o italianos generalmente: Vera, ya muy valorada por Torres Fontes respecto a la frontera murciana, Almería, Málaga y Algeciras eran plataformas de exportación

d.- Mercados africanos como Arcila o Salé a los que se llegaba unas veces discretamente y, en otras ocasiones, a través de Ceuta como eslabón intermedio”. Martínez Carrillo, María. “Historicidad de los ‘Miráculos Romancados’ de Pedro Marín (1232-1293). El territorio y la esclavitud granadinos”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 21 (1991): 90.



rio al constatar la aparición de una serie de individuos dedicados a hacer botín, acumular riquezas, robar ganado, cautivar hombres, mujeres y niños.¹³

Así entonces, los prisioneros de guerra tomados en cabalgada, combate terrestre o correría marítima quedaban sometidos, como todo el botín, al control del Estado captor, para decidir sobre su situación futura, responder de las reclamaciones que originase su captura y percibir los rescates que pudieran exigir por ellos. No obstante, hasta el momento en que los oficiales reales podían intervenir el botín decidiendo su condición de presa de buena o mala guerra, quedaban en manos de sus captores sin otra salvaguardia que el propio interés de éstos.¹⁴ De muy distinta condición fueron los cautivos de frontera en tiempos de treguas y paz, pues el cautiverio en tiempo de paces era considerado ilegal; por eso, los capturados en tierra de paz debían ser devueltos a su tierra por ser “de derecho como de costumbre antigua de las fronteras”; de ahí, la existencia de puntos de encuentro para que esos cautivos pudieran ser entregados.¹⁵

3. Sobre la liberación de los cautivos

El establecimiento de cauces de liberación del cautiverio fue una cuestión de primer orden ya que todos los cautivos suspiraban por su redención y podían conseguirlo mediante diversos medios. Las formas más comunes de liberación eran la fuga, la conversión, la redención o rescate y el intercambio.

3.1 Fuga o huida¹⁶

Esta representaba una vía de salida sin mediación, producto de la desesperación del cautivo que había perdido la esperanza de ser liberado o, simplemente, aprovechaba una ocasión que se le presentaba de escapar. Esta forma de salida significaba un gran peligro pues en caso de fallar la pena era muy dura, llegando, incluso, hasta la muerte. No obstante lo anterior, debe haber sido un sistema utilizado con cierta frecuencia pues en los tratados de tregua hay cláusulas referidas a la actuación que habían de adoptar ambos estados en relación con los prisioneros o cautivos que se habían fugado y llegaban a su tierra de origen. Estas se limitan a establecer el acuerdo mutuo de

13. Martínez Carrillo, María. “Historicidad...”: 90.

14. Ramos Loscertales, José. “El cautiverio...”: 123.

15. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 85.

16. “En 1412, dos muchachos presos en Málaga estuvieron ocho días excavando un túnel subterráneo donde se hallaban hasta llegar a la ribera del mar, evasión a la que se sumaron otros doce hombres. En 1442, Martín de Morrillo, Pedro de Antequera, Juan de Valencia y Ferand González de Alburquerque, que estaban en el corral del rey en Granada, aprovecharon que su vigilante estaba borracho y tuvieron el suficiente sigilo para que los mastines que los custodiaban no levantaran el aviso.”, Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. *La frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada en el siglo XV (1390-1481): un ensayo sobre la violencia y sus manifestaciones*. Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1995: 218.

respetar que el cautivo fuese acogido por su país de origen.¹⁷ Algunas descripciones detalladas de las peripecias de la fuga han llegado a nosotros a través de los relatos de liberaciones milagrosas.¹⁸

3.2 Conversión

Otra manera de escapar era renegando de la fe; serán muchos los casos que nos hablan de esta realidad fronteriza, en donde se presenta la disyuntiva de la libre determinación religiosa¹⁹ producto de la desesperación que supone las condiciones en las cuales se espera el supuesto rescate.²⁰ Por otra parte, la conversión, al menos de los cristianos al islam, suponía un alivio en su carga. En algunos casos esta conversión era inducida, pero en otras los prisioneros sencillamente optaban por apostatar, especialmente si eran cristianos jóvenes, por propia voluntad pues el principio islámico de la no coacción en la fe se cumplió en la teoría y en la práctica; por ello, no suponía ninguna dificultad para los emires nazaríes que los tratados de paz contemplaran la cláusula de no consentir que en el emirato nazarí los cristianos fueran convertidos al islam.²¹ Con todo, no debe desecharse un determinado oportunismo o conveniencia tras esos cambios de religión.²²

17. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Cautiverio y martirio...": 47. En relación a estas disposiciones tomaremos un ejemplo de la tregua firmada entre Castilla y Granada en 1443: "[...] E otrosí; si quando fuyere catibo cristiano o moro, pleitado o non pleitado, e llegare a su tierra, que non seamos tenudos [...] pero que sea tornado lo que fuyere con ellos, de aver e de otra cosa qualquier si fuere fallado en su poder, e que jure el cativo sobredicho que non llevó ninguna cosa [...]". 3 agosto 1444, Real "cerca de Peñafiel". Juan II ordena a D. Pedro de Aguilar que entregue el "recabdo bermejo" a Ruy Gómez de Herrera y a Luís González de Leiva. Sigue testimonio del acto de entrega del documento citado. ADM. Archivo Histórico. Caja 1, doc. 147, López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 27.

18. García de la Borbolla, Ángeles. "La espiritualidad de los cautivos de Santo Domingo en la obra de Pero Marín", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, coords. Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 257- 267; de Cossio, José. "Cautivos de Moros en el siglo XIII". *Al Andalus*, 7 (1942): 77; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "Los milagros de Guadalupe como fuente histórica para la reconstrucción de la vida en la frontera (España, Siglos XV y XVI)". *Estudios de Historia de España*, 8 (2005): 181-212; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "Los milagros en la religiosidad hispánica (siglos XIII al XVI)". *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales, Auxerre. (Hors-série: Le Moyen Âge vu d'ailleurs)*, 2 (2008) <<http://cem.revues.org/9002>> (Consultado el 26 de abril de 2016); Rodríguez, Gerardo. "El norte de África en los milagros de Guadalupe". *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12/2 (2010): 447-465; Rodríguez, Gerardo. "La Corona de Castilla: Fronteras, Milagros y confesionalidad". *Revista Signum*, 14/2 (2013): 234-249.

19. Rodríguez Molina, José. "Libre determinación religiosa en la frontera de granada", *II Estudios de Frontera*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1998: 693-707; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Algunas consideraciones en torno a la frontera, la tregua y libre determinación en la frontera castellano-granadina. S. XIII-XV". *Estudios de Historia de España*, 14 (2012): 109-120.

20. "En la preocupación de que un cautivo concreto pudiera 'hacerse moro', que revelan multitud de testimonios, se refleja una situación muy real y extendida en la época [...] Esto es, por ejemplo, lo que sugiere un acta de 1485 conservada en los protocolos cordobeses en la cual queda constancia del bautismo, en la parroquia de San Nicolás de la Ajarquía de Córdoba, de un joven de unos 32 años llamado Juan, que había sido musulmán anteriormente con el nombre de Abraham, el cual confesó ser hijo de un moro granadino y de una cristiana cautiva llamada Catalina Fernández, oriunda de Cieza. Tal vez lo mismo sucedió en otros casos conocidos, como, por ejemplo, en el de una de las nueras de Alatar, Elvira de Valles, que se hizo de nuevo cristiana, juntamente con sus dos hijos, Pedro y Fernando, al ser tomada en la ciudad de Loja". Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre cautivos cristianos en el reino de Granada". *Meridies: Revista de Historia Medieval*, 3 (1996): 145.

21. "[...] por nos e por lo que después de nos vinieren e heredaden el dicho reyno de non consentir que ningún cristiano natural o subdito de los reynos de nuestro señor el rey sea tornado moro en el dicho reyno de Granada [...]". Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Juan II y la frontera de Granada*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1954: 40.

22. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 145. Para el caso de la Corona Catalano-Aragonesa: *També els sarraïns captius a la Corona catalano-aragonesa renegaven i adoptaven la religió cristiana bé per conveniència, si no podien obtenir aviat la lliberació a canvi d'un rescat o mitjançant intercanvi, o bé per convicció, especialment entre els més joves. La conversió no significava l'alliberament, però facilitava l'entesa amb l'amo, que tenia a les seves mans de concedir al captiu la manumissió a talla, és a dir,*



En relación al converso, hay que señalar que se le considera un tipo humano peligroso y temido por su oportunismo religioso y su carácter desarraigado y marginal tanto de la civilización cristiana como de la islámica.²³ Es así cómo será frecuente encontrar a estos hombres sirviendo como espías al servicio de los adalides²⁴ de la frontera o de guía y, a veces, de jefe de cuadrillas de almogávares.²⁵

3.3 Redención por pago o por intercambio

En este caso, el cautivo es rescatado mediante el pago de una suma de dinero, a veces procurados por órdenes religiosas cristianas de redentores,²⁶ o bien realizando un intercambio con los cautivos de la otra religión.²⁷ En general, el rescate se consideraba un gran problema de índole económica pues, según la documentación, se pedían precios exorbitados por los cautivos. Es por esto que se buscaba establecer un intercambio de prisioneros con un individuo del bando opuesto.²⁸ Una muestra sobre el volumen de cautivos y las dificultades que entrañaba su redención aparece

pagant a terminis. Ferrer y Mallol, María. “La redempció de captius a la Corona Catalano-Aragonesa”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985): 241.

23. García Fernández, Manuel. *La Campiña Sevillana y la Frontera de Granada (Siglos XIII-XV)*. *Estudios Sobre Poblaciones de la Banda Morisca*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2005: 72.

24. “El arabismo adalid viene de dalil: ‘guía, conductor, jefe de la caballería ligera que corre el país enemigo’, proveniente de la raíz verbal sorda dalla: ‘guiar, acompañar a alguien para mostrarle el camino, indicar, presagiar...’[...] en suma, podemos decir que el adalid entre los musulmanes tenía funciones de guía de ejércitos; sirviendo de explorador y rastreador; se ocupaba de conseguir noticias seguras acerca de las características del territorio, de las defensas de las ciudades y de los movimientos de las tropas enemigas, generalmente, mediante la captura de naturales del país”. Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. “Función y cometido de los Adalides a la luz de textos árabes y romances”, *Actas del III Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las tres culturas*, Carlos Carrete, ed. Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1988: 110. “[...] E teniendo lo ellos así alçado deuen lo tomar luego de cara contra oriente, e ha de fazer con espada dos manera de tajar alçando el braço, contra arriba, tirándola contra ayuso, e la otra de traviesso, en manera de cruz, diciendo assi: Yo fulan desafío en el nome de dios, a todos los enemigos de la fe: e de mi Señor el Rey, e de su tierra. E esso mesmo deue fazer, e decir, tornándose se a las otras partes del mundo. E después desto, ha de meter el mismo el espada, en la vayna, e poner le el Rey, vna seña en la mano, si lo alçare adalid, e decir le así. Otorgo te que seas un adalid, de aquí adelante. E si otro lo fizieren, en boz del Rey, deue le ese poner la seña en la mano. Diciendo le assy: yo te otorgo en nome del Rey, que sean adalid. Y dende adelante, puede traer armas, e caballo, e seña, e assentar se a comer con los caualleros, quando acaesciere, e el que lo desonrasse, ha de auer pena segund por caballero, por honrra del rey[...]”, Alfonso X el Sabio. *Las Siete Partidas (el Libro del Fuero de las Leyes)*, ed. José Sánchez-Arcilla Bernal, Madrid: Editorial REUS, 2004: Partida II, Tit. XXII, ley 3; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El Adalid de la frontera de Granada”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985): 355; Maíllo Salgado, Felipe. “El Estatuto Jurídico de los adalides en el derecho de Cuenca-Teruel”, *Actas del II Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, Toledo: Ayuntamiento de Toledo, 1985: 206.

25. Torres Fontes, Juan. “La frontera...”: 59.

26. Cipollone, Giulio. “Esclavitud y liberación en la frontera”, *Estudios de Frontera. Alcalá la Real y el Arcipreste de Hita*, Francisco Toro, José Rodríguez, eds. Jaén: Diputación provincial de Jaén, 1996: 85.

27. García Fitz nos comenta que “El intercambio hombre por hombre debía de estar a la orden del día en los territorio de frontera, donde la inseguridad hacía del cautiverio una cuestión ordinaria. En estas circunstancias, contar con moros cautivos podía llegar a ser un requisito necesario para la liberación de prisioneros cristianos, de ahí que las autoridades públicas incentivaran económicamente su dedicación al canje, eximiendo a los capturadores o a los dueños de los impuestos que gravaban las ganancias de la guerra —el quinto del botín— y las transacciones comerciales —el portazgo”. García Fitz, Francisco. “¿De Exterminandis Sarracenis? El trato dado al enemigo musulmán en el reino de Castilla León durante la plena Edad Media”, *El cuerpo derrotado: Cómo trataban musulmanes y cristianos a los enemigos vencidos (Península Ibérica, ss. VIII-XIII)*, Maribel Fierro, Francisco García Fitz, eds. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008: 116.

28. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 216.



en una actuación del condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo²⁹ tras lanzar una incursión contra la ciudad de Íllora en 1462.³⁰

La compra de la libertad podía conseguirse, ya fuera enajenando los bienes familiares o, a veces, cuando estos no eran suficientes, dejando algún miembro de la familia como rehén hasta conseguir reunir lo que faltaba. En caso de no existir propiedades, esas personas quedaban al amparo de una eventual caridad pública que se canalizaba de las siguientes maneras: mandas testamentarias,³¹ generalmente no demasiado importantes en el volumen de bienes testados; ayudas de las cofradías religiosas —aunque solamente atendían a sus miembros—; obteniendo del concejo cartas de autorización para pedir limosna con el fin de pagar la redención de un familiar;³² y también, consiguiendo que el concejo diera, al menos, una parte del rescate de las rentas propias de la institución.³³ Otra posibilidad, era la venta de los bienes de la familia con la consiguiente ruina que esta traía aparejada.³⁴ En cualquier caso, el precio del rescate representaba sólo una parte de los gastos necesarios para conseguir la liberación del cautivo.³⁵

En el caso de los musulmanes cautivos originarios del emirato de Granada, el rescate solía realizarse igualmente ya que muchas familias granadinas también sufrían el problema del cautiverio de alguno de sus miembros producto de las incursiones cristianas. Así entonces, para conseguir su liberación, utilizaban los mismos o parecidos medios que las familias de los cautivos cristianos. Entre estos estaba la posibilidad de adquirir un cautivo cristiano para intentar intercambiarlo por su propio pariente cautivo.

29. Aunque tradicionalmente se le ha venido llamando a Miguel Lucas con el apellido “de Iranzo”, lo cierto es que su nombre real es Miguel Lucas de Nieva y nunca se llamó “de Iranzo”, apellido de su padrastro y no de su padre. *Relación de los hechos del muy magnífico e más virtuoso señor, el señor don Miguel Lucas, muy digno condestable de Castilla*, eds. Juan Cuevas Mata, Juan del Arco Moya, José del Arco Moya. Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2001: XIV, nota 13.

30. “[...] Y así traídos, como el dicho Condestable oviese información quién e quales eran las personas que tenían sus maridos, o padres, o hijos, o hermanos o otros parientes cativos, de aquella *çibdad* de Jahén, y que más miserables eran, a cada vno de aquellos mandó dar su moro, con que pudiese sacar pariente. Y desta cabsa, muchos salieron a tierra de cristianos, no tenían esperanza de salir ni nunca salieran. Y, mal pecado, pudiera ser que algunos dellos, con desesperación de la mala vida, renegara de la fé, como otros han fecho en tal caso como este.” Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “De nuevo sobre...”: 229.

31. “De ahí que en algunos testamentos se designasen ciertas cantidades para la redención de cautivos en manos musulmanas: [...] En 1394, don Alvar Pérez de Guzmán, señor de Olvera, legaba en su testamento ‘a las órdenes de la Trinidad e de Santa María de la Merçet de Sevilla, por ayuda de sacar cativos, a cada una, una dobla de oro [...]’. En 1408, el cabildo sevillano entregaba al alfajeme Pedro Alonso 30 doblas de oro que se le habían otorgado como ayuda para su redención. En 1411, el concejo de Sevilla mandaba al jurado Alfonso Martínez de Esquivel que diese a Diego Fernández, padre de un niño de siete años cautivo de los moros y cuya liberación estaba tasada en 120 doblas, los 2248 maravedíes y 6 dineros que dicho jurado tenía en su poder en concepto de las penas impuestas a los hombres que habían vuelto sin licencia de la guarnición de la villa de Zahara”. Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. “La frontera entre...”: 227.

32. Esta era una vía muy lenta, pues para que fuera rentable era necesario ejercerla durante mucho tiempo y en alguna de las grandes ciudades o trasladándose de un lugar a otro. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “De nuevo sobre...”: 151. Un ejemplo de carta de concesión para pedir limosna es esta que se concede el 19 de septiembre de 1488 a un vecino de Jaén: “[...] Mandaron dar carta para pedir limosna a Blanca Rodrigues, mujer de Francisco Lopes de Duque, su fijo, que está cativo puede aver veinte días poco o más o menos, yendo a Granada, e lo levaron a Granada donde está cativo. Se rescató por 7.200 con los derechos”. Garrido Aguilera, Juan. “Relaciones fronterizas con el Reino de Granada en las Capitulares del Archivo Histórico Municipal de Jaén”, *IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 172.

33. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 217.

34. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “De nuevo sobre...”: 150.

35. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. “De nuevo sobre...”: 150.



En ciertos casos, el poseedor de un cautivo cristiano se negaba a aceptar el pago del rescate en metálico exigiendo, como único medio de transacción, el intercambio del propio pariente cautivo³⁶. Otras veces se comprueba que podían entregarse dos cristianos por un moro, acaso por ser persona de mayor rescate.³⁷

Muchas veces, cuando el número de cautivos era muy grande y su rescate podía comprometer la economía de una localidad, la Corona intervenía. Unas veces, las medidas adoptadas fueron de carácter indirecto al propiciar que otras instituciones o personas ayudaran a las familias de los cautivos a reunir la cantidad necesaria para el rescate, pero en otras ocasiones se actuó más directamente, pues la Corona aportó el dinero para alcanzar la liberación.³⁸

También, los reyes favorecieron el establecimiento de instituciones destinadas a la redención de prisioneros, como la Orden de los Mercedarios o la de los Trinitarios. El establecimiento de estos religiosos en las tierras del sur de la Península Ibérica está documentado desde el siglo XIII.³⁹ No existen noticias de sus actuaciones de liberación, pues su interés se encontraba más centrado en los cautivos que se hallaban en el norte de África y que en su mayoría provenían de la actividad del corso. Este sistema fue mucho más frecuente en la Corona de Aragón que en territorio castellano.⁴⁰ Con todo, igualmente se puede advertir la acción de monjes redentores en la Granada bajomedieval, la cual, a veces, terminó, incluso, con la prisión y muerte de los frailes.⁴¹ Las redenciones efectuadas por frailes mercedarios en el interior del emirato entre 1218 y 1492 fueron recopiladas en el siglo XVIII por fray Fernando del Olmo.⁴²

Cuando entraba en vigor un tratado de treguas entre Castilla y Granada, las esperanzas de redención para los cautivos cristianos aumentaban ya que el sultán correspondiente se comprometía a entregar, junto con las consabidas parias, varios centenares de prisioneros. Parece ser que siempre la pretensión castellana fue negociar la liberación del mayor número de individuos posibles. Así, por ejemplo, en la tregua de 1410 se resolvió la entrega de 300 cautivos;⁴³ otros 100 en la de

36. Cabrera Muñoz, Emilio. "De nuevo sobre...": 150-151.

37. "[...] Este día, Martín Fernádes, partidior, metió en el dicho cabillo a Alfón de Baça e Antón Palomino, los cuales troxo de Canbil por el moro que levó que Fernando de Torres avía fecho sacar. E pidió por merced le diesen por quito de la fiança en que se avía obligado a dar traídos de los dichos dos cristianos, o de traer el moro; e traía los dichos cristianos [...]". Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Cartas de la frontera". *Al-Andalus*, 11 (1946): 126.

38. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 51.

39. "La Orden de la Santísima Trinidad fue fundada en Aragón en 1201 y la de la Merced, de origen francés, diecisiete años después recibía carta de privilegio de Juan I. Aunque la actividad de ambas pronto se dirigió con preferencia hacia el norte de África, poco tiempo después se establecieron en Castilla y realizaron en el Emirato de Granada una actividad prácticamente continua, misión a la que se sumaron los monjes de Guadalupe". Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. "La frontera entre...": 223.

40. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. "Los cautivos...": 51.

41. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. "La frontera de Granada, 1265-1481", *Revista de Historia Militar*, 1 (2002): 82.

42. Manuscrito del siglo XVIII *Genealogía deste convento del Real Orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced. Redención de cautivos de Granada*. BN. núm. 8293, escrito en Granada por Fernando del Olmo; Rojas Gabriel, Manuel. "La frontera entre...": 224. Ver Arié, Rachel. *La España Musulmana*, Barcelona: Editorial Labor, 1983: 197.

43. "[...] E porque el rey de Castilla (151vA) fiziese esta tregua (124vP), obligóse el rey de Granada de le dar trezientos cautivos de los cristianos quel tenía catiuos en su reyno, en que los diese por él que fuese confirmada e fecha la tregua fasta seys meses, en esta manera: los *çient* cautiuos dende a vn mes, e los otros *çiento* dende a tres meses, e los otros *çiento* dentro en el plazo de los seis meses. E que los diese al Infante, o en Alcalá a quien su poder ouiese, o a don Alonso Fernández, señor de Aguilar, alcayde de Alcalá, o a su alcayde, e el dicho plazo". García de Santa María, Alvar. *Crónica de Juan II de Castilla*, ed. Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1982: 402-407.

1417; 733 en la de 1443,⁴⁴ aunque no terminaría de cumplirse el cuarto y último plazo, fijado en octubre de 1445.⁴⁵

4. Las treguas y los cautivos

Las treguas, desde una perspectiva general, han sido estudiadas y muy bien tratadas en su día por los profesores Carriazo,⁴⁶ Seco de Lucena⁴⁷ y Torres Fontes⁴⁸ y, más recientemente, por el profesor López de Coca,⁴⁹ entre otros autores anteriores (incluso del siglo XIX)⁵⁰ y posteriores.⁵¹ Todos ellos coinciden en plantearnos ciertas características fundamentales para comprender dicha fórmula de tratado. En primer lugar, está perfectamente documentado que las treguas nunca tuvieron la condición de tratados de paz definitivos y duraderos, como los que en algún momento se establecieron entre los reinos cristianos. Por su misma naturaleza, no reconocían más que una paz temporal. De no renovarse a su conclusión, ambas partes estaban legitimadas para reanudar hostilidades.⁵²

44. "[...] E nos obligamos eso mesmo a pagar con todo lo susodicho, de los catibos cristiano, viejos e moros, omes e mugeres, que sean catibos verdaderamente (f. 234 vº), setecientos e treinta e tres; e escoja el rey de Castilla fasta treinta a su voluntad, si los oviere estrangeros o qualesquier otros; e los que fалlescieren de todo el número dicho, que demos por cada uno dellos treinta doblas del oro susodicho". López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 11-32.

45. López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones...": 221-222.

46. Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "La últimas treguas con Granada", *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 3 (1953): 11-43; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. "Las treguas con Granada de 1475 y 1478", *Al-Andalus*, 19/2 (1954): 317-364; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. *En la frontera de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002.

47. Seco de Lucena, Luis. *Muhammad IX, sultán de Granada*, ed. Concepción Castillo. Granada: Patronato de la Alhambra, 1978: 181-191.

48. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Dualidad Fronteriza: Guerra y paz", *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (S. XIII-XVI)*, Lorca-Vera, 22 a 24 de noviembre 1994, Pedro Segura Artero, ed. Lorca: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1997: 63-78.; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1475 a 1478". *Hispania*, 86 (1962): 186-229; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las relaciones castellano-granadinas desde 1416 a 1432. Las treguas de 1417 a 1426". *Cuadernos de Estudios Medievales*, 6-7 (1978-1979): 297-311; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463". *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 163-199; Torres Fontes, Juan. "Instituciones y sociedad..."; Torres Fontes, Juan. *Las relaciones castellano-granadinas (1432-1454)*. Murcia: HUM-165: Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Sociales, 2010; Torres Fontes, Juan. "La frontera...".

49. López de Coca Castañer, José. "Acerca de las relaciones diplomáticas castellano-granadinas en la primera mitad del siglo XV". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 12 (1998): 11-32; López de Coca Castañer, José. "Castilla, Granada y las treguas de 1443", *Estudios de Historia Medieval. Homenaje a Luis Suárez*, Miguel Ladero Quesada, Vicente Álvarez Palenzuela, Julio Valdeón Barúque, eds. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1991: 301-313; López de Coca Castañer, José. "Institutions on the Castilian-Granadian Frontiers 1369-1482", *Medieval Frontiers Societies*, Robert Bartlett, Angus Mackay, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989: 127-150.

50. Amador de los Ríos, José. *Memoria histórico-crítica sobre las treguas celebradas en 1439 entre los reyes de Castilla y de Granada leída en varias sesiones de la Real Academia de la Historia*. sin editor, ciudad y año [Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1879].

51. García Luján, José. "Las treguas con Granada de 1439". *Qur uba*, 3 (1998) 39-45; Abellán, Juan. "Jerez y Granada en las treguas de 1467", *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 9-10 (2007-2008): 7-19; Pérez Castañeda, Dolores. *Enemigos Seculares. Guerra y treguas entre Castilla y Granada (c.1246-c.1481)*. Madrid: Sílex Ediciones S.L., 2013; Melo Carrasco, Diego. "Las Treguas entre Granada y Castilla durante los siglos XIII a XV". *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, 37 (2012): 237-275.

52. González Jiménez, Manuel. "La frontera entre Andalucía y Granada: realidades bélicas", *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla. Actas del Symposium Commemorativo de Quinto Centenario*, Miguel Ladero Quesada, ed. Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1993: 97.



En segundo lugar, hasta la llegada al poder de los Trastámara, las treguas implicaban, por parte de Granada, el reconocimiento de la superioridad de Castilla, lo que se traducía en el pago de unos tributos anuales o parias.⁵³ Desde finales del siglo XIV, vamos viendo cómo este proceder va dando paso a la práctica de la entrega de un determinado número de cautivos cristianos, como se ha expresado antes. Sin embargo, la cuestión semántica en el pago o entrega de cautivos es una situación que no deja de tener importancia, puesto que si para los cristianos podía considerarse como un signo de sometimiento o vasallaje, para los granadinos era simplemente una muestra de buena voluntad o una donación graciosa.⁵⁴ Los documentos reflejan esta situación ya que, la mayoría de las veces, las treguas más importantes establecen el pago de tributo por parte de los granadinos, el cual, en más de algún momento, le significó un gran esfuerzo económico.⁵⁵

Por otra parte, en los lugares más cercanos a la frontera, las treguas suponían un alivio económico, una vuelta a una cierta “normalidad” de la vida, que traía consigo la reanudación de los intercambios comerciales, la negociación y liberación de cautivos y la posibilidad de desarrollar actividades económicas sin el riesgo de ser sorprendido por el enemigo.⁵⁶ Es por esto que, una vez firmadas las treguas, el rey castellano se preocupaba de comunicar el contenido de las mismas a los lugares fronterizos, a la vez que prohibía cualquier acto de fuerza contra los granadinos y autorizaba la reanudación del comercio. Quienes desarrollaban estas actividades portaban cartas de seguro⁵⁷ entregadas por los concejos fronterizos. En ellas, estos se comprometían formalmente a cumplir y hacer cumplir la tregua.

Cuando uno de los monarcas fallecía, se estipulaba que las paces y treguas quedaban sin efecto. Por ello, cuando los nuevos monarcas estaban interesados en la continuidad de la paz, enviaban rápidamente mensajeros para que se adelantaran a la propagación de la noticia del fallecimiento del anterior monarca, solicitando y haciendo constar su propósito de mantener la paz con las condiciones estipuladas entre ambos reinos.⁵⁸

53. Melo Carrasco, Diego. “En torno al vasallaje y las parias en las treguas entre Granada y Castilla (XIII-XV): Una posibilidad de análisis”. *Medievalismo*, 22 (2012): 139-152.

54. “[...] [estas treguas] fueron entendidas por los cristianos como un signo del sometimiento islámico materializado además en el pago de parias al reino de Castilla, 12.000 doblas de oro. Sin embargo, para el reino nazarí de Granada este símbolo tan sólo fue una muestra de buena voluntad y entendimiento pacífico, una manifestación de convivencia entre monarcas que se declaraban y ¿se? sabían amigos y vasallos [...]”. González Jiménez, Manuel. “Sobre la alteridad en la frontera de Granada (una aproximación al análisis de la guerra y la paz, siglos XIII-XV)”. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História*, 6 (2005): 229.

55. La cuantía de las parias fue muy variable, y si en un principio el pago de parias se había fijado en la mitad de las rentas del emir, luego la cantidad descendió mucho: en el siglo XV era corriente una cifra entre once mil y trece mil doblas de oro. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. “La frontera...”: 54.

56. Ladero Quesada, Miguel. “La frontera...”: 102-103.

57. Solo a modo de ejemplo reproducimos una de ellas: “[...] Muy honrrado, esforçado, Fidalgo e presçiado, virtuoso e noble caballero el alcayde Abulcaçin Venegas, alguasil mayor del Señor Rey de Granada e del su Consejo: el conçejo etc. Nos vos encomendamos con voluntad muy presta de facer las cosas que ordenáres e mandares: Lorenço de Sella, genou-és, morador de esta çibdad, va con nuestro seguro a esa çibdad del Reyno de Granada negociar e librar çiertas cosas de sus mercaderías. Por ende, mucho... vos pedimos, asy porquel va con nuestro seguro como por nuestra contemplación, sea bien tratado e honrrado en esa çibdad e Reyno, en todas las cosas que ouiere menester, e no le sea fecho enojo ni daño alguno. E en esto, allende de... nuestro ruego nos rremanecerremos en obligación para en las cosas que mandáredes las facer como propias nuestras. Nuestro Señor conserve vuestra virtuosa persona como... deseáis. De Jahén, XXXVI de nouiembre de LXXXIX años [...]”. Viernes 26-XI-1479, AMJ. Libro de Actas Capitulares. Doc. 171. Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. “En la frontera de Granada...”: 303.

58. Melo Carrasco, Diego. “Características y proyección de las treguas entre Castilla y Granada durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV”. *Revista de Estudios Histórico-Jurídicos*, 30 (2008): 277-287.



En relación a su contenido, Manuel García Fernández nos refiere que: “la tregua fue desde siempre una institución fronteriza tremendamente monótona, que repitió desde el siglo XIII idénticas cláusulas, todas derivadas del modelo que se establece a partir del vasallaje granadino del Pacto de Jaén de 1246, protocolos y obligaciones genéricas, a nivel siempre de estado o reino; que, sin embargo, presentó importantes cláusulas particulares, específicas de cada momento histórico que no sólo las diferencian sino que las explican”.⁵⁹ En general, cada tregua tenía tras de sí unos condicionantes propios y específicos que dependían de las circunstancias históricas. Es por esto que las aspiraciones no fueron idénticas para sevillanos, cordobeses y jiennenses, sino que cada uno de ellos entendía “su paz” y “su tregua” de una manera propia.⁶⁰

Pese a los esfuerzos provistos por las treguas para garantizar la integridad de personas y bienes, siempre existió un “tono de riesgo” que se manifestaba en cierta inseguridad, porque el peligro y la amenaza eran constantes. Es por esto que resultaba extremadamente difícil impedir las incursiones de toda clase de aventureros, ya que la despoblación y la orografía facilitaban la penetración en el territorio del otro Estado.⁶¹ Con todo, la paz era respetada y anhelada ya que no solo proporcionaba seguridad sino también comprensión y dejar de lado las diferencias. Paz real, pues la vecindad facilitaba aquel conocimiento más íntimo entre los individuos de ambos lados, inconcebible en tiempos de guerra, y propiciaba un clima de sinceridad reforzada por el entendimiento entre individuos que compartían un mismo entorno vital, el de la frontera.⁶²

Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, es posible afirmar que a pesar de la compleja dinámica fronteriza, las treguas permitieron el establecimiento de unos determinados cauces de coexistencia entre cristianos y musulmanes en el específico espacio de frontera, con independencia de las posibles agresiones o violaciones de las treguas locales o aisladas. En este sentido, “racionalizaban” la vida de frontera,⁶³ haciéndola, si se quiere, “más humana” y menos expuesta al enfrentamiento ideológico, tal y como dan cuenta algunos aspectos menudos de la vecindad cotidiana reflejados en el ámbito de actividades de gran importancia socio-económica como el comercio, el pastoreo, intercambio de prendas, etc.⁶⁴

En casi todos los textos existen disposiciones referentes al compromiso de respetar la libertad y la integridad de los súbditos de uno y otro lado, así como el trato que se le ha de dar al fugitivo.⁶⁵ Así entonces, se comprende que cuando se redactaba un tratado de paz y se exigía la devolución de un número más o menos importante de cautivos fuera común que los musulmanes se negaran a ello alegando que se quedaban sin cautivos para la realización de canjes individuales.⁶⁶ Esto es debido a que cuando en una familia alguno de sus miembros caía prisionero y había que rescatarlo por medio del canje directo era, por tanto, necesario poseer un cautivo enemigo. Para ello, este último se podía comprar en los mercados de esclavos o adquirirlo de algún particular que hubiera

59. García Fernández, Manuel. “Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada en tiempos de Alfonso XI, 1312-1350”. *Ifígea: Revista de la Sección de Geografía e Historia*, 5-6 (1988-1989): 135; García Fernández, Manuel. *Andalucía y Granada en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos*. Sevilla: Editorial Universidad de Sevilla, 2006: 89.

60. García Fernández, Manuel. “Andalucía...”: 136.

61. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Dualidad...”: 70.

62. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Dualidad...”: 70.

63. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Dualidad...”: 72.

64. García Fernández, Manuel. “La alteridad...”: 230.

65. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia”: 84.

66. AHN. Sección Infantado, Caj. 13, Leg. 1º, fol.10, Amador de los Ríos, José. “Memoria...”: 84-85.



participado en alguna acción fronteriza, que, además, tenía la obligación de facilitarle a la familia la compra.⁶⁷

El cautiverio realizado en tiempo de treguas era considerado ilegal⁶⁸ y los capturados en este periodo debían ser devueltos a su tierra por ser “de derecho como de costumbres antigua en las fronteras”.⁶⁹ Sin embargo, hubo algún caso en el que el cautivo deseaba quedarse en el otro Estado por motivos personales; en este caso, para dirimir el conflicto entre la familia originaria que deseaba liberar al supuesto cautivo que lo creía retenido contra su voluntad en territorio enemigo y la nueva familia de adopción, se establecieron puntos de encuentro interfronterizos para que esos cautivos, a menudo convertidos a la otra religión, pudiesen ejercer su derecho a la libre determinación religiosa y decidir en qué lado de la frontera querían vivir.⁷⁰

Los textos de los tratados hacen referencia a que los fugitivos fuesen acogidos sin que hubiera ninguna obligación de devolverlos a donde estaban prisioneros. La única exigencia es que no podían llevarse ningún bien del lugar de procedencia, por lo que se exigía que devolvieran los objetos de valor que portaran consigo y en caso de que no llevaran nada que jurasen ellos y las gentes del lugar donde hicieron la última posada que no lo habían dejado oculto en ningún lugar de su camino.⁷¹

5. Cautividad: Intercambio, búsqueda, rescate y liberación. Una propuesta de análisis

5.1 Intercambio

A continuación, presentamos una propuesta de análisis del contenido de las treguas en relación con las instituciones referidas a la mantención de la paz fronteriza. Para realizar esto, hemos desglosado el contenido de los diferentes tratados de paces en distintos parámetros que nos permitan

67. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia...”: 86.

68. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Cautiverio y martirio...”: 45.

69. Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 165. “[...] Se librarán los salvoconductos y las franquicias consabidos a los trantes, arrieros y comerciantes, musulmanes, cristianos / y judíos de ambas partes, pudiendo ir o venir sus bestias y todas sus mercancías de vuestra nación a la nuestra y de la nuestra a la vuestra, de acuerdo con las costumbres conocidas por los tratados precedentes. / Pagarán sus impuestos habituales, según las costumbres reconocidas, con seguridad completa; no sufrirá ninguno de vuestra parte ni de nuestra parte perjuicio ni daño en su persona, bienes / ni condición. [...]”, 1472, Tratado de paz durante tres años entre Mawlāy Ḥasan, rey de Granada, y Enrique IV de Castilla, representado por sus embajadores Diego de Soto, comendador de Moratalla, y el doctor Juan Díaz de Alcocer. García Luján, José. *Treguas, Guerras y capitulaciones de Granada (1457-1491). Documentos del Archivo de los Duques de Frías*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 1998: 97-105.

70. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 85. Rodríguez Molina, José. “Libre determinación...”: 693-708; Melo, Carrasco, Diego. “Algunas consideraciones en torno a la frontera, la tregua y libre determinación en la frontera castellano-granadina. S. XIII-XV”. *Estudios de Historia de España*, 14 (2012): 109-120.

71. Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Las relaciones de convivencia...”: 88. “[...]Otrosi si fuxere catiuo christiano o moro rendido o non rendido e l legare a su tierra que non seamos tenudos de lo tornar pero que l sea tornado el auer con que fuyo E otra cosa qual quier si fuere fallada l en su poder E si non fuere fallada en su poder que jure el catiuo sobre l dicho que non leuo ninguna cosa otrosi que juren los del lugar donde sallere l e los de la posada donde poso quel que no fuyo con ninguna cosa e que sea l quito el catiuo sobre dicho e comprehenda este juyzio a los catiuos de amas ll las partes de los christianos e de los moros equal mente en esto E de lo que confirmamos con vos [...]”. 1413, Tregua por un año entre Granada y Castilla, Arribas Palau, Mariano. *Las treguas entre Castilla y Granada firmadas por Fernando I de Aragón*. Tetuan: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes, Editora Marroquí, 1956: 47-56.

analizar la acción de estas instituciones y, así, establecer una posibilidad de análisis que permita confrontar los ideales propuestos con la realidad histórica.

En relación al intercambio de cautivos, la dimensión cronológica del análisis resulta muy reveladora y significativa. Por ello, se ha realizado este seguimiento y para reflejarlo gráficamente se ha elaborado la siguiente tabla o diagrama de dispersión que nos presenta cuáles de las treguas son las que, específicamente, se refieren a esta situación (Gráfico nº 1).

Este diagrama nos muestra claramente cómo las treguas que incluyen cláusulas relativas al intercambio de cautivos se concentran, fundamentalmente, durante el siglo XV. Significativas son las de 1413,⁷² 1414⁷³ y 1415,⁷⁴ todas firmadas entre Granada y Castilla durante la regencia de Fernando I de Antequera (1380-1416), momento ligado a una avanzada bélica. Las de 1424⁷⁵ y 1429 son treguas firmadas entre Granada y Castilla durante el reinado de Juan II (1426-1454). Estas se encuentran inmersas en el proceso de violencia fronteriza que tendrá como resultado la captura de cautivos. Una demostración de esto se manifiesta en el hecho de que la tregua de 1429 es prórroga de la anterior que se establecerá luego de la ruptura de la misma. Todo esto se desarrolla en un período que, tradicionalmente, ha sido identificado como una etapa de paz y que corre entre 1411 a 1428.⁷⁶ Sin embargo y pese a todo esto, los textos de las treguas de estos años dan cuenta de que esta etapa no estuvo exenta de incidentes fronterizos. Situación similar es la que se observa en el caso de las treguas firmadas en 1431,⁷⁷ 1439⁷⁸ y 1450,⁷⁹ todas entre Castilla y Granada. En

72. "[...]nos fagades saber que nos enuiaredesl ocho, o, diez catiuos christianos tansolament somos de aquesto tan marauellados que mas nol podemos assi como seyer deuemos razonablement E otra e mellor respuesta speraua mos de vos en aquesto ne uso puede scusar que dizides que vuestros vassallos se congoxanl e la ciudat de Granada sen ha aualotado car uso sodes Rey de vuestro Regno e per consil guent podedes ordonar, e disposar a vuestro arbitrio, e plazer de todas las cosas que son dentro de aquelll quanto mas rey alto grande honrado exalçado e alabado entro (sic) los moros de nuestro muy caro e muyll amadohermano e amigo continuando en aquesto nuestra instancia uso rogamos que nosl queredes hauer por cusado ca en nenguna manera consideradas las cosas susol dichas nos non fariamos tregas nenguna sin los dichos catiuos christianos que stan enl vuestrop regno [sin que los dichos cativos christianos] no nos diziedes E sobre aquestas cosas scriuimos clarament de nuestra intención[...]" Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 37-39.

73. 1414, Fernando I de Aragón a Yusuf III de Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 74-85.

74. 1415, Tregua entre Castilla y Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 85-94.

75. 1424, Tregua entre Juan II de Castilla y Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad VIII, El Izquierdo, de Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 94-106.

76. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A Possible Periodisation of the Treaties of Peace and Truce between al-Andalus and the Christian Kingdoms (Nasrid Sultanate of Granada with Castile and Aragon) 13 th-15 th centuries". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 8 (2014): 211-238.

77. 1431, Pacto de vasallaje entre Juan II y Yucef Aben Al-Maul. Benavides, Antonio. *Memoria sobre la guerra del Reino de Granada*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1852: VIII, 41-45.

78. "[...] E ha de dar el dicho rey de Granada a Alfonso de Astunniga, que está cautivo en el dicho regno de Granada, sin precio ninguno, desde el día que la dicha tregua se otorgare fasta diez días primeros siguientes.= E ha se de entregar al dicho señor rey de Granada al alcaide Abrahén Alamin, fijo del alcaide Alamin, desde el día que la dicha tregua se otorgare fasta treinta días primeros siguientes.=

A se de entregar al dicho sennor rey de Granada Aben Azeite, que esta cativo en poder de la muger del dicho Alfonso de Astonniga, pagando el dicho sennor rey de Granada, ootro por él, mille doblas de oro castellanas de la vanda que costó a la muger del dicho Alfonso de Astunniga, o por ellas mille doblas do oro valadíes // vº de buen oro e de justo peso, el día que las dichas mille doblas se dieren e pagaren.

Ha se de dar mas al dicho sennor rey Ll Granada un moresno e una moresna que llaman al moresno Mahomad e a la moresna Haxa, que están por rehenes del dicho Alfonso dc Astúinniga. Han de dar por ellos de parte del dicho sennor [rey] de Granada un christiano e una christiana moços e sanos, de la hedad de los dichos moresno e moresna, poco mas o menos, de los que están cativos en el dicho regno de Granada[...]" 1439, Tregua de tres años acordada por Iñigo López de Mendoza con Abd Allah al-Amín. García Luján, José. "Las treguas...": 42-45.

79. 1450, Juan II comunica concesión de treguas. Abellán, Juan. "Jerez, las treguas de 1450 y la guerra civil granadina", *Estudios sobre Málaga y el Reino de Granada en el V Centenario de la Conquista*, López de Coca Castañer, José, ed. Málaga, 1987: 16.



este caso, su desarrollo está ligado con los acontecimientos de la Batalla de la Higuera (1431),⁸⁰ donde la desmejorada situación de Granada y la toma de cautivos por parte de Castilla harán que las cláusulas en torno a este fenómeno se desarrollen más ampliamente.

En el caso de la tregua de 1450, esta se realiza en el período de supremacía granadina en la frontera, coincidente con aquel de intrigas propiciadas por Castilla en el interior del sultanato, todo lo cual se suma al desarrollo de la violencia fronteriza.⁸¹ Finalmente, el caso de los acuerdos de 1462⁸² y 1463,⁸³ ambos corresponden a treguas firmadas durante el gobierno de Enrique IV (1454-1474), ligadas, por tanto, a un proceso constante de ruptura de treguas animadas por acciones ofensivas individuales realizadas a ambos lados de la frontera; tiempo de escaramuzas, toma de ganado, talas y quemas. Tiempo, por antonomasia, de violencia fronteriza.

Pues bien, las condiciones de inseguridad que impone la frontera, sobre todo en el siglo XV, producto de las actuaciones individuales o grupales de los almogávares, tendrá como consecuencia una serie de acciones e incidentes violentos: tanto el robo de ganado, como el contrabando o la toma de cautivos.

Para controlar la violencia fronteriza, además de los jueces de las querellas⁸⁴ de los que se hablará en el siguiente apartado, se establecieron otros oficios concejiles que tendrán un papel tras-

80. Nieto Soria, José. "El ciclo ceremonial de la batalla de La Higuera (1431)", *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12 (2010): 389-404; Motos, Encarnación; Morfakidis, Mosjos. "Un pasaje de Laonikos Calcocondylas relativo a la Batalla de la Higuera y a sus consecuencias inmediatas", *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, eds. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1988: 71-82.

81. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A possible...": 223-224.

82. "[...] Nos, don Pedro Giron, por la gracia de Dios, maestre de la Cavalleria de la Orden de Calatrava. Por quanto el rey nuestro señor, por algunas causas e razones conplideras a su servicio e al bien de sus regnos, nos enbio mandar que asentamos las pazes e tregua e sobreseimiento de guerra con el rey don Ysmael e regno de Granada de barra a barra por cierto tiempo e en cierta forma, segund todo mas largament se contiene en las cartas e poderes quel dicho señor rey para ello nos mando dar, por virtud de las quales nos asentamos las dichas pazes e tregua e sobreseymiento con el dicho rey e regno de Granada de aquí en fin del mes de mayo primero que verna, del Señor de mil e quatrocientos e sesenta e tres años, con ciertas paryas e cabtyvos, segund todo mas largament se contiene en contrabto que cerca de lo susodicho por nos, en nombre del dicho señor rey, e por los procuradores del dicho rey de Granadam se otorgo.[...]" 1462, Don Pedro Girón, Maestre de Calatrava anuncia tregua de seis meses con el rey Ismael de Granada. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada de 1462 y 1463". *Hispania*, 90 (1963): 196.

83. "[...] Por ende, por la presente damos poder e facultad conplida a vos, el nuestro bien amado don Pedro Giron, maestre de calatrava, nuestro camarero mayor e del nuestro consejo, para que por nos e en nuestro nombre e de nuestros regnos, podades asentar e firmar e intar la dicha tregua e paz e sobreseimiento de guerra con el dicho rey e moros del dicho regno de Granada por tiempo de ocho meses e con las parias e condiciones acostunbradas en los años pasados e con otras qualesquier que vos entendades que cumple a nuestro servicio, e para cerca dello fazer e otorgar los contrabtos e recabdos que se requieran, o segund que en las dichas treguas que nos al dicho rey e regno en los años pasados dimos e otorgamos se acostunbra a fazer, o como a vos en los años pasados dimos e otorgamos se acostunbra a fazer, o como a vos bien visto fuere.[...]" 1463, Poder de Enrique a Don Pedro Girón, maestre de Calatrava, para firmar treguas con el reino de Granada por ocho meses. Torres Fontes, Juan. "Las treguas con Granada...": 197-198.

84. Su existencia documentada se establece a partir del texto de las treguas de 1310 en Murcia. Sin embargo, su configuración más clara no se verifica hasta 1393, siendo Enrique II quien dio plena forma a la institución, aunque, en opinión de Juan de Mata Carriazo, no actuaría hasta 1405 o 1406. En el caso de Murcia, Torres Fontes cree encontrar sus antecedentes en la primera mitad del siglo XIV, con la denominación de "Ballesteros de monte", y en el caso de Morón, González Jiménez lo registra entre 1420 y 1427. Entre las atribuciones de los jueces/alcaldes estaban: 1.- Oír las quejas, querellas y agravios de moros y cristianos, juzgándolas conforme a derecho; 2.- Todos los habitantes estaban obligados a acudir a sus emplazamientos y a entregarle cualquier persona que hubiese quebrantado la tregua; 3.- Tenía la facultad para conceder autorización para hacer prendas en territorio granadino como represalia; 4.- Todos los habitantes del reino estaban obligados a prestarle su ayuda y cumplir sus órdenes en el transcurso del ejercicio de sus funciones; 5.- Tenía autoridad para ordenar y hacer cuantas cosas considerara convenientes para la seguridad de la frontera. Había a lo largo de la frontera cuatro alcaldes mayores entre moros y cristianos, en el obispado de Cádiz, Sevilla, Córdoba-Jaén y Murcia, y probablemente actuaban en pareja, musulmán y cristiano, en cada sector fronterizo. Sabemos que esta institución se replicó al otro lado de la frontera y se le llamo Juez entre los Reyes (*al-qāḍī bayna al-mulūk*). Figura este título

cendental en la recuperación de la cosa robada o en la ubicación del cautivo. Nos referimos a los fieles del rastro.⁸⁵ Estos últimos constituyeron una suerte de “policía fronteriza” que se encargaba de seguir las huellas del presunto delincuente hasta encontrarlo y recuperar lo robado o al cautivo capturado.

5.2 Del rescate y la liberación de cautivos

Nos hemos referido, anteriormente, a la cuestión de la cautividad y a la situación de los cautivos, indicando por qué resultaba ser el verdadero azote fronterizo. En efecto, tal como lo ha indicado recientemente en un interesante artículo Juan Manuel Calderón Ortega: “Una vez capturados

referido al alcalde granadino 'Alī Sa'īd al-Amin secretario particular del sultán Abu l-Hasan 'Alī y jefe de la oficina de interpretación de su cancellería, el cual ejercía también la citada magistratura el 5 de safar de 875= 3 de agosto de 1470. Entre las atribuciones que tenía este juez estaban: “la competencia para fallar las querellas que los cristianos pudieran formular contra los granadinos por las infracciones cometidas por éstos a los tratados de treguas convenidos por ambas partes, durante la vigencia de los mismos”. Ver Quesada, Tomás. *La Serranía de Mágina en la Baja Edad Media*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989: 181; Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 71; Giménez Soler, Andrés. *La Corona de Aragón y Granada*. Barcelona: Imprenta de la casa provincial de la caridad, 1908: 167-169.; Ladero Quesada, Miguel. “La frontera...”: 55; Carriazo y Arroquia, Juan de Mata. “Un alcalde entre los...”: 104.; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El alcalde entre Moros y cristianos del reino de Murcia”. *Hispania: Revista española de historia*, 78 (1960): 55-80.; Torres Fontes, Juan. “Notas sobre los fieles del rastro y alfaqueques murcianos”, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 10 (1961): 92; González Giménez, Manuel. “Morón, una villa de frontera (1402-1427)”. *Relaciones exteriores del Reino de Granada: IV del Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, Cristina Segura, coord. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1998: 57; Seco de Lucena, Luis. “El Juez de frontera y los fieles del rastro”. *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*, 7 (1957): 140.; Porras Arboleda, Pedro. “La frontera del Reino de Granada a través del libro de actas del Cabildo de Jaén de 1476”, *Al-qantara*, 14 (1993): 154.

85. Cuando se llevaba a cabo una algará en los límites fronterizos que llegaban a la jurisdicción de algún concejo, se ponía en marcha todo un aparato que tenía como finalidad seguir la pista de la cosa perdida o robada, o el rastro del cautivo. Esta última misión se le encomendaba a los rastros. Los fieles del rastro constituyeron una institución al servicio del juez de frontera, una suerte de “policía fronteriza”, que se encargaba de seguir las huellas del presunto delincuente, hasta encontrarlo. En general, constituyen una corporación cerrada de individuos nombrados, instruidos y juramentados, siendo ante todo un oficio concejil. Son muy pocos los detalles que tenemos en torno a su organización y los que hay son los referentes a la corporación de fieles del rastro del Concejo de Jaén que estaba constituida por 30 personas. Sus servicios no eran demandados solamente por los alcaldes entre moros y cristianos, sino también por los alcaldes mayores de la frontera. En este sentido, no solo se circunscribían a la persecución de quienes quebrantaban la paz con el Reino de Granada, sino que también eran empleados en la resolución de problemas similares entre cristianos; al menos en el reino de Murcia así ocurría. Los antecedentes más remotos de este oficio de rastrería se remontan al siglo XIV y aparece por primera vez con sus funciones delimitadas en las treguas firmadas en 1331; desde entonces, el oficio quedó constituido. Su acción era coordinada por los alcaldes del rastro y sus actuaciones eran registradas por el escribano del rastro. Su *modus operandi* era el siguiente: cuando se cometía una violencia sobre una persona o cosa por parte de las gentes del otro lado de la frontera, los propios perjudicados, por sí mismos, o representados por su concejo, reclamaban los servicios de estos fieles del rastro, que acudían al lugar del atropello, reconocían las huellas de los atacantes y seguían su rastro hasta llegar al límite con otro concejo. Entonces allí convocaban a las autoridades y rastros correspondientes y les entregaban el rastro; así entonces, los que lo reciben deben responder de la violencia, a menos que el rastro pase a otro término, cuyos vecinos y rastros lo puedan recibir, a su vez. Y así, continúa, hasta llegar al lugar donde se encuentra el cautivo, la cosa robada o los ladrones, que son apremiados a devolverlos o pagar una compensación. Establecida la responsabilidad de los presuntos delincuentes, el juez dictaba sentencia, que había de quedar ejecutada en el plazo de cincuenta días. Quesada, Tomás. “La Serranía...”: 179; Torres Fontes, Juan. “El alcalde entre moros...”: 58; Torres Fontes, Juan. “Instituciones...”: 90; Argente del Castillo Ocaña, Carmen. “Los cautivos...”: 19-29; Porras Arboleda, Pedro. “El derecho de frontera...”: 278. Un ejemplo de esto es lo que se visualiza en una carta fechada 16 de marzo de 1465 en Martos, en donde Juan Docampo, comendador o alcalde de la villa de Martos por el maestre de Calatrava, a Alcalá la Real. Sobre algunos moros que ésta le reclama “[...] A lo que, señores me escriuís de moro que yo mande entre-/ gar a la çibdad, me escribieron requiriéndome que, pues el rrastro me era dado por vos otros, / carta de su requerimiento/ me enviaron una carta firmada de los nombres de vos otros, señores, en la qual se contiene commo vos otros, señores, les fisistes saber que avyades entregado el rrastro de aquel moro esta villa, e commo avyades sabydo que aquel moro estaua en la villa de Porcuna e que codemandasen a la dicha villa[...].” Juan Lovera, Carmen. *Colección Diplomática medieval de Alcalá la Real*. Jaén: Ayuntamiento, 1988: 166.



[los cautivos] eran conducidos al lugar de reclusión, que podía encontrarse a muchos kilómetros del de apresamiento [...]. Los lugares de reclusión variaban, ya que la afluencia de prisioneros era tan grande que las autoridades se veían obligadas a acondicionar recintos especiales [...]. Los prisioneros eran sistemáticamente cargados de hierros, grillos, esposas, cepos, cormas, camales de hierro, cadenas de eslabones, gavias de hierro y otros instrumentos para inmovilizarlos [...]. Estas terribles condiciones no eran distintas para moros o cristianos [...] los prisioneros eran amontonados en hediondas y profundas mazmorras subterráneas, en pésimas condiciones de salubridad y expuestos a todo tipo de enfermedades, cubiertos de harapos.”⁸⁶

Pues bien, el rescate de cautivos va de la mano con el intercambio de los mismos y en ese sentido, las treguas son bastante explícitas en su articulado, sobre todo cuando nos acercamos al siglo XV. De hecho, este es uno de los elementos que deja más en claro la relación de la violencia fronteriza y la captura de cautivos producto de la acción de almogávares. Si bien es cierto que estos fronteros hacían de las suyas tomando ganado y todo aquello que fuese considerado botín, por otro lado, también es verdad que el mayor beneficio estaba en la toma de cautivos, por la situación que estos tenían como posible objeto de venta o intercambio, además de la condición que reviste desde un punto de vista eminentemente político.

Las treguas, por tanto, incluirán, en su articulado varias menciones en torno a esta cuestión, que se transforma, las más de las veces, en uno de los elementos que dilatan la negociación de las mismas. En la relación que se presenta a continuación se recogen las menciones de liberación y rescate de cautivos que aparecen en las treguas estudiadas. En todo caso, son contadas las ocasiones en las que el texto especifica el nombre completo de quien se desea liberar.⁸⁷

Como es posible apreciar, las menciones relacionadas con el rescate y liberación de cautivos se concentran en el siglo XV, en aquel periodo que va desde 1400 a 1440. Similar es lo que sucede en el caso del intercambio de cautivos, tal como lo expresa el siguiente gráfico:

Observados en esta proyección, pareciera que el siglo XV se caracterizó por ser una época en donde la violencia fronteriza se manifestó con resultados de cautividad. Sin embargo, un elemento que no se debe desconocer es el hecho de que durante esta época, los periodos de guerra civil en el emirato nazarí y, en menor medida, en Castilla, redundan en la efervescencia de la frontera, pues sin ley clara ni treguas en vigor, debido a los inicios y roturas que se suceden con tanta frecuencia, muchos se adentran en ella, buscando cautivos y botín.⁸⁸

5.3 Instituciones fronterizas y su acción: los fieles del rastro y los jueces de querellas

En relación a la aparición de los fieles del rastro en las treguas que hemos estudiado, la siguiente tabla o diagrama de dispersión nos permitirá ubicarlos.

Como es posible observar, sus menciones se manifiestan durante el siglo XV. Ello tiene su explicación en el hecho de que, como lo hemos afirmado más de una vez, las treguas durante el siglo XV tienden a ser más cortas en su duración real con relación a lo pactado. Esto se debe, en primer lugar, a la ruptura constante de las mismas; en segundo término, a la compleja situación política

86. Calderón Ortega, José. “La liberación alternativa: Reflexiones en torno a las fugas de cautivos durante la Edad Media”. *Medievalismo*, 18 (2008): 16.

87. Véase anexo.

88. Torres Fontes, Juan. “La frontera...”: 165.

granadina y la rotación de sultanes durante mediados del siglo;⁸⁹ y, en tercer lugar, a la actividad constante de almogávares en la frontera ya entrado el último tercio del siglo. Todo lo anterior hace que los articulados de las treguas se concentren, a nuestro juicio, en dos aspectos importantes: el restablecimiento de la actividad comercial a nivel fronterizo, por medio de una serie de disposiciones que organizan el intercambio de productos y las disposiciones fiscales, así como en la mitigación de la violencia fronteriza por medio de la acción de una serie de instituciones fronterizas encargadas de resguardar la paz. Ahí, por tanto, se inscribe la acción de los fieles del rastro.

Esta situación se manifiesta plenamente al analizar las menciones de los jueces de las querellas y los fieles del rastro en las treguas estudiadas, tal como lo representa la siguiente tabla o diagrama de dispersión combinada.

Este gráfico permite ofrecer una idea de la relación que existe entre las menciones que los tratados realizan de los jueces de las querellas y las que hacen de los fieles del rastro. Es posible observar cómo se da una correlación en el período que va desde 1410⁹⁰ hasta 1424,⁹¹ con la misma situación en 1439⁹² y 1460.⁹³ En la primera etapa se manifiesta una coincidencia con la situación de situación

89. Vidal Castro, Francisco. "Una década turbulenta de la dinastía nazarí de Granada en el siglo XV: 1445-1455", *En el epílogo del Islam andalusí: La Granada del siglo XV*. Celia del Moral, ed. Granada: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Granada, 2002: 75-116.

90. "[...] Que sean puestos jueces para ello en las villas e señoríos de ambas las partes, en los lugares de los cristianos o de los moros, a do acaecié, para que sean jueces e fieles (156vC) para que provean en las querellas e continúen los juyzios dellas, e fagan pagar los daños.

E quando acaecieren las tales querellas de la vna parte a la otra, en los averes o en las personas e otras cosas que pueden acaecer semejantes, que vayan por el rastro, e den el rastro a do fuere fallado que fué mal fecho; e a la parte donde fuere, que sean tenudos a lo reçeuir [...]" 1410, Tratado de treguas con Granada. García de Santa María, Alvar. "Crónica...": 402-407.

91. "[...] con nos que adelantemos vos, e nos jue | ses fieles en las partidas de nuestras villas, e nuestros señoríos que oyan las querellas, | e ayan poder de las judgar, e de las librar, e pagar los querellosos de ambas las | partes de lo que se aforma sobre ello, esta pas de nos, e de vos el Rey onrrado | Rey de granada sobre dicho que quando acaesçer que sea segui | do el Rastro, e se pa | raren sean demandados los de la partida so se parare el Rastro, e ellos que sean | tenudos de lo Resçebir, e sy lo non quiesieren Resçebir, e ouiere testigos dello que | sean tenudos a pagar lo que se perdiere, e que sea asignado el plaso a lo Resçebir del | día que acaesçiere en diez días, e se llega en la demanda contra los fechores E | esperen sobre la partida donde se parare el Rastro entre ellos plaso de cinquenta | días, e sy fuere fallado lo que fuere tomado que sea tornado a cuyo fuere E sy | non fuere fecho cumplimiento de derecho al dicho plaso que sean tenudos los | dichos jueces de las querellas en aquella partida que fagan a lo de aquella partida | pechar lo que se perdiere, e sy se detouiere el jue de las querellas de non librar en | el dicho plaso que fagan dello suplicacion a nos, e a vos, e a lo que ouiere de oyr | por nos, e por vos que lo mandemos librar, e faserle emienda dello, e dar pena | al jue sobre dicho, e lo que es a pagar por lo que dicho es por las personas que sean | tornadas ellas mesmas antes del plaso, e despues en toda manera, e que maten a los mal | fechores, e sy fueren falladas las personas despues de la muerte de los malfechores | que sean tornados, e sy non pudieren ser ávidos que paguen por cada persona dellas quaren | ta doblas de oro, e los ganados, e las otras cosas que non pudieren ser tornadas pa | gado por cada cosa su valor segunt lo que tasaren los jueces, e sea juyso comun | a cada parte de ambas las partes cristianos, e moros egual en esto[...]" 1424, Tregua entre Juan II de Castilla y Ab 'Abd All h Muhammad VIII, El Izquierdo, de Granada. Arribas Palau, Mariano. "Las treguas...": 94-106.

92. "[...] Han de ser puestos é nonbrados por los dichos Señores reyes, é con sus poderes, jueçes para determinar los dichos dannos, robos, saltos, muertes, é desfacer las prendas é oir los querellosos, segund los tiempos pasados fueron puestos, é los preçios convertibles de las cosas que se tomanen, ó robaren, ó mataren, é se non pudieren aver.[...]" 1439, Capítulos de la conclusión de la tregua. Amador de los Ríos, José. "Memoria...": 128-131.

93. "[...]E de lo que afirmamos en estas pazes con vos el dicho rey hon[r]ado de Granada sobredicho e lo afirmades vos con nos que adelantemos e oyan las querellas e ayan poder para las judgar e de los librar e pagar los querellosos de ambas las partes, e de lo que se afirma sobre ella esta paz de nos a vos el rey honrrado de Granada sobredicho e quando acaesçiere querella de qualquier de ambas las partes en cuerpos e en averes e en otra qualquier cosa de lo que puede acaesçer que sea seguido el rastro de los fechores e de lo que fuere tomado e do llegare el rastro e se parare sean demandados los de la partida do se parare el rastro, e ellos que sean tenudos de las reçeibir e sy lo non qisyeren reçeibir e ouiere testigos dello que sean tenudos a pagar lo que se perdiere, e que sea asynado el plazo a lo reçeibir del día que acaesçiere en diez días e sea allegada la demanda contra los fechores e esperesn la partida donde se parare el rastro entre ellos plazo de çinquenta días e si fuere fallado lo que le fuere tomado que sea tenudo a cuyo fuere e sy no fuere fecho cumplimiento de



fronteriza que se vive durante el período que corre entre 1405 y 1410. La mención que aparece hacia 1424 puede estar ligada a la compleja situación fronteriza que se manifiesta a partir de la constante ruptura de treguas y el restablecimiento de las mismas, pero con una corta duración.

En el período coincidente con el siglo XV aparece una primera mención de los fieles del rastro en la tregua de 1439,⁹⁴ firmada durante el gobierno de Juan II (1406-1454). En ella se establece una serie de precisiones en relación con el vasallaje y la entrega de cautivos, todo lo anterior ligado —en gran parte— a los episodios de violencia fronteriza. Finalmente, la mención realizada en 1460 se relaciona con una tregua firmada entre Granada y Castilla durante el reinado de Enrique IV. Esa tregua indica, entre otras cosas: “Defensa mutua, prohibición de hacer daño en términos de frontera, devolver mercancías tomadas por almojarife o cautivo huido a su dueño, cartas de seguro para mercaderes, no acoger a nobles ni almojarifes huidos, no devolución de cautivos huidos”.⁹⁵ En suma, una serie de cuestiones ligadas al restablecimiento de ciertas relaciones cordiales entre dos estados, quebrantadas a partir de los incidentes fronterizos que, ya para este momento, comienzan a hacerse más constantes.

Así entonces, la acción de los jueces de las querellas así como también la de los fieles del rastro dan cuenta de una actividad fronteriza que incorpora matices violentos, pero también nos muestran una capacidad de organización y el surgimiento de unos oficios y unos tipos humanos bastante interesantes que solo se entienden a partir de esta situación específica. En este sentido, por tanto, el signo de esa “frontera caliente”⁹⁶ no estará tanto en la confrontación bélica entre dos estados como en los incidentes fronterizos que, conforme pase el tiempo, se manifestarán en forma más continua. Es por lo anterior que los pactos de treguas establecerán unos determinados plazos para enmendar los daños y evitar la ruptura de la tregua o el inicio de las hostilidades, aunque, de todas maneras, siempre la represalia se considerará un derecho y, como tal, se invocará cada vez que sea necesario, aumentando así las posibilidades de la ruptura de la tregua y, por tanto, de la violencia fronteriza.⁹⁷

derecho al dicho plazo que sean tenudos los dichos juezes de las querellas en aquella partida que fagan a los de aquella partida pechar lo que se perdiere e si se detoviene juez de las querellas de no librar en el dicho plazo que faga dello suplicación a nos e a vos e al que lo oviere de aver por nos e por vos, e nos e vos lo mandemos librar e fazer enmienda dello e dar pena al juez sobredicho, e lo que es pagar lo que dicho es por las presonas que sean tornadas a ellas mesmas antes del plazo e despues en tienpo toda manera que maten a los mallechores, e si fueren falladas las presonas despues de la muerte de los mallechores que sean tornadas, e sino pudieren ser ávidos que paguen por cada persona dellas quarenta doblas de oro e los ganados e las otras cosas que no pudieron ser tornadas sea pagado por cada cosa un valor segund lo que tasaren los juezes e que sea este juyzio común a cada parte de amas las partes christianos e moros e ygual en esto[...].” 1460, Capítulos de las treguas firmadas entre Enrique IV y don Çad de Granada. García Guzmán, María. “Las relaciones castellano-granadinas en el sector Xericense. El tratado de paz de 1460”. *Estudios sobre Patrimonio, Cultura y Ciencias Medievales*, 11-12 (2010): 108-110.

94. “[...] E han de ser puestos e nonbrados por los dichos sennores reyes, e con sus poderes, juezes para determinar los dannos, robos, saltos, muertes e desfazer las prendas e oír los querellosos, segund los tienpos pasados fueron puestos, en los preçios convenibles de las cosas que se tomaren o robaren mataren e non se pudieren aver, 1439, Tregua de tres años acordada por Iñigo López de Mendoza con Abd Allah al-Amín[...].” García Luján, José. “Las treguas...”: 42-45.

95. García Luján, José. “Las treguas...”: 108-110.

96. “la quietud no fue norma que imperara en la frontera, ya que la actividad, pacífica o belicosa de sus más cercanos vecinos sería permanente y los hechos de corto alcance, la continuidad de las penetraciones en busca de botín y cautivos, no cesaría y a las acciones predatorias seguían las represalias. Y en estas fases de paz oficial pero de incontinente actividad fronteriza, que no logran impedir las autoridades mayores y menores de ambos reinos, persiste la inseguridad que todas las poblaciones cercanas pueden desconocer y tienen siempre presente pese al deseo generalizado de buena vecindad por una y otra parte.”. Torres Fontes, Juan. “La frontera...”: 97.

97. Rodríguez Molina, José. “La vida de moros...”: 333.



La acción de los alfaqueques también quedará registrada en los diferentes tratados de tregua. En la siguiente gráfica es posible apreciar la mención que se hace de estos en las treguas estudiadas.

Si bien, según James Brodman,⁹⁸ la práctica de la redención no fue institucionalizada hasta el siglo XII, no será hasta el siglo XIII cuando los monarcas intentarán poner orden estableciendo las competencias y las obligaciones de los alfaqueques en las *Partidas* y, posteriormente, en los ordenamientos de Alcalá de Henares de 1348, los Ordenamientos de Toro de 1368 y las Cortes de Toro de 1371.

Pues bien, si observamos detenidamente la gráfica, nos daremos cuenta de que las menciones del oficio y acción de los alfaqueques en las treguas se concentran en el siglo XV. Fundamentalmente en la etapa que va desde 1410 a 1481, pero más concentradas entre 1410 y 1424, período que se caracterizará por el desarrollo de una determinada violencia fronteriza y actividad bélica que traerá, como consecuencia, la captura de cautivos.⁹⁹ Por otra parte, durante los períodos de ruptura de treguas, la violencia fronteriza se hará manifiesta y no solamente en relación a la toma de cautivos, sino también de bienes, como por ejemplo, ganado.¹⁰⁰

Para verificar de mejor forma la acción de los alfaqueques, hay que analizar su acción cruzando los datos sobre intercambio con los de rescate de cautivos según la información aportada por las treguas. En ese sentido, se hace mucho más clara la verificación de su aportación durante el siglo XV. A continuación presentamos una gráfica que entrega datos cruzados al respecto:

Es interesante verificar cómo, justamente, las treguas que incluyen la acción de los alfaqueques coinciden con aquellas que nos hablan tanto del rescate como de la liberación e intercambio de cautivos. Esto tiene una lógica toda vez que las tres tareas descritas anteriormente corresponden a la acción de los alfaqueques, aunque no solo a ellos. Por otro lado, también es interesante visualizar que gran parte de la actividad de los mismos se concentra en el siglo XV, marcado por una situación bélica más comprometida, al menos durante el gobierno de Juan II, y una mayor cantidad de incidentes fronterizos.

6. A modo de conclusión

A partir del análisis realizado, es interesante visualizar cómo las treguas se acentúan en el periodo final, el siglo XV globalmente, y esto no es ni más ni menos que la manifestación del acentuamiento de la conflictividad político-militar por el expansionismo castellano y ambiciones o intereses de la nobleza u otros estamentos castellanos a los que la guerra contra el Islam les servía de pretexto y fuente de engrandecimiento, promoción social y enriquecimiento, como la investigación ha demostrado. En ese sentido, el azote fronterizo por excelencia y de la actividad bélica en general será la cautividad. Ante esto, y para regular la vida en la frontera, las treguas establecerán y regularán el funcionamiento de las instituciones de paz que, tal como se puede observar en este análisis cuantitativo, tuvieron una mayor acción en el período previo a la guerra final de 1482-1492.

98. Brodman, James. "Municipal Ransoming Law on the Medieval Spanish Frontier". *Speculum*, 60/2 (1985): 324-330.

99. Melo Carrasco, Diego. "A possible...": 222-225.

100. Vidal Castro, Francisco. "El Papel de Jaén...": 126; Díaz Borrás, Andrés. *El miedo al Mediterráneo: la caridad popular valenciana y la redención de cautivos bajo el poder musulmán (1323-1539)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001: 61.



El resguardar la seguridad fronteriza, solucionar las controversias y rescatar a los cautivos se manifiestan como los esfuerzos que, de ambos lados de la banda, se realizaron para salvaguardar la paz fronteriza y, a la vez, mantener unas relaciones entre los estados que se ven beneficiados por el intercambio comercial. Al mismo tiempo, los dos estados pueden tener un respiro frente a los conflictos internos que deben afrontar en diversos momentos.

Finalmente, es interesante observar cómo el emirato nazarí de Granada supo hacer de la diplomacia un instrumento eficiente para mantener la paz exterior y así tratar de resolver las divisiones internas que la afectaban. El gobierno nazarí fue capaz de visualizar, con un enorme realismo diplomático, aquello que era más conveniente para el interés global de su sociedad y que, finalmente, permitió la pervivencia del Sultanato, y por tanto, de al-Andalus durante casi todo el siglo XV especialmente y, en general, a lo largo de casi toda su historia desde 1232.

Del análisis pormenorizado de los tratados de tregua se desprende que dichos tratados se ocuparon especialmente por establecer unos flujos y unas relaciones de buena vecindad. Uno de los temas más frecuentes y esenciales de estos tratados se refiere a las medidas o procedimientos para tratar tanto la captura como el rescate de cautivos. Esto indica una voluntad de ordenar todo el proceso y prevenir la captura irregular de cautivos en el futuro, no solamente recuperar los ya existentes. De eso se ocupa sobre el 80% de las treguas firmadas en el siglo XV.

Por otra parte, es significativo el resultado de que, al menos, en el 60 % de los casos las treguas se refieren, en su articulado, a los cautivos, pero solo el 25% de las mismas hace referencia a los alfaqueques u otras instituciones relacionadas con el rescate de cautivos. Esto muestra que en los tratados no siempre van acompañados cautivos y alfaqueques porque estos últimos solo actúan cuando no se contempla en el pacto una entrega de cautivos (que solía exigir Castilla al Estado nazarí). Al quedarse los cautivos en poder nazarí, se hacía necesario contratar el servicio del alfaqueque y facilitar su acceso a la zonas fronterizas para que pueda cumplir con su función.

LA PRESENCIA DE HOMBRES DE ARMAS CASTELLANOS EN EL CERCO A BALAGUER, 1413

SANTIAGO GONZÁLEZ SÁNCHEZ
UNIVERSIDAD DE CÁDIZ

RESUMEN

Este artículo estudia la presencia de hombres de armas castellanos en el asedio y conquista de Balaguer en 1413. En él se aborda el desafío del conde don Jaime, conde de Urgel, al rey don Fernando y cómo éste, tras acabar prácticamente con los distintos focos de apoyo a su contrincante, decidió ponerse al frente de sus tropas y atacar Balaguer donde don Jaime se había refugiado. En esta empresa eran fundamentales los abastecimientos buena parte de los cuales se canalizaron a través de miembros de su familia o de colaboradores castellanos. Se estudian el carácter de los suministros, los lugares de abastecimiento, los medios y las tácticas empleadas. A continuación nos centramos no solo en los integrantes de importantes linajes de alta y media nobleza castellana recogidos en las crónicas, sino en otros cuyo nombre solo figura en documentos de archivo.¹

1. Introducción

Con la elección de don Fernando como rey de la Corona de Aragón se inicia una nueva etapa respecto a la presencia de tropas castellanas en los territorios que la formaban.² Desde su elección en Caspe el 28 de junio de 1412 —la designación había sido el 24—³ hasta la ruptura de hostili-

1. Abreviaturas utilizadas: ACA. Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó/Archivo de la Corona de Aragón; AHN. Archivo Histórico Nacional; AHPZ. Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza; AMAL. Archivo Municipal de Alba de Tormes; AMM. Archivo Municipal de Murcia; AMPdN. Archivo Municipal de Paredes de Nava; AMVill. Archivo Municipal de Villalón; ARV. Arxiu del Regne de València/Archivo del Reino de Valencia.

2. Sobre la presencia militar castellana durante esa etapa véase González Sánchez, Santiago. "El ascenso del infante don Fernando al trono de la Corona de Aragón. Los medios empleados", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón. El Compromiso de Caspe (1412), cambios dinásticos y constitucionalismo en la Corona de Aragón*, Isabel Falcón, ed. Zaragoza: Ibercaja-Gobierno de Aragón, 2013: 363-365. Llamo la atención sobre la 'coincidencia' entre esta primera entrada de las tropas castellanas en los reinos de la Corona de Aragón y la firma del tratado de paz entre Castilla y Portugal. Y también Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. "La candidatura al trono del infante Fernando de Antequera y la intervención castellana en la Corona de Aragón durante el Interregno", *Martí l'Humà: el darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona (1396-1410): l'Interregne i el Compromís de Casp*, M.ª Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, ed. Barcelona: Institut de Estudis Catalans, 2015: 880-890. Sobre el interregno es necesaria la consulta del libro de Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel. *El Interregno (1410-1412). Concordia y compromiso político en la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios del Bajo Aragón-Caspe, 2011.

3. La bibliografía sobre esta cuestión es amplísima, entre las aportaciones más recientes véanse por ejemplo Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel, ed. *Acta Curiarum Regni Aragonum. Parlamentos del Interregno (1410-1412). Actas del Parlamento de Alcañiz-Zaragoza (1411-1412) (continuación). Actas del Compromiso de Caspe (1412). Sentencia del Compromiso de Caspe (25 junio 1412)*, Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón, Departamento de Educación, Cultura y Deporte-Ibercaja, 2011: VII/2; Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. *El Compromiso de Caspe (1412). Diario del Proceso*, Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Excelentísima Diputación de Zaragoza, 2012; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Aragón y el Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412)". *Rolde: revista de cultura aragonesa*, 143-144 (2012): 60-67; Morales Arrizabalaga, Jesús. "La Concordia de Alcañiz y el 'Compromiso' de Caspe de 1412, desde la legislación, el derecho y la justicia". *Rolde: revista de cultura aragonesa*, 143-144 (2012): 69-75; Sesma Muñoz, José Ángel, ed. *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su historia, 1208-1458. El Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe*, Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón-Centro de Estudios Medievales de Aragón, 2012, de donde



dades que enfrentará directamente al rey con el conde de Urgel pasó cerca de un año. Periodo en el que el conde había dilatado de forma reiterada el acatamiento de fidelidad debida al monarca como súbdito,⁴ y durante el cual el nuevo rey de Aragón se planteó intervenir contra don Jaime de Urgel.⁵ Aunque ello no impidió que don Fernando, al notificar a algún monarca como el marroquí Abu Said Utman III su nombramiento, le expresase:

el bueno e pacífico stamiento e sosiego de todos nuestros regnos sin otra contradiccion alguna assin como si desde que nascieremos fuéramos Rey dellos. E assí mesmo el comde durgell el duque de gandia don ffrederich que demandau en los ditos nuestros regnos como competidores nos han obedescido e jurado por su Rey e senyor.⁶

2. El desafío del conde del Urgel al rey de Aragón

Esta situación hizo que el nuevo rey de Aragón enviase a Castilla a los hombres de armas que le habían ayudado a conseguir el reino, que estarían descontentos por el pago recibido y que, en palabras de Zurita, “presumían haber sido la causa que reinase en ellos pacíficamente”.⁷ De estos hechos se beneficiará el conde de Urgel que, a través de don Antonio de Luna y de mosén García de Sesé, iniciará tratos con el duque de Clarence para conseguir su ayuda militar y la contratación de mercenarios extranjeros dispuestos a combatir al rey de Aragón.⁸ A todo ello hay que añadir

destacamos las aportaciones de Canellas Anoz, Beatriz. “Actas de los Parlamentos de Cataluña y Aragón tras la muerte de Martín el Humano y del Compromiso de Caspe y elección de Fernando de Antequera”: 11-39; Navarro Espinach, Germán. “La historiografía moderna del Compromiso de Caspe”: 41-59, y Morales Arribas, Jesús. “La ‘publicación’ de Fernando de Castilla como Rey de Aragón: El ‘Compromiso’ de Caspe de 1412 como cuestión de justicia”: 315-346. Gimeno Blay, Francisco M. *Una Corona, set aspirants. Casp 1412*, Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2013; Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. “El Compromiso de Caspe: el hecho histórico”, *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón...*: 117-127, y Sabaté i Curull, Flocl. “Per què hi va haver un Compromís de Casp?”, *Els valencians en el Compromís de Casp i en el Cisma d’Occident*, Ricard Bellver, ed. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2013: 45-119, y del mismo Sabaté i Curull, Flocl. “El Compromiso de Caspe ¿ruptura dinástica o modelo de estado?”, *Ruptura i legitimació dinàstica a l’Edat Mitjana*, Flocl Sabaté i Curull, ed. Lleida: Pagés editors, 2015: 279-290.

4. En la carta de los compromisarios anunciando la elección de don Fernando el 28 de junio se contenía que... *deure esser prestat per tots los sotsmesos a la real corona Darago lo deute de fealtat*: Bofarrull y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, en *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1848: III, 278. El acatamiento lo hicieron los embajadores del conde en la Seo de Lérida. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas López, Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1980: V, 304-305.

5. Así se lo comunica a mosén Ponz de Ribelles en carta emitida desde Zaragoza el 14 de octubre de 1412, como conocemos por Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón último conde de Urgel. Memoria leída en las sesiones ordinarias celebradas por la Real Academia de Buenas Letras los días 11 y 25 de abril de 1899*, Barcelona: Real Academia de Buenas Letras, 1899: 292 (doc. núm. 107). Véanse también González Sánchez, Santiago. *Itinerario de don Fernando, regente de Castilla y rey de Aragón (1407-1416)*, Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013: 135, y Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. “De efemérides, aniversarios y estancias reales. Fernando I de Aragón (1412-1416) en Zaragoza”, *Miscelánea de Estudios en homenaje a Guillermo Fatás Cabeza*, Antonio Duplá Ansuategui, María Vitoria Escribano Paño, Laura Sancho Rocher, María Angustias Villacampa Rubio, eds. Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2014: 641.

6. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2401, f. 54r, publicado por Arribas Palau, Mariano. *Intercambio de embajadas entre Abu Said Utman III de Marruecos y Fernando I de Aragón*, Tetuán: Centro de Estudios Marroquíes, 1956: 31.

7. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 307.

8. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 317-319; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica del serenísimo príncipe don Juan, segundo rey deste nombre en Castilla y León, escrita por el noble y muy prudente caballero Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, Señor de Batres, del su Consejo*, Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, 1953: LXVIII/II, 347-348. Parece que don Antonio de Luna estuvo en Burdeos

la osadía del conde al alzar banderas por su causa, llamándose rey,⁹ lo que unido a las acciones de algunos de sus partidarios más señalados como don Antonio de Luna,¹⁰ que tomó los castillos de Trasmoz y Montearagón,¹¹ o el paso de la frontera por tropas extranjeras contratadas (gascones e ingleses), hizo que se le formulase un proceso y que el rey se decidiera a intervenir directamente contra él.¹² Esta decisión vino determinada en último término por las acciones de las tropas de don Jaime en Cataluña, en Aragón y en Valencia. Así las tropas urgelistas dirigidas por un grupo de nobles partidarios de don Jaime,¹³ el día 24 de junio atacaron Lleida partiendo de Albesa, se apoderaron de Corbins y de los molinos de Picabaix, pero no lograron apoderarse de la ciudad.¹⁴ Y tras la

contratando mercenarios en ayuda del conde de Urgel, como conocemos por diversos testimonios. Véase, por ejemplo, el que se recoge en Bofarull y de Satorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde de Urgel y su familia*, Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1868: I, 275. *E dix que... estant a Bordeu veu aquí al dit don Anthon qui soldejaba gent per entrar e esforzar lo comte Durgell contra lo Rey Darago e que axi ho dehen tots los de sa casa e ho saben molts altres castellans e altra gent que eran a Bordeu.*

9. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 326.

10. Moxó y Montoliu, Francisco de. “Raíces navarras de la Casa de Luna”, *Primer Congreso General de Historia de Navarra. 3 Comunicaciones. Edad Media, Príncipe de Viana*. Anejo 8 (1988): 144, nota 88, pone de manifiesto los múltiples lazos de parentesco de los Luna con importantes linajes catalanes como Cervelló, Montcada y Cárdena, que estarían detrás de la postura favorable de don Antonio de Luna al conde de Urgel.

11. Sancho Izquierdo, Miguel. “Ensayo de una biografía de don Antonio de Luna y de su influencia en el Compromiso de Caspe”. *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 18/30 (1914): 280 y 281. La primera fortaleza se sitúa en la comarca del Somontano del Moncayo y Tarazona. Tenemos constancia documental de que Trasmoz estaba en manos de gentes de armas de don Antonio de Luna a comienzos del mes de mayo de 1413, pues con fecha 9 de ese mes el monarca se dirige al gobernador de Aragón apremiándole para que convocase a todos los que de él tenían tierras para que asediase el castillo. En la misma misiva el rey daba cuenta de que escribía a las ciudades de Zaragoza y de Calatayud para que le proporcionasen ingenios, bombardas y todas las otras artillerías aptas para combatir y tomar el castillo de Trasmoz. Así como que Tarazona y los pueblos de la comarca habían comenzado a asediar el castillo y de allí no partirían hasta que lo hubiesen tomado. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 3v. La carta al concejo de Calatayud fechada el mismo 9 de mayo les pedía que enviasen el mayor número de gente que pudiesen al sitio de Trasmoz, al igual que había hecho Tarazona, y que proporcionasen lombardas y otras artillerías para que el gobernador de Aragón pudiese tomarlo. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 4v. La segunda fortaleza está en el municipio oscense de Quicena, en la Hoya de Huesca y, por lo tanto, muy cerca de esta ciudad. De acuerdo con la confesión de Pedro Meluso y otros dos partidarios de don Jaime de Urgel, apresados en Barbastro, los defensores de Montearagón solo serían veintidós combatientes en los primeros días de agosto de 1413, que además no tenían agua, pues la cogían del río y que estaban aislados del resto de los apoyos del conde de Urgel al que decidieron pedir ayuda. El rey recomienda a Pedro Estañella, notario de Barbastro... “que los deuaes bien strenyr en special al agua e que vnos quince dias los tengades bien strenyds no admonendo les tracto alcuno nin atorgando les remision tro a tanto qu’ende hayades otro ardit o sentimiento segunt el qual d’alli auant ugo regiredes... E por esto remetemos a vos que si entendredes que tracto alcuno sia vtil e proueytoso que y pasedes”. Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv en la Corona de Aragón*, Zaragoza: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1997: 31-32 (doc. núm. 6). El 11 de agosto se firmó la capitulación de Montearagón, que estaba en poder de las tropas del rey don Fernando a fecha 15 de agosto, como sabemos por ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2403, f. 62v, publicado en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I d’Antequera amb els infants d’Aragó i la reina Elionor (1413-1416)*, Valencia: Universitat de València. *Fonts històriques valencianes* 14, 2004: 61-62 (doc. núm. 50). Algún autor como Arco, Ricardo del. “El monasterio de Montearagón”. *Argensola*, 53-54 (1963): 5, lo retrasa al día 29.

12. Véase por ejemplo Guallar Pérez, Manuel. “El Conde don Jaime de Urgel frente al rey don Fernando de Antequera. Un episodio leridano de esta lucha, el sitio de Balaguer y la rendición del Conde al Rey, con los antecedentes de su rebeldía, según el relato que de aquellos sucesos hizo Lorenzo Valla”, *Miscel·lania Homenatge al professor Salvador Roca i Lletjós*, Lleida: Institut d’Estudis Ilerdencs, Diputació Provincial de Lleida, 1981: 186-208.

13. Sobre la nobleza urgelistas catalana, en especial sobre Berenguer de Fluvià y el protagonismo que tuvo, trata Bertran Roigé, Prim. “El comtat d’Urgell i el Compromís de Casp”, *Ruptura i legitimitació dinàstica a l’Edat Mitjana*, Flocel Sabaté i Curull, ed. Lleida: Pagés editors, 2015: 152-156.

14. *...vench de nit a Leyda ab gent d’armes, e les guaytes dels murs, sentints les gents, cridaren grans crits e aquell, vehentse decubert, tornassen a Balaguer*, según la descripción de la *Crónica de Pere Maça*, ed. José Hinojosa Montalvo, Valencia: Universidad de Valencia. Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1979: 46. Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando de Aragón*, Edición de Santiago López Moreda, Madrid: Ediciones Akal. 2002: 185-186. Aunque sus informaciones no están contrastadas y con las debidas precauciones también proporciona información Roca, Luis. *Fastos Ilerdenses. Colección de efemérides pertenecientes a la historia de la ciudad*, Lleida: José Sol e Hijo, 1873: 16 (doc. núm. 27 de 1413). “Por espacio de cinco horas mantienen



batalla de Alcolea de Cinca, de principios de julio, y después del asedio y rendición del castillo de Buñol, que se extendió entre los días 5 y 19 del mes de julio, las tropas reales derrotaron a las que apoyaban al conde de Urgel y se hicieron con la citada fortaleza.¹⁵ De forma paralela don Fernando también reforzó su posición exterior al firmar la paz con la república de Génova el 12 de junio de 1413 en Barcelona. El tratado establecía, entre otras cláusulas, que ninguna de las dos partes prestarían auxilio alguno a los súbditos rebeldes a cualquiera de ellas, y que tendrían por tales a aquellos que cada parte señalase por medio de carta o embajada, impidiéndoles reclutar hombres de armas, naves, avituallarse de víveres, etc.¹⁶ Ni que decir tiene que el primero al que afectaría tal medida sería al conde don Jaime de Urgel.

La desprotección en la que el monarca se encontraba le hizo llamar a sus gentes de Castilla. Don Fernando ordenó cuánta gente habría de traer cada uno, quiénes habían de venir y de dónde, las razones de su nuevo llamamiento, el lugar de concentración y lo que urgía su llegada, añadiendo además que aunque “para estos se empeñasen, que les daba su fe de ge lo bien pagar”.¹⁷ El recurso a los castellanos de cualquier condición que se encontraban en Barcelona para que lo guardasen denota temor y falta de previsión por parte de don Fernando, así como desconfianza en sus nuevos súbditos.¹⁸

un reñido combate contra la Ciudad en el punto llamado Mercadal, situado extramuros junto al antiguo camino de Balaguer los capitanes del Conde de Urgel Pedro Cortit, Artal de Alagon y P. Ramon de Fluviá, quienes tras la pérdida de más de sesenta de los suyos, entre muertos y heridos, ante la brava resistencia de la Ciudad, de cuyos defensores ninguno recibió daño se ven obligados á declararse en retirada, y la verifican con direccion á Alandí y á Benavent, donde con dicho conde se alojan, talando campos, destruyendo molinos é incendiando algunos lugares”. La fecha del ataque a Lérida y los hechos que tuvieron lugar se encuentran en RAH., Col. Salazar y Castro, 9-3-4-G-15, signatura moderna 9-462, ff. 192r-v, como se contiene en mi artículo González Sánchez, Santiago, “1413, el año inédito de la ‘Crónica de Juan II de Castilla’ de Álvaro García de Santa María, del manuscrito 9-462 de la Real Academia de la Historia”, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 214/2 (2017): 225. Pocos días después el monarca escribe una carta a los pahers y prohombres de la ciudad de Lérida en la que les comunica que envía a García de Villagómez y a P. Alonso de Pande con ciertas artillerías y pertrechos que él había mandado fabricar y otras que se debían hacer para continuar contra Jaime de Urgel, su tierra, vasallos y secuaces. Todo ello, sin duda, para protección de la ciudad y con vistas al asedio de diferentes lugares del conde. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2403, f. 38, publicado por Jiménez Catalán, Manuel. *Apuntes para la historia de Balaguer*, Zaragoza: Librería de Cecilio Gasca, 1913: 183 (Apéndice 3º).

15. A 16 de julio el castillo todavía no se había entregado, como sabemos por Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile general de Valencia, Joan Mercader al rey Fernando de Antequera*, Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1979: 170 (doc. núm. 6). Rubio Vela, Agustín. “Del asedio de Buñol al de Balaguer. Los valencianos y la sublevación de Jaume d’Urgell (1413)”. *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura*, 77 (2001): 155-217, en especial las páginas 159 y 165. Y del mismo Rubio Vela, Agustín. “Después de Caspe. El urgelismo y las oligarquías”, *La Corona de Aragón en el centro de su Historia. El Interregno y el Compromiso de Caspe (1410-1412)*, Zaragoza y Alcañiz, 24, 25 y 26 de noviembre de 2010, José Ángel Sesma Muñoz, ed. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón-Centro de Estudios Medievales de Aragón, 2011: 268.

16. Camarena Mahiques, José. *Tratado de paz entre Aragón y Génova en 1413*, Valencia: Diputación Provincial de Valencia, 1953: 100-104.

17. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...: 348-349*. El matiz que señala Pérez de Guzmán es interesante para considerar como válido lo que Zurita expresa sobre el pago por los castellanos tras su primera entrada en los reinos de la Corona de Aragón. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...: 307*. La *Crónica incompleta del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón*, ed. Luis Vela Gormedino, Zaragoza: Anubar, 1985: 24, proporciona la relación de concejos de Castilla a los que habría pedido el envío de gente de armas. Eran Medina del Campo, Cuéllar, Olmedo, Paredes de Nava y Arévalo.

18. La presencia castellana en la guarda del monarca antes y durante los hechos que aquí se estudian está ampliamente constatada. Véase al respecto y en folios diversos ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, ff. 6v-30r, por ejemplo. Algunos de los castellanos de esa guarda eran: Juan Soriano, Juan de Sada, Pedro de Peñafiel, Fernando de Medina, Álvaro de León, Gonzalvo de Ávila, Juan de Herrera, Gonzalvo de Oñón, Juan López de Arévalo, Gonzalvo de Cuéllar, Pascual López de Poyo, Martín Pérez, Alfonso Zapata, Alfonso de Salas, Gómez de Moraleja, Pedro Sánchez de Cadreta, Fernando Dávila, Luis de Poyo, Benito Sánchez, Fernando Alfonso de Sevilla, Álvaro Garavito, Pedro Gonzálvez de Toledo, Fernando Carrillo, Ordoño de Zamudio, etc.

3. El enfrentamiento directo

El enfrentamiento militar entre don Fernando y el conde de Urgel comenzó poco después de la nueva entrada de tropas castellanas en los territorios de la Corona de Aragón, previo beneplácito de las Cortes¹⁹. Ignoramos el tiempo concreto que las tropas castellanas tardaron en presentarse en Aragón. Las fuentes consultadas dan cuenta de su presteza y celeridad en llegar,²⁰ de que el que más tardó no se detuvo diez días²¹ o de que fueron muy pocos días.²² En cualquier caso, parece concluirse de la lectura de todas ellas, la rapidez en acudir se habría debido, esencialmente, a su lealtad al rey de Aragón. De ahí que la estrategia del conde de Urgel y de algunos de sus partidarios, basada en el descontento de los castellanos por no haber percibido el sueldo que se les debía²³ y que les impediría acudir a su nueva llamada,²⁴ pueda considerarse fracasada. Un número considerable de esas tropas, al menos por la importancia de sus capitanes debió de llegar a mediados del mes de junio. En ese momento, días 14 y 15 de ese mes, el monarca escribió varias misivas al escribano de ración, a destacados nobles de Aragón y a todos los oficiales del reino, instándoles a que les diesen posadas y les vendiesen pan y vino y las cosas que necesitasen por su dinero al adelantado de Castilla, a Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, a Diego Pérez Sarmiento, a Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, a Luis de la Cerda y a Per Alonso de Escalante, que con ciertas gentes de armas venían por su servicio a Aragón.²⁵

El lugar de concentración se fijó en Zaragoza, donde llegaron los castellanos, si bien no todos en el mismo momento²⁶ pues hubo caballeros que se incorporaron más tarde. La cuantía de las tropas debió de desbordar las previsiones iniciales de don Fernando y estaría en torno a las mil lanzas.²⁷ La táctica que el rey de Aragón empleó para la ubicación de las tropas fue la misma que la vez anterior, la dispersión. No obstante, se establecieron tres núcleos principales a partir de los cuales los castellanos desarrollaron sus acciones. Fueron Huesca, Sesa y Pertusa, todos bastante cercanos y a donde se dirigieron las tropas que habían llegado a Zaragoza. El acantonamiento en esta área estaría indicando varios hechos. En primer lugar, la zona por donde se esperaba la entrada de tropas extranjeras²⁸ y, por otra parte, la puesta en práctica, por parte de don Fernando del control

19. *Crónica incompleta*...: 24.

20. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales*...: 334.

21. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica*...: 349.

22. *Crónica incompleta*...: 24.

23. Según conocemos por un documento editado por Florencio Janer, el sueldo estipulado en la primera entrada de las tropas castellanas era de un florín diario para cada lanza y de diez maravedíes por día para los ballesteros. Janer y Graells, Florencio. *Examen de los sucesos y circunstancias que motivaron el Compromiso de Caspe, y juicio crítico de este acontecimiento y de sus consecuencias en Aragón y en Castilla*, Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1855: 147-148.

24. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales*...: 333.

25. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, ff. 55v, 56r y 58v-59r.

26. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales*...: 335; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica*...: 349. También da cuenta de Zaragoza como lugar de concentración Canellas López, Ángel. "El reino de Aragón en el siglo xv (1410-1479)", *Historia de España de Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1964: XV, 356.

27. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica*...: 349; *Crónica incompleta*...: 24. Estas dos obras proporcionan la cifra de mil lanzas procedentes de Castilla. Mientras que Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales*...: 335, ofrece dispersos los datos que sumados arrojan la cifra de novecientos diez lanzas.

28. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales*...: 321. La cercanía de esta zona a la frontera con Navarra, la existencia de navarros ayudando a la toma del castillo de Trasmuz y las posibles ayudas de su rey al conde de Urgel, movieron a don Fernando a enviarle una embajada en el mes de mayo de 1413. Lo que se pretendía de Carlos III era una implicación en la defensa frente a las tropas extranjeras en el puerto común de Val de Ansó. Por la documentación manejada conocemos la existencia de una embajada enviada por el rey de Aragón a Navarra a mediados del mes de noviembre, posiblemente



de los pasos fronterizos, vigilancia que se mantuvo hasta la finalización de la campaña contra el conde de Urgel.²⁹

Como se ha indicado, este sector de la frontera franco-aragonesa e incluso navarra se esperaba que fuera especialmente conflictivo al preverse la entrada de tropas extranjeras por él como corroboran varias cartas que tienen como origen y como destinatario al castellano Suero de Nava, y en las que la preocupación se personaliza en don Antonio de Luna. La primera, que no lleva fecha, la dirige Suero de Nava al rey don Fernando en los siguientes términos:

Al mas catholico e mas verdadero e sforçado nostro Senyor el mui alto e mui poderoso don Ferrando per la gracia de Dios Rey Darago.

E Senyor diz que don Anthon entienden que con estos dineros fara mil combatientes de los ingleses o mil et quingentos e que haura de Gascunya fasta setecentos combatientes e que dizen que ellos tanto que sian en esto regno tienen grandos tractos con algunos cavalleros e con algunos lugares e que ante que la vostra merce se percibria e los se reforçaran per manera que vos no los porets echar del regno. E Senyor dizen que tantost que entren en lo regno que luego entienden de tomar voç de llamar Rey a don Jayme. E ellos paren que han a entrar per lo puerto de Sola que es entre Bearn e Navarra e entienden que ellos serán en esta tierra a priessa. E si quiere Senyor si hi enviassades unos quingentos ombres darmes de aquellos que están en Barchinona a esta cuitat de Huesca car ellos senyor dizen alla que llegando a esta cuitat sera suya. E Senyor antes que estas cosas vayan mas adelante vostra merce deve comprendre todos los cavalleros del regno a vostro gage por enviar por castellans. E dizen que ellos alla dizen que vostra persona e vostres fijos no pueden seyer seguros si en poder de castellanos no e que aquellos tienen ellos en gran reciello e por exo prenguiaran a mi scudero por que no nos avisasse que no enviassedes por ellos. Vostro humil servidor Suero de Naua.³⁰

La segunda carta está fechada el 28 de mayo en Jaca y tiene como destinatario a Suero de Nava dándole cuenta de la... *entrada que decían que haría por Francia don Antonio de Luna*, de los partidarios que tenía y, sobre todo, pidiendo... *socorro de gentes*.³¹ Estas informaciones y demandas, como se vería más adelante, se ajustaban a la realidad y estaban plenamente justificadas pues don Antonio

de 1412, en la que participaron por parte castellana el almirante Alfonso Enríquez y el arcediano del Alcor y por parte aragonesa mosén Elfó. Ignoramos el fin último de esta embajada por el secreto con el que está escrita la carta. ACA., Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 19, n.º 2546.

29. Ejemplos de ello son la carta que dos cónsules de Perpiñán escriben al rey de Aragón con fecha 7 de octubre y que transcribimos a continuación.

Apres, molt excellent senyor, notificcam a la vostra molt excellent e alta senyoria com nosaltres, quj continuament tenjm nostres spies en les parts de Gascunya e de Tolosa, per raho de les grans fames que, per molts dies passats han trebaylat del ajustament e venguda de part deça de gent darmes, en socors de Jayme dUrgell, hauem cobrades daquelles de pochis dies en ça tres, quj tots concordantment han reportat que en nag a daquelles parts no son aplegades companyes darmes algunes, quj sien dalgun caler e lo deurer que hauem cobrat ha camjnat tot lo comtat de Comenge segujnt dun en vn tots los lochs on hoya dir que hauja gent darmes e aquest diu e reporta que en tot lo comtat de Comenge ell no ha trobade gent darmes aplegada, sino en vn loch qujs apella Martres, on troba mossen Aymerich de Comenge ab xxx o xxxv rossins, quj, segons lj fon dit, era ab la dita gent applegat per fer la serca del dit comtat de Comenge; e, en ul altre loch qujs appellat Rengatges, troba lo senyor de Campayanch ab L. rossins o entorn e ab xv o xvijj homens a peu disent aquest que vol morir, si en tot lo dit comtat de Comenge ha de present altre gent darmes aplegada mas auant sen apres de uers Tholosa diu que aqui ha trobades les fames acostumades, les quals, en veritat, senyor molt excellent, cresem nosaltres ques meten mjsterialment per alg s quj son aqui del dit Jayme dUrgell. Publicada por Lopes de Almeida, Manuel, ed. *Monumenta Henricina*, (1411-1421), Coimbra: Publicado por Commissao Executiva do V centenario da morte do infante D. Henrique, 1960: II, 68 (doc. núm. 22). También la carta que el monarca envió a Antonio de Bardají durante el sitio de Balaguer, comunicándole la presencia de tropas gasconas a seis leguas de la frontera de Aragón, cerca de los puertos de Ribagorza y de Gistán y del valle de Arán. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, ff. 37r-v. O la que don Fernando escribió a don Pedro de Urrea advirtiéndole que gente de armas extranjera hacía la vía de los puertos de Jaca, sin fecha. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, f. 42v.

30. Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 274-275.

31. ACA., Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Fernando I, caja 18, n.º 2237.



de Luna había penetrado y se había establecido con tropas inglesas en la fortaleza de Loarre.³² Así pues, y desde el fracaso de don Jaime ante Lleida el 27 de junio de 1413 existían en estos momentos dos núcleos en los que se concentraban los apoyos militares al conde de Urgel, Loarre³³ y Balaguer.

Será precisamente el deseo de don Jaime de Urgel por fortalecer su posición en Balaguer la causa de su primera derrota militar de importancia, la del capitán Basilio que estaba al frente de las tropas inglesas que se dirigían a reforzarle.³⁴ Esta derrota no implicó solo la prisión o muerte de doscientos hombres de caballo, entre hombres de armas, arqueros y ballesteros³⁵; sino además la pérdida del dinero que el conde de Urgel empleó, el impedirle aprovisionarse por esta vía de nuevos combatientes,³⁶ el cortar el paso a una posible ayuda de don Antonio de Luna y el minar su moral y la de sus partidarios, por citar unos casos.

Por el contrario, para el rey de Aragón esta victoria supuso un aumento de su moral, de la de sus tropas y seguidores³⁷ y, sobre todo, el comienzo de su implicación directa en la resolución del conflicto. En tal sentido, el monarca envió a su tía doña Teresa de Ayala, priora del monasterio de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo una carta, con fecha 13 de julio de 1413, comunicándole la derrota del capitán Basilio por parte de sus tropas.³⁸ Esta batalla también supuso un salto cualitativo pues fue la primera acción armada en la que hubo un enfrentamiento directo entre ambas partes en liza; aspecto que caracterizará a la nueva fase a la que da paso. El monarca ordenaba el día 15

32. Estas tropas inglesas estuvieron poco tiempo en Loarre, desde donde se pasaron a Francia antes de que les alcanzasen las que el monarca tenía en Huesca. Sancho Izquierdo, Miguel. "Ensayo de una biografía...": 458.

33. Esta fortaleza se resistió al rey de Aragón hasta comienzos de 1414. El 10 de mayo de 1413 don Fernando encomendaba a Juan Delgadillo la toma de dicho castillo, como conocemos por ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 6v.

34. Desconocemos si el combate tuvo lugar... en *terres Doscha* donde tropas del rey tenían a los prisioneros tomados en la batalla, como tomamos de Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 112. Noticia del apresamiento de Basilio, seguramente huido, no muy lejos de Castelfollit en la misma publicación, página 358. Sobre la implicación inglesa en el conflicto véase el artículo de Rycraft, Peter. "Caspe vista desde Inglaterra", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón...*: 733-741. La crítica que puede hacerse de este artículo no tiene que ver tanto con su contenido como con la mala traducción de que ha sido objeto, lo que dificulta su comprensión.

35. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 336. Este autor no nos proporciona las pérdidas humanas de esta acción de armas, solo señala el número de prisioneros, cuarenta y su capitán. Por su parte, Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349, cita a Basilio entre los muertos, posiblemente con un fin enaltecedor de la victoria conseguida por los castellanos.

36. La entrada de esas tropas se pudo producir por la vieja calzada romana que unía Béarn con Zaragoza, recogida en el "Itinerario de Antonino" y de la que da cuenta Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. "Los caminos que unían a Aragón con Francia en la Edad Media", *Les communications dans la Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Age (Actes du Colloque de Pau, 28-29 mars 1980)*, París: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1981: 23-24.

37. Sabemos que la noticia se divulgó por los territorios de la Corona de Aragón y que se utilizó para desanimar a los partidarios del conde de Urgel que aún resistían en ciertos territorios, como el castillo de Buñol. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 170 (doc. núm. 6).

38. Señala que partirá... de aquí (*Se refiere a Barcelona*) esta semana primera. Este documento, del que no se facilita signatura, procedería del archivo del monasterio de Santo Domingo el Real de Toledo y fue publicado por Álvarez de la Braña, Ramón. "Carta de don Fernando el de Antequera sobre una derrota de los ingleses en Aragón el año 1413", *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* [3ª época] 7 (1902): 382-383. Por lo que respecta a los caídos en la batalla pone de manifiesto que ni uno solo se les fue y que Basilio había sido apresado. Los nobles que tomaron parte en esta acción fueron Diego Gómez de Sandoval adelantado de Castilla, Luis de la Cerda y Pedro Alfonso de Escalante, por parte castellana y por parte aragonesa Juan de Ixar, mosén Juan de Bardají, el baile general de Aragón y Jaime Cerdán. Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, obispo de Zamora, recibió la noticia de la derrota de los ingleses a través de Fernando de Villarreal, escudero castellano de la compañía de Pedro Nuñez de Guzmán, el día 12 de julio, como consta en ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 36r-v. Ese mismo día 13 de julio expidió carta fechada en Barcelona por la que donaba de albricias 1.000 florines de oro a Gómez de Vega y a Pedro de Soto, escuderos del adelantado de Castilla Diego Gómez de Sandoval, que le habían comunicado la derrota de los ingleses, a quienes el citado adelantado y otros naturales y vasallos del rey de Aragón habían derrotado, como conocemos por el libro del tesorero Juan Dezplá. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 65v.



un pago de 1.200 sueldos barceloneses a Pedro Alfonso de la Panda, repostero de la reina, que comprendía el pago para dos hombres de caballo armados, incluido él, y tres hombres de a pie para que le ayudasen a guardar la artillería que el rey enviaba hacia las partes de Lleida.³⁹

Los partidarios del conde de Urgel seguían ejerciendo presión. Así, el 16 de julio el castellano Martín de Pomar que estaba en la ciudad de Huesca refuerza su posición con la llegada de nuevas tropas al mando del también castellano Suero de Nava. La misión de esta posición era resistir la entrada de gascones y de ingleses.⁴⁰ Sin embargo, parte de estas tropas —sesenta hombres de armas y ciento cincuenta hombres de pie— no permaneció en la ciudad oscense sino que persiguió a los favorables al conde de Urgel que estaban por algunos valles pirenaicos, por ejemplo el curso del río Gallego hacia su cabecera, teniendo como base el castillo de Javierre.⁴¹ El documento en el que nos basamos es buena muestra de la forma de actuar de algunas tropas castellanas, de la toma de decisiones, del empleo de espías —lo cual se deduce de ciertas informaciones como la interceptación de un correo—, de los medios de abastecimiento de los enemigos y de su número, así como de la existencia de partidarios del rey de Aragón en la montaña, etc.

Lo que se ha denominado enfrentamiento directo se inició con la decisión del rey de ponerse al frente de sus tropas,⁴² mostrando así su deseo de castigar al conde de Urgel para que su desacato sirviera de ejemplo a otros. Don Fernando comparaba esta acción con la de arrancar las malas raíces de sus reinos.⁴³ Los combates del nuevo periodo que ahora se abre revisten dos formas, una primera en la que a grandes rasgos predominan las correrías de campo y que en ciertos momentos se retomará durante el cerco para tratar de estrechar más la situación de los asediados, y la fase final que comprendería, ante todo, el cerco al conde de Urgel en la ciudad de Balaguer.

Las correrías de campo estaban destinadas esencialmente a limpiar, a despejar y a ocupar los posibles núcleos fieles al conde de Urgel en el área en que la se iban a centrar los combates, así como en las posesiones de don Jaime de Urgel. Además, se pretendía cortar los posibles abastecimientos y realizar una depuración de los favorables a la causa del conde de Urgel, con toda la carga psicológica inherente de desánimo y de huida. Esas consecuencias tendrían las ocupaciones de las poblaciones y castillos de Apiés, Menàrguens, Albesa,⁴⁴ Alcolea, la Almolda, Castellflorite, Albalate de Cinca, Ossó de Cinca,⁴⁵ Rafals, Puy de Cinca, Estanosa, Ibars, Os, Les Avellanés, Agramunt, Lin-yola y Castelló de Farfanya, algunos tomados por combate, otros que... *se rindieron a partido* y que

39. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 69v.

40. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...* 323.

41. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón relativos a Castilla (1412-1416)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 208/3 (2011): 381 (doc. núm. 99).

42. Carbo, Laura. "La relación competitiva entre Fernando I de Aragón y el conde de Urgel. El fracaso de la negociación y el enfrentamiento armado (1410-1413)". *Estudios de Historia de España*, 12/1 (2010): 73-91 <<http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/repositorio/revistas/relacion-competitiva-fernando-conde-urgel.pdf>> (Consultado el 26 de noviembre de 2016). El rey salió de Barcelona el 26 de julio según conocemos por los *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya, anys 1411-1714*, ed. Josep Maria Sans y Travé, Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de la Presidència, 1994: I, 7.

43. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado...", (2011): 381 (doc. núm. 99).

44. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...* 343-345. La villa de Albesa, punto meridional del condado de Urgel, pasó en 1415 a manos del castellano Diego Fernández de Vadillo por concesión regia, como tomamos de Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El condado de Urgel. Aproximación histórica", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 351. Utilizamos la paginación del texto en castellano, el de lengua catalana se contiene en las páginas 11-25.

45. Tras la confiscación de los castillos y villas de El Grado, Osso de Cinca, Castellflorite y La Almolda al conde de Urgel, el rey don Fernando se los donó al jurista Berenguer de Bardají y a su hijo Juan de Bardají, como se puede ver por la transcripción de AHN., Sección Nobleza, Parcent, carp. 40, n.º 10, que hace Rodríguez Lajusticia, Francisco Saulo. "La

estaban repartidos por los distintos territorios que componían la Corona de Aragón.⁴⁶ Algunas de estas poblaciones ya no eran del conde de Urgel pues las había cedido a algunos de sus familiares, como su mujer, sin duda para asegurar su futuro, como ocurrió con Os, Agramunt, Albesa, Linyola o la propia Balaguer.⁴⁷

4. Los castellanos que abastecieron a las tropas reales

No obstante lo anterior, hay que tener en cuenta que estas acciones de armas, al margen de cortar las vías de suministro, comportaban la búsqueda de botín por parte de las tropas castellanas y un medio de aprovisionamiento. Esto se muestra claramente en la acción que protagonizaron Juan Delgadillo y Juan Carrillo previa a la toma de Castellón de Farfana, de donde habrían obtenido más de cuatrocientas cincuenta cabezas, entre vacas, yeguas y mulas.⁴⁸ El temor a la falta o escasez de víveres por los numerosos efectivos del ejército real y por la larga duración del asedio se puso de manifiesto en una de las ocasiones en que se deliberó sobre la conveniencia o la inutilidad de destacar una parte considerable de las tropas e ir a enfrentarse a las compañías de ingleses, que se rumoreaba que llegaban en ayuda del conde de Urgel.⁴⁹ Así pues, el aprovisionamiento de vituallas fue tan imprescindible como los suministros de armas, metales, materiales diversos como cueros de búfalo para protección de las máquinas, o los servicios de herreros, canteros y otros artesanos, tendentes tanto a incrementar la presión sobre los sitiados como a tomar la ciudad de Balaguer y con ello acabar con la resistencia de don Jaime.

Entre las personas que se encargaron de enviar suministros de todo tipo al real de Balaguer encontramos a los miembros más allegados al monarca, como su hijo Alfonso, junto al que estaba el obispo de León don Alfonso de Argüello, y la propia reina doña Leonor; a colaboradores castellanos de don Fernando como el obispo de Zamora o a catalanes ganados para su causa tras su elección como rey, como ocurrió con Pedro de Zagarriga arzobispo de Tarragona.

4.1 El infante Alfonso

El papel que el infante don Alfonso desempeñó en los suministros al real de Balaguer fue de gran relevancia para la rápida conclusión del asedio a la citada población.⁵⁰ Lo demuestran la

confiscación de bienes aragoneses hecha al conde de Urgel: los castillos y villas de El Grado, Osso de Cinca, Castellflorite y La Almolda (1414)", *XIX Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón...*: 718-724.

46. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361. Alcolea, Os, Almolla, Castellflorite y Ratfallo se habrían rendido iniciado ya el sitio a Balaguer, como conocemos por Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 334-335 (doc. núm. 157) y por López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 58 (doc. núm. 45). La capitulación Agramunt se redactó el 13 de agosto y el 20 del mismo mes la población se entregó, como conocemos por Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 36-341 (doc. núm. 160). Y según reconoce el monarca en carta a su hijo Alfonso le costó la cantidad de 2.500 florines en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 61-62 (doc. núm. 50). Con carácter más divulgativo véase también Costafreda i Puigpinós, Virginia. "Agramunt a la fi del comtat d'Urgell", *Sió*, 595 (septiembre 2013): 35-41.

47. Costafreda Puigpinós, Virginia. "El fin del condado de Urgel: hablan sus protagonistas", *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 438. Utilizamos la paginación del texto en castellano, el de lengua catalana se contiene en las páginas 145-155.

48. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes de Urgel*, ed. Prósper de Bofarull y Mascará, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1853: II, 490.

49. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362.

50. En idéntico sentido, aunque no se pronuncie expresamente Arantegui, José. "El sitio de Balaguer en 1413. Bajo el punto de vista del empleo de la artillería". *Memorial de Artillería* [3ª Serie], 15 (1887): 456. También se hace mención



cuantía e importancia de lo que envió y el número de veces que se recurre a él. En este sentido, se nos han conservado cerca de cuarenta cartas en las que su padre, el rey don Fernando, se dirige a él requiriéndole el envío de armas, dinero, materiales y hombres que necesitaba para proseguir el asedio a Balaguer.⁵¹ Desde un punto de vista cronológico, las peticiones de suministros por parte del monarca se plantean de acuerdo con las necesidades impuestas por la estrategia del momento, por lo que no es extraño encontrar pedidos similares en diferentes etapas del cerco a Balaguer. Así ocurrió en varias ocasiones con el dinero para el pago de soldadas, con las solicitudes de hombres para el combate o de artesanos para fabricar armas o para construir piezas con las que hacerlas funcionar, por poner unos casos.

Entre los materiales que el monarca pidió a su hijo para proveer el real se encuentran aquellos relacionados con la puesta en funcionamiento de las piezas de artillería que tenían que utilizar en el cerco. Entre estos materiales están la pólvora de bombarda⁵² o, en su carencia, como sustitutivo el salitre, además de azufre, cobre⁵³ y carbón.⁵⁴ En este último caso para su empleo en la fundición por parte de los herreros que construían nuevas bombardas de cobre.⁵⁵

Las peticiones de combatientes nos han dejado varios testimonios documentales. En tal sentido, conocemos que don Fernando pidió a su hijo el envío de trescientos ballesteros diestros al comienzo del cerco a Balaguer,⁵⁶ que más avanzado le volvió a solicitar cien o doscientos hombres armados de la ciudad de Barcelona con el sueldo de un mes pagado,⁵⁷ más otros doscientos hombres de caballo del Rosellón,⁵⁸ además de su orden de convocar a las huestes por el usatge *Princeps namque* a mediados del mes de septiembre⁵⁹ o la petición de un número indeterminado de ballesteros, que el infante don Alfonso ya le había mandado a finales del mismo mes.⁶⁰

de estas funciones del infante don Alfonso en la obra de Aragó, M. Antonio. "El infante Alfonso de Aragón no asistió a la toma de Balaguer (1413)". *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón*, 7 (1962): 623-636; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...* II, 492. Y lo destaca Ryder, Alan. *Alfonso el Magnánimo, rey de Aragón, Nápoles y Sicilia (1396-1458)*, Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1992: 42-44.

51. Al margen de las cartas citadas están las que el infante dirigió a su padre, aproximadamente treinta, relacionadas estrictamente con cuestiones de índole militar y que procedentes del ACA están publicadas o cuentan con un registro en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*

52. El rey hizo varias peticiones de pólvora. Una primera, fechada el 24 de agosto y reiterada el 27 del mismo mes y el 2 de septiembre, en la que solicitaba 40 quintales, y una segunda del 7 de octubre pidiendo a su hijo el envío de 50 quintales. Estas solicitudes se encuentran en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 76-77 (doc. núm. 68); 83-84 (doc. núm. 77); 101 (doc. núm. 99) y 160 (doc. núm. 176), respectivamente.

53. En cantidad de cincuenta quintales de salitre, de azufre y de cobre, como tomamos de Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 349 (doc. núm. 172), y de López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 160 (doc. núm. 176).

54. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 458-459.

55. El cobre debe entenderse en la época por bronce, como pone de manifiesto Castro y Sayz, Adolfo de. *Apuntes para la historia de la fundición de artillería de bronce en España*, Madrid: Imprenta del Cuerpo de Artillería, 1887: 3. Por su parte, Cipolla, Carlo M. *Cañones y velas en la primera fase de la expansión europea 1400-1700*, Barcelona: Ariel, 1967: 25, señala que el bronce es, técnicamente, muy fácil de fundir y en toda Europa se encontraba gran número de artesanos familiarizados con este proceso debido a la amplia y antigua demanda de campanas.

56. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 34 (doc. núm. 9).

57. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 113 (doc. núm. 111). Referencia a estos hombres de armas también en: 118-119 (doc. núm. 120).

58. El infante don Alfonso comunica a su padre la dificultad que tiene para encontrarlos. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 129 (doc. núm. 134) y 142-144 (doc. núm. 153).

59. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 128-129 (doc. núm. 133).

60. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 153 (doc. núm. 166).



Otras peticiones bastante numerosas por parte del rey fueron las de útiles con los que construir armas o ingenios como las bastidas para los combates. Don Fernando pidió a su hijo en varias ocasiones astas de lanzas y otras con garabatos de hierro, lanzas largas y fuertes con las que sujetar las escalas a la muralla;⁶¹ viratones,⁶² de los cuales 3.000 gruesos y de finos y fuertes hierros, de los mejores que se pudiesen encontrar, otros 20.000 comunes, pero de la mejor forja⁶³ y casi al final del asedio 35 ó 40.000 viratones, también de los mejores.⁶⁴

La construcción, puesta en funcionamiento y reparación de armas ofensivas y defensivas, así como de los diversos ingenios exigió la presencia de numeros especialistas en los diversos cometidos, la mayor parte de ellos artesanos. Buena parte estaban relacionados con los trabajos de la madera, el metal, la piedra y la fabricación de sogas. A comienzos del mes de agosto el rey pide a su hijo Alfonso el envío de carpinteros y de *molers* para fabricar las piezas de artillería.⁶⁵ Casi al final del cerco el rey ordenó a su hijo el infante Alfonso apresar a los seis carpinteros de Barcelona que habían abandonado el real sobre Balaguer sin su licencia.⁶⁶

A comienzos del mes de septiembre la urgencia era de treinta picapedreros,⁶⁷ sin duda para dar forma a las piedras que se emplearían como bolaños para bombardear Balaguer. Tres días después, el 5 de septiembre, el rey aumentó el número hasta los cuarenta.⁶⁸ A pesar de ello, en alguna misiva posterior el monarca da cuenta de la desertión de un elevado número de picapedreros, veinte en concreto, que habían abandonado el real sin licencia.⁶⁹ También eran pedreros los *molers*, pero expertos en hacer muelas que girando sobre su eje servían para afilar, pulir, desbarbar, rectificar, perfilar, etc., y que serían de gran utilidad en el cerco. El rey solicita al infante Alfonso que le envíe *molers*, sin especificar el número, a comienzos del mes de agosto,⁷⁰ que parece que su hijo ya le había remitido el día 10⁷¹. El 20 de septiembre don Fernando vuelve a pedir ocho *molers* buenos y jóvenes con sus herramientas de los que tenía gran necesidad,⁷² petición que se reitera el día 25, pero ahora de veinte, también jóvenes y con sus herramientas.⁷³ Menos necesidad tuvo que haber de armeros, solo en una ocasión el monarca solicita a su hijo cinco o seis.⁷⁴

61. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 39 (doc. núm. 19).

62. Sin especificar el número en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. núm. 114).

63. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 145 (doc. núm. 155).

64. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 197 (doc. núm. 228).

65. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. núm. 23).

66. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 196-197 (doc. núm. 227).

67. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 343-344 (doc. núm. 164); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 101 (doc. núm. 99).

68. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 106-107 (doc. núm. 103).

69. La carta lleva fecha de 20 de septiembre y en ella se acusa a veinte picapedreros que habían llegado al real, para hacer las piedras para los ingenios y para las bombardas, de abandonarlo sin licencia. El rey había mandado en su busca y les habían encontrado y prendido con cadenas a doce de ellos. Fernando I manda a su hijo que se los envíe, junto con su capataz de nombre Sala, para castigarles por lo que habían hecho. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. núm. 145). Con fecha de 8 de octubre el monarca se dirige a la villa de Cervera para que le envíen a varios picapedreros de dicha villa, como tomamos de Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 350 (doc. núm. 174).

70. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. núm. 23).

71. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 49 (doc. núm. 35).

72. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. núm. 145).

73. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 145 (doc. núm. 155).

74. Con fecha 10 de septiembre, como se contiene en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. núm. 114).



Aunque no se citan expresamente también fueron muy necesarios especialistas en el trabajo de la soguería, habida cuenta el elevado número de veces que el monarca solicita este material, y en el manejo de las cuerdas. Don Fernando escribe a su hijo Alfonso en varias ocasiones para darle cuenta de la... *gran fretura de cànem per fer cordes als gins e a altres menuderies*,⁷⁵ de que le envíe seis cuerdas de *cànem* de treinta brazas cada una para las bastidas y catorce destrales, y de que las cuerdas fuesen tan gruesas como... *la breó del bras*.⁷⁶ Número que aumentó al doble, doce, pero ahora de treinta y cinco brazas y tan gruesas como un brazo.⁷⁷ No obstante, las necesidades de cuerdas prosiguieron a lo largo del sitio a Balaguer. Así, y con fecha 20 y 25 de septiembre, el monarca vuelve a cursar otra petición a su hijo para que le provea de veinte quintales de *cànem fi* sin estopa para hacer cuerdas, doce cuerdas del mismo producto pero de treinta y seis brazas y del grosor de la muñeca de un hombre y otras ocho cuerdas de treinta y seis brazas de longitud del grosor de una lanza *manesca*, pues sin las cuerdas y sin viratones... *res no podem fer ací*.⁷⁸ Con un fin distinto y casi un mes más tarde, pues lleva como fecha el 22 de octubre, don Fernando solicita a su hijo que le mande doscientas madejas de hilo de bramante, del mejor que pudiese encontrar,⁷⁹ a las que añade otras veinte dos días más tarde⁸⁰ y ciento cincuenta con fecha 28 del mismo mes, para cuerdas de las ballestas, pues las que le había enviado el obispo (debe de referirse al obispo de León) eran gruesas y no valían nada.⁸¹

Para el manejo de las cuerdas el rey pidió a su hijo Alfonso que le mandase treinta marineros, los más aptos y diestros que pudiese encontrar, para el día del combate.⁸² Sin duda, se les encargaría una parte importante de las maniobras de las máquinas que se habían fabricado para aproximarse a las defensas de Balaguer, aunque su papel en el momento final sería poco relevante.

No obstante todo lo anterior, la construcción de artillería, la llegada de nuevos refuerzos y sus sueldos, el abastecimiento de diversos materiales, en suma la continuidad del cerco, dependía del dinero disponible. En tal sentido, el infante Alfonso jugó un papel esencial en la financiación de la empresa, pues de su capacidad negociadora y de convicción se derivaba el poder contar con dinero con más o menos rapidez. El 2 de agosto el rey le ordenaba averiguar dónde se encontraban las joyas de don Jaime de Urgel y de su familia,⁸³ seguramente para empeñarlas o venderlas y costear el asedio. El infante, a través de la red de informadores con que contaba debió de asumir con gran diligencia la empresa pues, el 23 del mismo mes enviaba a su padre una misiva comunicándole haber localizado a algunas personas que tenían joyas y otros bienes del conde de Urgel, de su mujer

75. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 83-84 (doc. núm. 77).

76. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 115 (doc. núm. 114).

77. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 127 (doc. núm. 130).

78. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. núm. 145) y 145 (doc. núm. 155). En este último documento se contiene la frase citada al final.

79. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 188 (doc. núm. 211).

80. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189-190 (doc. núm. 214).

81. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 197 (doc. núm. 228).

82. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 146 (doc. núm. 156). Otra noticia respecto al recurso a los marineros es la que nos proporciona un documento fechado el 19 de octubre de 1413, momento en que se presentó en el real de Balaguer Juan Mora, marinero jefe de los que habían salido de Barcelona cuatro días antes. Este contingente estaba formado por el citado Juan Mora, dieciséis ballesteros y nueve pavesados. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 137r-v.

83. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 36 (doc. núm. 13).

y de su madre, y que se les habían embargado.⁸⁴ El monarca le contestaba el día 27 ordenándole... *de continent emparar e facts tenir de manifest al present tro quey aiam feyta altra provesio*.⁸⁵ No obstante, desconocemos si dichos bienes se emplearon para los fines citados.

Por otra parte, don Alfonso fue fundamental en la negociación de un préstamo de 50.000 florines con las Cortes catalanas.⁸⁶ La primera noticia que tenemos de la necesidad de monetario por parte del monarca data del 6 de agosto, un día después del inicio de su cerco a Balaguer.⁸⁷ En efecto, con esa fecha pide a su hijo el envío de 25.000 florines, sin tardanza,⁸⁸ cantidad que el infante ya había enviado con fecha 10 del mismo mes de agosto.⁸⁹ Las expectativas del monarca acerca de la mayor o menor duración del asedio y, sin duda, de la realidad política de las tierras que gobernaba, hacen difícil comprender que iniciara esa empresa con los recursos monetarios que tenía. Así, se puede comprender que el 15 de agosto ya hubiese gastado la práctica totalidad de los 25.000 florines, pues reconoce... *no havem al present pus moneda de què.ns puscam occórrer ne sabem bonament d'on ne per quina via prestament ne puscam haver*, por lo que solicita a su hijo que gestione con las Cortes catalanas un préstamo de 25 o de 30.000 florines,⁹⁰ a pesar de que éste dos días antes le comunicara sus negociaciones con la misma institución para un préstamo de 50.000 florines.⁹¹ Las negociaciones para conseguir la aprobación de dicho préstamo se extendieron entre el 13 y el 28 de agosto.⁹² El empréstito de tan elevada cantidad parece que se fraccionó en varias entregas. La primera que debieron de librar las dieciocho personas que formaban la comisión nombrada por las Cortes de Cataluña sería de 20.000 florines, como deducimos de una carta que el infante envía a su padre el 13 de septiembre donde le da cuenta de que estaba tratando con dichos representantes la concesión de un préstamo de 6.000 florines, de los 30.000 restantes, para pagar el sueldo de dos meses a los doscientos hombres de caballo que tenían que ir con el gobernador del Rosellón a guardar los pasos y puertos.⁹³ Al día siguiente, 14 de septiembre, la comisión de los dieciocho accedió a librar al infante los 6.000 florines para el pago de los doscientos rocines que el rey les había pedido.⁹⁴ Una semana más tarde, las cartas que se intercambian por una y otra parte casi diariamente aluden al dinero, unas en las que se solicita y otras en las que se exponen las razones del retraso en enviarlo. Así, el día 20 el rey vuelve a pedir a su hijo el envío inmediato de 30.000 florines con Leonardo

84. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 74 (doc. núm. 65).

85. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 342-343 (doc. núm. 163).

86. En total, las Cortes de Cataluña prestaron al monarca 82.000 florines, parte de los cuales también sirvió para la recuperación de Cerdeña. Don Fernando presentó en las Cortes de Montblanc de 1414 una proposición solicitando le eximiesen de restituir la citada cantidad, alegando no poder satisfacerla... *per la gran disminucio e alienacio de nostre real patrimoni, les rendes del qual segons sabets e es notori son empenyorades, alienades, e en moltes altres maneres diminuides*. *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña*, Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia, 1907: XI, 345.

87. González Sánchez, Santiago. *Itinerario...*: 153.

88. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 43 (doc. núm. 22).

89. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 48 (doc. núm. 34).

90. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 62 (doc. núm. 50).

91. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 60 (doc. núm. 48).

92. La última fecha en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 88 (doc. núm. 84). Previamente el rey había accedido a una súplica de las Cortes de Cataluña revocando la orden de requisar vituallas, como consta en López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 78-79 (doc. núm. 72).

93. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 118-119 (doc. núm. 120).

94. Así se lo comunica el infante a su padre. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 121 (doc. núm. 123).



de Sos.⁹⁵ Al día siguiente el infante vuelve a escribir a su padre dándole cuenta de la dificultad que tiene para encontrar y enviarle dinero, porque el General de Cataluña no lo tenía, pero haciéndole saber que ciertas personas y bajo cierta seguridad habían accedido a prestarle 10.000 florines que le enviaría con Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁶ El 23 de septiembre el rey se extraña de que de los 30.000 florines o de lo que falta de ellos:

*... per los quals per tantes e tantes letres vos havem scrit que'ns trametéssets aquells per en Leonard de Sos o per altra persona fiable, som marvellats que aquells quil'is han a bestaure, vullen haver de nós prestament les obligacions, constitucions e comissions que han obtengudes de nós los ambaxadors del principat de Cathalunya, car ja per açò, pus per nós són atorgades a ells, no qual duptar en liurar-nos les monedes. E axí meteix nos maravellam que lo General no trop monedes a raó de XIII milia en aqueixa ciutat, en la qual és la font de tota nostra senyoria.*⁹⁷

Una carta del infante, también del día 23 de septiembre, explica a su padre las dificultades que encontraba para enviarle las cantidades aprobadas por las Cortes de Cataluña. Entre otras, expone la negativa del monarca a aceptar una de las condiciones que le habían impuesto los dieciocho miembros de la comisión de dicha institución como era la de reducir el número de mil caballeros catalanes a quinientos a su servicio durante el mes de diciembre. De ahí que el infante le ofrezca los 5.000 florines que le habían prestado para ayuda de su casa hasta que pudiese percibir lo que restaba de los 50.000. También pide a su padre que firme el segundo plazo de 12.000 florines que le habían prestado, pues él se había comprometido a que el rey lo haría en quince días, y acuerda enviarle 6.000 florines que serían el sueldo de doscientos hombres de a caballo con Leonardo de Sos.⁹⁸ El 30 de septiembre el infante Alfonso informa a su padre del estado en que estaba la negociación sobre el préstamo que las Cortes de Cataluña le habían concedido. Por esta misiva conocemos que la segunda parte del préstamo comprendía 30.000 florines, de los cuales se habían librado 12.000, la mitad de ellos los había enviado al Rosellón para el pago de los hombres de armas y los 6.000 restantes con Leonardo de Sos a Balaguer. Los 18.000 florines que faltaban no se le entregarían hasta que don Fernando accediese a reducir el número de caballeros catalanes a su servicio a la mitad.⁹⁹ La finalización del cerco a Balaguer aproximadamente un mes más tarde, además de otras vías de aprovisionamiento de moneda, quizá están entre las razones por las cuales ignoramos qué se hizo con esta partida de dinero. Todo parece indicar que don Fernando llegó a un acuerdo con los diputados del General de Cataluña y que al menos pudo percibir 5.000 o 6.000 florines, cantidad que su hijo Alfonso le reclama para pagar las quitaciones de sus oficiales y domésticos.¹⁰⁰

De forma simultánea a la negociación con las Cortes catalanas el infante Alfonso estuvo tratando con los representantes de Mallorca una ayuda de 12.000 florines *per lo fet de la reemçó de vostre patrimoni del dit Regne*, como consta al menos desde aproximadamente el 25 de agosto.¹⁰¹ No obstante, y como conocemos por una carta del monarca a su hijo Alfonso fechada el 23 de octubre, los

95. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 135 (doc. núm. 145).

96. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 137 (doc. núm. 147).

97. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 139 (doc. núm. 149).

98. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 142-143 (doc. núm. 153).

99. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 153-155 (doc. núm. 167).

100. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 204 (doc. núm. 241).

101. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 79-81 (doc. núm. 73).



12.000 florines de subvención del reino de Mallorca se repartían de la siguiente manera. El rey destinaba 1.000 de ellos para pagar todo lo necesario de los embajadores que tenía residiendo en Francia y los 11.000 florines restantes ordenaba a su hijo que se los enviase al real sobre Balaguer,¹⁰² aun cuando al día siguiente solicite que con ellos se compren ciertos materiales necesarios para proseguir el asedio.¹⁰³ Sin embargo, parece ser que a fecha 27 de octubre aún no se había librado la citada cantidad, pues el infante se dirige a su padre para que escriba a los mensajeros de Mallorca instándoles a entregar el dinero para pagar la artillería que le había enviado.¹⁰⁴ En cualquier caso, y a pesar de la finalización del asedio a Balaguer a últimos del mes de octubre, desconocemos si los mallorquines habían entregado los 12.000 florines, pues con fecha 16 de noviembre el infante escribía a su padre comunicándole haber recibido una cierta cantidad de dinero para su viaje a Lleida y dándole cuenta de que Gabriel Sapila no quería entregar ninguno de los dineros enviados por el reino de Mallorca.¹⁰⁵ Contestaba con ello a la misiva real de 10 de noviembre en la que el rey le asignaba 2.000 florines de los 12.000 que el reino de Mallorca le había concedido.¹⁰⁶ Al margen de estas cantidades, el infante don Alfonso también proporcionó a su padre 2.000 florines a comienzos del mes de septiembre.¹⁰⁷

Menor importancia en el triunfo del rey sobre el conde de Urgel tuvieron las peticiones que el monarca hizo a su hijo para que le enviase unas tiendas que le había prestado la reina Margarita,¹⁰⁸ o de dos o tres porteros para su servicio.¹⁰⁹

A lo anterior hay que añadir el papel que el infante tuvo durante todo el asedio a Balaguer en lo que se refiere a la defensa del reino y a la vigilancia de los pasos fronterizos, sobre todo con Francia. En este sentido, el rey le comunica con fecha 9 de septiembre que se siguen produciendo entradas de gente extranjera en sus reinos, por lo que se hacía necesario proveer en lo tocante a la seguridad de los castillos y fuerzas situadas en los pasos y puertos. Por ello, ruega a su hijo Alfonso que consiga de Joan Cortit el castillo fuerte de Pinyana y de Pere Dorquan el castillo de Orquan y la villa de Conques, asegurándoles que se les restituirían sin ningún daño.¹¹⁰ De igual manera tuvo parte activa en la provisión de dinero para los doscientos hombres de armas que tenían que acompañar al gobernador del Rosellón para guardar los pasos y puertos.¹¹¹

En todos los casos recogidos destacan la preocupación y la diligencia del infante Alfonso por proveer a su padre de lo necesario para la continuidad del cerco y para su triunfo final sobre don Jaime de Urgel, no obstante recriminaciones de su progenitor acuciándole ciertos envíos o demoras por circunstancias diversas que en nada desmerecen su trabajo.

102. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189 (doc. núm. 213).

103. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 189-190 (doc. núm. 214).

104. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 195-196 (doc. núm. 226).

105. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 207 (doc. núm. 248).

106. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 205 (doc. núm. 243).

107. En concreto el día cuatro, según el López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 103-104 (doc. núm. 101).

108. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 34 (doc. núm. 8).

109. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 131 (doc. núm. 137).

110. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 112-113 (doc. núm. 110). Pinyana pertenece a la comarca de la Alta Ribagorza y, en concreto, al término municipal de Pont de Suert en la provincia de Lérida. Por su parte, Conques, era el nombre de la antigua capital del término municipal del mismo nombre, y desde 1970 uno de los seis términos integrados en el nuevo término municipal de Isona i Conca Dellà, que está en la comarca de Pallars Jussà en Lérida. El castillo de Conques perteneció a la baronía de Orcau.

111. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 118-119 (doc. núm. 120).



Al margen de lo anterior, el infante Alfonso se encargó de informar a las autoridades de ciertos territorios que integraban la Corona de Aragón, como Sicilia, de los progresos de la campaña. Así, con fecha 2 de septiembre de 1413, daba cuenta al capitán, jueces y jurados de la ciudad de Palermo de los avances que se habían producido en el sitio a Balaguer y de la toma de los castillos y baronías del conde y de don Antonio de Luna en Aragón, en Cataluña y en el reino de Valencia.¹¹² Con ello, además de acallar rumores sobre posibles ayudas al conde de Urgel externas al reino, lograría tranquilizar e infundir ánimos a los partidarios de la causa que defendía y tenía casi garantizada una posible ayuda militar o económica.

4.2 Alfonso de Argüello, obispo de León

Otra importante ayuda fue la que se canalizó a través del obispo de León Alfonso de Argüello, que estaba al lado del infante don Alfonso, del que era consejero y canciller mayor, por lo que el rey se dirige a él en diversas ocasiones, aunque su hijo pudiera ser el destinatario final. Este es el caso en el que debía encargarse de proveer al real de “XII cuyros de bufano adobados en blanch o de ciervo adobados en blanch o” “todos los quals cuyros havemos grand necessitat para los engenysos”.¹¹³ O junto con el arzobispo de Tarragona para que le enviáran diez anclas de naves o de galeras y doscientas tablas de pino secas de un dedo o de dos, las más largas y ligeras que pudiesen encontrar.¹¹⁴ A este último se le piden cincuenta quintales de cobre para la construcción de una nueva bombard.¹¹⁵

4.3 La reina doña Leonor

La reina doña Leonor se mantuvo en la retaguardia y, al igual que en Sevilla durante el cerco a Antequera en 1410, ahora se estableció en la población más importante y más cercana a la ciudad asediada, Lleida. Doña Leonor suministró a su marido, entre otras cosas, tapiales para formar una línea de contravalación, además de “XXX pares de barriles o de portadores cum sus besties porque tiren agua continuament del rio... X quintales de fierro et la mide (Quiere decir medida) de les bombardes... per tal que a la dita mida fagamos fazer aqui les pierres”.¹¹⁶ Y casi con toda certeza también ballestas, pues Martín García portero de su casa fue con varias acémilas cargadas con estas armas a Balaguer por lo que recibió 100 sueldos jaqueses.¹¹⁷ Sin embargo, por la documentación recogida don Fernando encargó con preferencia a su mujer el suministro de víveres desde Lleida. En tal sentido, y con ocasión del cambio de ubicación del real, le envía que haga llamamiento por toda la ciudad para aquellos que llevaran víveres al real pasasen el puente, para cuya protección había dispuesto poner continuamente gente de armas en Vilanova, a una legua de Balaguer, que les conducirían con segu-

112. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu, ed. *Col·lecció documental de la Cancelleria de la Corona d'Aragó. Textos en llengua catalana (1291-1420)*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2013: 996-997 (doc. núm. 931).

113. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 460.

114. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...: 343-344* (doc. núm. 164); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 101* (doc. núm. 99).

115. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 460-461.

116. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 455. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...: 45* (doc. núm. 26).

117. Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. “El asedio de Balaguer en 1413 por Fernando I de Aragón”, *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d'Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 435. Utilizamos la paginación del texto en castellano, el de lengua catalana se contiene en las páginas 135-143.



ridad.¹¹⁸ En otra misiva le indica el camino para los proveedores del real aconsejándoles que, cuando llegasen a Menàrguens, hablasen con mosén Hugo de Villafranca que les mostraría el camino seguro.¹¹⁹ Serían algunas muestras de la desconfianza que existía en la zona de retaguardia, al ser antes posesiones del conde de Urgel. A mediados de agosto, pues la misiva es del día 15, el monarca vuelve a dirigirse a la reina doña Leonor dándole instrucciones para el envío de vituallas de pan y de cebada.¹²⁰ No volvemos a tener noticia hasta casi dos meses después, el 12 de octubre, cuando el pan debía de escasear en el real. En efecto, don Fernando pide a su mujer que con urgencia toda esta noche y después de forma continuada haga amasar y cocer tanto pan en Lleida como pueda, para que en el real no hubiese escasez y rápidamente fuera socorrido.¹²¹ El abastecimiento, prácticamente seguro, y la proximidad del final del cerco a Balaguer hacen que no tengamos más testimonios al respecto.

Testimonios que sí que existen de diversas peticiones del monarca casi al final del cerco a Balaguer. Así, con fecha 16 de octubre el rey pide a su mujer el envío de 2.000 florines a los que añade otros 2.000 que devolvería en un plazo de ocho días.¹²² El 27 del mismo mes le solicita el envío de doscientos hombres de pie de Lleida y cien hombres procedentes del marquesado, acuciándole para que se los mandase rápidamente, sin tardar una hora.¹²³ Con la misma fecha pide a su mujer que le remita dos barcas para evitar la huida del conde de Urgel *qui vingan luego a devant Menargas*.¹²⁴ Doña Leonor le contesta al día siguiente comunicándole que no puede disponer de las dos barcas que le había pedido y que habían ido a buscarlas a Mequinenza, y le da cuenta de que le había enviado los hombres de a pie que le había pedido.¹²⁵

Doña Leonor desempeñó otra función y fue la de la custodia de ciertos prisioneros en el castillo de Lleida. En tal sentido conocemos el envío que en el mes de septiembre hizo el monarca de diversos prisioneros de la villa de Albesa para que estuviesen en dicho castillo y para evitar una sublevación.¹²⁶ Sin embargo, no fueron los únicos pues, aunque no consta de forma expresa que estuvieran en dicho castillo, también hubo hombres del lugar de Linyola en prisión, para los que el monarca pide a su mujer que les guarde bien y que por nada les libere.¹²⁷

4.4 Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, obispo de Zamora

Otro castellano de gran importancia en todo lo relacionado con el cerco a Balaguer fue el ya entonces obispo de Zamora, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida.¹²⁸ Creemos que fuera del ámbito familiar

118. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 333 (doc. núm. 155); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 44 (doc. núm. 25).

119. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 46 (doc. núm. 28).

120. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 61 (doc. núm. 49).

121. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 166 (doc. núm. 183).

122. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 175 (doc. núm. 195).

123. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 194 (doc. núm. 223).

124. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 194 (doc. núm. 222).

125. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 198 (doc. núm. 229).

126. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 346 (doc. núm. 168); López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 114-115 (doc. núm. 113).

127. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 175 (doc. núm. 195). Como ya ha quedado expuesto en su lugar, estas poblaciones habían pasado a poder regio antes y en los inicios del cerco a Balaguer.

128. Las líneas que siguen están extraídas de mi artículo González Sánchez, Santiago. "La participación de eclesiásticos castellanos en las empresas bélicas de la regencia y del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie*



es el personaje clave en todo lo que se refiere a la logística de las operaciones militares, e incluso a buena parte de las relaciones diplomáticas previas al conflicto armado.¹²⁹

Antes del asedio a Balaguer el obispo de Zamora envió a Alfonso de Fuensalida, escudero castellano, ante la reina de Navarra para explicarle de palabra ciertas cuestiones que el prelado “no le podía escribir por letra sobre *ciertos* afers tocantes a la cort del senyor rey”.¹³⁰ Unos días más tarde, todavía dentro del mes de julio de 1413, lo mandó ir desde Daroca a Barcelona para hacer relación al rey de la conversación con la reina de Navarra.¹³¹ Es fácil suponer la misión que llevó al citado escudero ante la corte navarra; la colaboración con el rey de Aragón o, al menos, la inhibición de Navarra en la cuestión que enfrentaba al monarca con el conde de Urgel.

Iniciado el cerco a Balaguer don Diego se ocupó de proveer de armamento a las tropas que pondrían sitio al castillo de Montearagón. Así, sabemos que Martín de Guermeda vecino de Miedes, aldea de Calatayud, percibió por orden del obispo de Zamora 44 sueldos jaqueses por el salario de cuatro acémilas suyas que llevaron cuatro cargas de paveses y de otras artillerías desde Calatayud hasta Zaragoza, donde el prelado lo mandaba llevar para el sitio del castillo de Montearagón.¹³²

No obstante lo anterior, donde don Diego Gómez de Fuensalida desplegó su capacidad organizativa fue durante el asedio a Balaguer. En efecto, don Diego que parece que concentró buena parte de las finanzas de esta empresa,¹³³ proveyó al monarca del armamento y de los pertrechos que necesitaba para el sitio de la plaza urgelista. Desde un primer momento y a través de él se canalizan diferentes envíos. En tal sentido conocemos varios pagos que por orden de don Diego se hicieron a Sancho del Corral, escudero de mosén Diego Fernández de Vadillo, secretario del rey, que traía caballos de Castilla al sitio de Balaguer,¹³⁴ a Alfonso de Fuensalida que “fue con seys cargas de pavesos de barrera al sitio de Balaguer e con otras artellerías”,¹³⁵ a dos habitantes del lugar de Fresno aldea de Calatayud, que se les debían por el transporte de las seis cargas de paveses de barrera desde Zaragoza al real de Balaguer,¹³⁶ o a Guillén Pardo que compró cuerdas y travillas en Calatayud para ligar las cargas de los paveses y otras artillerías que llevaba al sitio de Balaguer.¹³⁷

Este Guillén Pardo, que aparece como portero y como repostero de la casa del rey “fue dela ciudad de Caragoza al sitio de Balaguer con el trabuco ingenio e otras castellerías que leuauan”,¹³⁸ que es posible que transportaran cuatro carros y que entre ida, estancia y regreso tardaron dieciocho días “dos carretas que leuauan la percha del ingenyo” y “dos carretas que leuauan el trabuco e

III Historia Medieval, 27 (2014): 278-280.

129. Esto es evidente si se toma, por ejemplo, como referencia principal para la labor que este personaje llevó a cabo el documento procedente del ACA, Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ffols. XXXVIr-LXXXv, en el que nos basamos.

130. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ejercicio del año 1413 a 1414, de febrero a febrero, f. 36v.

131. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 37r.

132. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 37v.

133. Fechada en Barcelona el 12 de junio de 1413 hay una carta del rey don Fernando dirigida a Francesc Ferriol y a todos los oficiales receptores de sus derechos en el reino de Aragón para que diesen a don Diego Gómez de Fuensalida o a quien él dispusiese todas las monedas que estén o que lleguen a sus manos pertenecientes a la corte. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 56v.

134. (13 agosto 1413, 15 florines). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38r.

135. (18 agosto 1413, 20 florines). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38r.

136. (18 agosto 1413, 18 florines). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 38v.

137. (s/f 1413, 3 sueldos jaqueses). ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39r.

138. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 41v.



cuerdas e otras artellerías".¹³⁹ Desconocemos si este envío fue distinto de otro que, también por orden de don Diego, hizo el mismo Guillén Pardo. En cualquier caso, se le mandó ir desde Calatayud hasta Tarazona y desde aquí hasta el castillo de Trasmoz para que se hiciese cargo del transporte del ingenio, el trabuco y la lombarda del gobernador de Aragón hasta Balaguer.¹⁴⁰ Por orden del obispo se satisfizo la cantidad de ochenta sueldos jaqueses a un habitante de Zaragoza que se le debían por traer y llevar con gran compañía y con bueyes y carros "las perchas de los ingenios e la otra fusta e las artellerías que y eran en la yglesia de Santa Engracia de Zaragoza... las quales perchas e artellerías havían de yr de allí adelant al sitio de Balaguer de mandamiento del dito senyor rey".¹⁴¹ Entre esos carros es posible que estuviesen los cinco que se habían adquirido a Pero Vicent, vecino de Tauste, que se habrían utilizado para el transporte de los ingenios y otras artillerías.¹⁴² Además, hay constancia de que los hombres buenos de la ciudad de Calatayud tenían que remitir al obispo de Zamora tres ingenios de los mejores con todos sus pertrechos.¹⁴³

Al margen de eso, don Diego hizo diversas compras de armas como cinco de ballestas que también envió al real sobre Balaguer: una de tres, a razón de seis florines cada una,¹⁴⁴ un número indeterminado de ballestas de torno, cajones de viratones y "otras artellerías",¹⁴⁵ tres ballestas de torno y dos de cinfonia,¹⁴⁶ y otras dos compras de dos ballestas de torno¹⁴⁷ y de otras dos sin especificar el tipo.¹⁴⁸ Así como distintos pertrechos como cuerdas de cáñamo¹⁴⁹ y cincuenta paveses de barrera, a razón de florín y medio cada uno.¹⁵⁰

El citado prelado mandó a dos hombres del lugar de Torrellas que debían servir en el sitio a Balaguer por dos meses, a razón de tres sueldos jaqueses por día,¹⁵¹ y a cincuenta y seis ballesteros de Tarazona por quince días.¹⁵² Sin duda a instancia regia, pues la correspondencia debía de ser bastante frecuente, como consta por varias noticias al respecto.¹⁵³ Don Diego también envió en varias ocasiones espías al sur de Francia, al igual que hizo el monarca.¹⁵⁴ La primera vez de que hay constancia al castellano Juan de Miranda y a Pedro Navarro, del reino de Navarra, a las ciudades de Bayona y a Oloró "por saber e sentir si se amassauan gent darmas ni si don Anthon de Luna

139. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 50r.

140. La orden de pago es de 23 de marzo de 1414, como tomamos de ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39r.

141. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 40r.

142. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 40r. A razón de 8 florines por carro, por lo que importan 40 florines.

143. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 456.

144. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43r.

145. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43v.

146. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44r.

147. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44v.

148. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 55r.

149. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 49r.

150. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 45v.

151. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44r.

152. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 46r.

153. *Item dio de mandamiento e hordenación del dito senyor obispo a Ffrancisquo de Seuilla que fue con letras del dito senyor obispo al sitio de Balaguer las quales levó al senyor rey.* ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 42v...*correu que fue de Caragoca a Leyda enel mes de nouiembre más cerqua passado con letras del senyor obispo que leuó al senyor rey.* ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 73r.

154. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 76r.



hera entre daquellas partidas".¹⁵⁵ Más tarde, según parece, a "Pero Nauares hestant enla ciudat de Huescha el qual de mandamiento e hordenación del sido senyor fue por espía a Bordeu e aotras partes enla rebellión o guerra que don Jayme Durgell fazia contra el senyor rey".¹⁵⁶ Y la tercer "a Pedro de Mont Cler barbero dela ciudat de Caragoca el qual de mandamiento del dito senyor obispo fue dela ciudat de Caragoca al castiello de Loharre por espía enel mes de setiembre más cerqua passado por saber e sentir do Antonio de Luna si hera enel castiello de Loharre ni que si fazia".¹⁵⁷

Cuando el cerco a Balaguer se acercaba a su final y en vista de las conquistas del bando real Diego Gómez de Fuensalida encargó a "Pero Ferrer pintor hestant enla ciudat de Caragoca... C pendones reales... por ponerlos enlas heredades bienes casas e castiellos delos rebeldes que prendían e ocupauan amanos dela cort del dito senyor rey".¹⁵⁸ Lo que quizás tenga que ver con la alta responsabilidad que debió de ejercer en la incautación de los bienes que habían pertenecido a don Jaime de Urgel y a sus partidarios.¹⁵⁹ En tal sentido conocemos que por orden del citado prelado se hacen varios pagos a personas que tomaron esos bienes en las montañas de Jaca,¹⁶⁰ en "Quart a Uilla Nueva de Burgacut ala uilla dAlagón e alos lugares del río Dexalón e del río de Berga et... dallá el río de Ebro alas uillas de Exea a Tahust a Uncastiello a Sos a Gordún e a otros lugares de la montanya de Jaqua,"¹⁶¹ y en otros lugares sin concretar, como ocurrió con Esteban Zaragozaano, portero de la casa del rey.¹⁶²

Por las manos de don Diego pasaron también los pagos a importantes miembros de la nobleza sobre todo aragonesa que habían servido al rey en el asedio a don Jaime de Urgel en Balaguer, gracias a lo cual conocemos las aportaciones de cada uno de ellos. Así, por ejemplo, Jaime de Luna que sirvió con quince hombres de caballo armados,¹⁶³ Juan Martínez de Luna con cincuenta,¹⁶⁴ los mismos que Blasco Fernández de Heredia¹⁶⁵ y Juan de Híjar,¹⁶⁶ mientras que con cien sirvieron Gil

155. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 42v.

156. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 51v.

157. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. LXXIIv-LXXIIIr. Estos casos están recogidos en mi artículo González Sánchez, Santiago. "El espionaje en los reinos de la Península Ibérica a comienzos del siglo xv", *En la España Medieval*, 38 (2015): 167, 169.

158. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 44v. Sabemos que en fecha indeterminada, pero posiblemente en agosto de 1413, por orden del citado obispo se pagó a Esteban Zaragozaano portero de la casa del rey cierta cantidad que se le debía por ciertos pendones reales que había mandado hacer para poner en las casas y posesiones de los bienes de los rebeldes al rey. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 39v.

159. Antes del cerco a don Jaime en Balaguer y, por lo tanto, de su derrota, existe constancia documental de una carta del rey a Juan Jiménez de Cerdán, justicia de Aragón, en la que le ordena librar los bienes confiscados a don Jaime y a don Antonio de Luna en manos de Diego Gómez de Fuensalida. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 318-319 (doc. núm. 139).

160. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 51r y 52r.

161. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 52v.

162. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 54r.

163. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 48v.

164. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 47v. Prestó al rey 1.000 florines por cuatro meses y diez días, como se contiene en el documento anterior y que recoge Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliorcética, economía de guerra y hacienda en el siglo xv (El asalto a Balaguer por Fernando I)", *La organización militar en los siglos xv y xvi*, Málaga: "Cátedra General Castaños". Capitanía General de la Región Militar Sur. Consejería de Cultura y Medio Ambiente. Asesoría Quinto Centenario. Universidad de Cádiz. Diputación de Sevilla, 1993: 372.

165. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 60r.

166. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 45. Como tomamos de Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliorcética, economía de guerra...": 372, y Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434.

Ruiz de Lihori,¹⁶⁷ Pedro Jiménez de Urrea¹⁶⁸ y Juan de Bardaxí.¹⁶⁹ También consta un pago a Juan de Híjar por el sueldo de la gente de armas que tenía por dos meses en el cerco a Balaguer.¹⁷⁰ Al margen de estos y de otros servicios,¹⁷¹ el rey don Fernando al final de sus días recompensó los innumerables servicios del prelado con la concesión de los lugares y castillos de Avinçanlla y Grostán, situados en el reino de Aragón, que habían sido de don Jaime de Urgel.¹⁷²

4.5 Diego Fernández de Vadillo

Además de los personajes anteriores hubo otros castellanos estrechamente vinculados al entorno regio que tuvieron importantes cometidos, más allá del abastecimiento, en el triunfo de don Fernando en Balaguer. Sin duda, el más destacable de todos ellos fue Diego Fernández de Vadillo, escribano de cámara de don Fernando... *de quien el rey fiaua mucho*, que recibió el encargo regio de ocuparse de todos los pertrechos del real y que además:

... mandaua en todo como el rey e por sus albalás e mandados se dauan todas las cosas que eran menester en el real, e los dineros para ellas e madera e tablas, clauazón e póluora e vinagre e cueros de bacas e bueyes e mantenimiento de la gente e açadas e açadones e espuertas e picos e palas e todas las otras cosas que para los pertrechos del real fazían menester, e todo estaua cargado a él no para que diesse cuenta dello, saluo lo que él en todo fazía lo auía el rey por bien fecho e era home tan diligente e acucioso en todo que era vna gran marauilla como él por sí lo podía cumplir e fazerlo también como si el cargo tuuiessen muchos, e con todo estaua al fazer de los palenques e al assentar de las lombardas, e daua recaudo a todas quantas cartas venían al rey de Aragón, de Castilla e de otros fechos que al rey pertenecía, e tan acucioso andaua en todas las cosas del real que los más días su comer era en la noche o muy tarde.¹⁷³

Diego Fernández de Vadillo se encargó de la construcción de un palenque en el que emplazar las bombardas, dispuso todo lo necesario para fabricar mantas y escalas, proveyó de la clavazón para finalizar las bastidas y cercó de tapia a Balaguer, entre otros cometidos.¹⁷⁴

167. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 60v y 61v.

168. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 66r. Este individuo también hizo un préstamo al rey por las necesidades derivadas del sitio a Balaguer de 3.000 florines a un 10 por ciento de interés, pues conocemos el pago de 150 florines por la mitad. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 41, de donde lo toma Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "Poliorcética, economía de guerra...": 370, y Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 434.

169. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 67v.

170. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, f. 43r.

171. Por ejemplo, el que le prestó en todo lo concerniente a la recaudación para su coronación en Zaragoza en 1414. Al respecto pueden verse dos obras de Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. "Las demandas de la coronación de Fernando I en el reino de Aragón". *Aragón en la Edad Media. Ejemplar dedicado a la profesora Carmen Orcástegui Gros*, 14-15/2 (1999): 1409-1428. Y Salicrú i Lluch, Roser. "Les demandes de la coronació de Ferran d'Antequera i d'Elionor d'Alburquerque al Principat de Catalunya: una primera aproximació", *Fiscalidad real y finanzas urbanas en la Cataluña medieval*, Manuel Sánchez Martí-nez, ed. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999: 77-119.

172. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2424, f. 122r-123v. Existe duda acerca del día en que la carta de concesión está fechada, el 9 de marzo, lo evidente es que es de marzo de 1416.

173. González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 237-238.

174. González Sánchez, Santiago. "1413, el año inédito...": 239-240, 242-243, 245 y 259-260.



Su importancia y cercanía al rey no pasaron desapercibidas por los de Balaguer, en tal sentido fue solicitado como interlocutor ante el monarca por los villanos de la población, con el fin de entablar negociaciones para rendir la villa, lo que don Fernando rechazó.¹⁷⁵

Vinculado a Diego Fernández de Vadillo estuvo Rodrigo de Almazán, que fue su escribano. Rodrigo de Almazán se encargó de administrar el dinero necesario para la fabricación y reparación de ingenios, bombardas y otras artillerías, así como de su transporte desde Lleida a Balaguer.¹⁷⁶

5. Carácter de los suministros y lugares de abastecimiento

Un carácter que se puede apreciar en estas solicitudes era su urgente necesidad, de ahí que se ponga de manifiesto expresamente,¹⁷⁷ en algún caso sin importar que fuera de noche o de día,¹⁷⁸ cuándo se tuviera que transportar lo solicitado. A través de algunas de estas peticiones se observan las distintas necesidades, prioridades y estrategias que don Fernando emplea en el cerco a Balaguer. Así, por ejemplo, lo que solicita a su mujer se mostró ineficaz ante las defensas acumuladas por los sitiados,¹⁷⁹ por lo que se da prioridad a los elementos de artillería: “Y comenzóse a combatir la ciudad, más con fuerza e ímpetu de batería que con combates de escaramuzas y peleas”.¹⁸⁰ Si don Fernando mostró tales exigencias en la petición de materiales para la construcción de máquinas, etc., se debió a la escasez de estos mismos materiales, alguno de los cuales, en el caso de no encontrarse en la suficiente cuantía, se ordenaba sustituir por otros.¹⁸¹ En otros casos las exigencias se debieron a los imperativos derivados de una difícil convivencia entre castellanos y catalanes,¹⁸² o a la proximidad o lejanía de algunos de sus lugares de aprovisionamiento, con lo que entraban en juego factores como el estado de las vías y los medios de transporte, entre otras cuestiones. A pesar de estas insistentes solicitudes, don Fernando avisó diariamente de sus necesidades a su hijo el infante don Alfonso y al obispo de León.¹⁸³ De ahí que la disposición y puesta en funcionamiento de todas estas armas y máquinas se demorara bastante en el tiempo, pues conocemos que “Pasaron muchos días antes que las máquinas y trabucos y todo el otro aparato de artillería estuviese en orden para el combate”.¹⁸⁴

175. González Sánchez, Santiago. “1413, el año inédito...”: 257-258.

176. En tal sentido conocemos diversos pagos. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 37v (Barcelona, 20 julio 1413) por 1.000 florines; f. 41v (Barcelona, 20 agosto 1413) por 600 florines; f. 42v (Barcelona, 3 septiembre 1413) por 200 florines; f. 43r (Barcelona, 11 septiembre 1413) por 300 florines; f. 44v (Balaguer, 24 septiembre 1413) por 600 florines y f. 45r (Balaguer, 13 octubre 1413) por 1.000 florines.

177. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 455, 456 y 460.

178. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 460.

179. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348, señala la posesión, por parte de los de Balaguer, de muchas lombardas y tiros y muy buena ballestería.

180. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348.

181. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 458-459.

182. Zurita, José. *Anales...*: 361.

183. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.

184. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348 y 359.



Como se deduce de algunas cartas que don Fernando envió, los lugares de aprovisionamiento estaban situados en el mismo real de Balaguer,¹⁸⁵ en Lleida¹⁸⁶ y en Barcelona.¹⁸⁷ A estos habría que añadir los que de forma más o menos ocasional prestaron su apoyo como Zaragoza,¹⁸⁸ Calatayud,¹⁸⁹ Mequinenza,¹⁹⁰ Huesca,¹⁹¹ Igualada, Cervera y Montblanc,¹⁹² Tárrega,¹⁹³ Solsona,¹⁹⁴ Manresa,¹⁹⁵ Valencia o los pueblos de los alrededores de la ciudad sitiada.¹⁹⁶ Y a los que se requirió su colaboración como Lécerca, Escatrón, Lagata, Almonacid de Cuba y Belchite, así como al vicario general de la abadía de Rueda —cercana a Escatrón—, todos en la actual provincia de Zaragoza, y Muniesa en la de Teruel.¹⁹⁷ Es posible que también se utilizasen como lugares de aprovisionamiento antiguas posesiones que habían pertenecido y que se le habían tomado al conde de Urgel, aunque para esta aseveración no contemos con pruebas. Esta dispersión de los lugares de suministro debió comportar la puesta en práctica de un sistema de transporte que, sin duda, debió existir dentro del propio real, al menos en las primeras fases del asedio.

Aparte de las importantes ayudas de personajes tanto de los territorios de la Corona de Aragón¹⁹⁸ como de Castilla, el asedio de Balaguer es indicio del grado de aceptación que la nueva

185. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 458-459.

186. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 455.

187. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 460. Con todas las reservas posibles, al ser una obra muy parcial en relación con uno de los contendientes en este conflicto, y además de los muchos suministros y de todo tipo procedentes de Barcelona. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte d'Urgell*, Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1931: 27, menciona la gran artillería que se llevó desde Barcelona y en especial una bombardera de cobre del General de Cataluña que tiraba proyectiles de cuatro quintales y que fue denominada la bombardera de Balaguer. Utilizamos esta obra con las debidas precauciones al ser un escrito anónimo apologético de la figura del conde de Urgel y al haber sido redactada a finales del siglo xvi, cuando se pretendía defender los derechos políticos catalanes frente al autoritarismo de los Austrias.

188. ACA., Real Patrimonio, reg. 2660, ff. 46v y 85v. “... como fue dela ciudat de Caragoza al sitio de Balaguer con el trabuco ingenio e otras castellerías que leuauan al senyor rey”, procedente del documento citado en primer lugar. Más referencias en Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. “El asedio de Balaguer...”: 434-435.

189. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 456.

190. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 146. En este mismo registro, f. 152, según tomamos de Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 352 (doc. núm. 177), el rey les solicita el envío de todo el carbón que pudiesen mandar, con fecha 17 de octubre.

191. Por ejemplo, seis carpinteros, como conocemos por ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 140v. Pueden ser los mismos a los que se refiere el f. 144r.

192. El caso de los picapedreros de estas tres últimas poblaciones en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 144v.

193. Once carpinteros contando al capataz. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 145r.

194. Dieciocho carpinteros. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 146r.

195. Proporcionó sesenta y seis combatientes. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 146v-147r.

196. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.

197. El rey don Fernando desde el real sobre Balaguer y con fecha 7 de agosto de 1413 escribe a los hombres buenos de las citadas villas requiriéndoles el envío de carros para el transporte de artillerías, vituallas, etc. Consta expresamente la petición de diez carros a Lécerca y de veinte a la abadía de Rueda. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, ff. 20v y 21r, publicados por Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv...*: 29-30 (doc. núm. 2), 30 (doc. núm. 3) y 30-31 (doc. núm. 4).

198. Baste citar en este caso y al margen de la estricta faceta militar la ayuda que debió de proporcionar el baile general de Valencia Joan Mercader. En tal sentido tenemos constancia de un envío suyo de dinero, anterior a septiembre de 1413, de 1.073 florines de oro que nunca llegaron a poder del monarca pues el portador de la moneda... *entro en la dita Ciudat de balaguer con toda la moneda e rocin*. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, f. 66r, publicado por Bacaicoa Arnaiz, Dora. “Un hecho sucedido en el sitio de Balaguer, en 1413”. *Tamuda*, 6/1 (1958): 93-94. Por Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 172 (doc. núm. 8), conocemos que pudo ser en agosto, pues hay una súplica de Joan Mercader al rey solicitándole dé crédito a cuanto le diga de su parte el cadí Alí de Bellvís, encargado de entregar el dinero. Joan Mercader



dinastía en el poder suscitó entre el pueblo, no descartándose la existencia de presiones. Entre el pueblo de los distintos territorios de la Corona de Aragón y de Castilla no solo se reclutan combatientes¹⁹⁹ sino también canteros, arrieros, herreros, etc., sin cuya participación el asedio hubiera sido prácticamente imposible. Si tratamos de cuantificar el número de estas personas que de una u otra manera tomaron parte en el asedio a Balaguer, tenemos que diferenciar entre los presentes en el real y los que hicieron otros trabajos en los lugares de abastecimiento o en el trayecto al real. En cualquier caso, es una empresa prácticamente inviable, porque en la mayoría de los casos sus nombres no han quedado escritos en la historia de la toma de Balaguer. Como mucho se puede aspirar a saber los nombres de algunos de ellos, en este caso castellanos o procedentes de Castilla, como por ejemplo Juan Gutiérrez de Henao, que fue quien realizó las bastidas, al igual que lo había hecho antes en el cerco a Antequera;²⁰⁰ el caballero Pedro García de Villagómez y P. Alonso de Pande, encargados de la fabricación de artillerías y diferentes pertrechos en la ciudad de Lleida²⁰¹ y, sin que sepamos dónde, Jacobo Rendeler maestro en hacer bombardas “e de tirar de aquellas” que también había trabajado en Castilla a las órdenes de don Fernando.²⁰² Se conoce, eso sí, la importante presencia de canteros en el real para cortar todas las piedras posibles para que las lanzasen las baterías e ingenios,²⁰³ los muchos maestros de fundir artillería que trabajarían día y noche,²⁰⁴ lo que nos lleva a considerar, entre otras cosas, la dureza de las condiciones de trabajo y la premura del rey por acabar con el cerco al conde de Urgel. Otros colaboradores en el asedio a Balaguer fueron los habitantes que procedían de los pueblos de los alrededores, entre cuya contribución estuvo el

también se encargaría de enviar al monarca los 6.000 florines con que lo socorría la ciudad de Valencia y los 12.000 sueldos de Murviedro (Sagunto) para pagar el sueldo de un mes a los hombres de a pie. Ambos documentos en Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 177-178 (doc. núm. 14) (13 octubre 1413, Valencia), y 179-181 (doc. núm. 16) (17 octubre 1413, Valencia).

199. En la carta del rey de Aragón a Murcia, por la que les comunica cómo prendió al conde de Urgel y fechada en Balaguer el 29 de octubre de 1413, señala la presencia además de miembros de la nobleza “... de las otras gentes populares que en esta hueste continuamente estuvieron en nuestro servicio”. AMM., *Cartulario Real 1411-1429*, f. 7v, publicado por Vilaplana Gisbert, M.^a Victoria J. *Documentos de la minoría de Juan II. La Regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera*, Murcia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1993: XV, 454-455 (doc. núm. 231).

200. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 72r, pago por importe de 760 sueldos barceloneses para él y dos ayudantes más (Barcelona, 19 de julio 1413). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 140r, por la que se ordena pagar a Rodrigo de Burgos por la bastida que hace mosén Juan Gutiérrez. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360.

201. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 457. Un pago al primero por tres hombres a caballo, incluido él, y dos de a pie, (18 de julio de 1413), por importe de 1.350 sueldos barceloneses consta en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71r.

202. Había construido bombardas destinadas al asedio de Antequera en Sevilla. En el momento que nos ocupa hay constancia de que se le hacen diversos pagos. Así, por ejemplo, el 20 de julio en Barcelona uno de 40 florines, como consta en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 76r. Posteriormente el rey de Aragón le asigna sueldo a él y a tres ayudantes, con fecha 15 de octubre de 1413, como consta en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 139v. También es interesante el documento en el que se contienen los nombres de tres maestros en hacer bombardas. Eran Pedro Simón, Gonzalvo Simón y Alfonso Simón, y de otros tres en tirarlas, uno de los cuales tenía por nombre García de Almazán. Además, y en el sitio de Balaguer, el rey manda dar salario a un campanero y a dos moros, que debían de ser sus ayudantes con fecha 18 de septiembre de 1413, como tomamos de ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 141v. Por ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 34v, conocemos que Alfonso Simón era de Castilla y maestro en hacer bombardas, que se le satisfizo pago de cuarenta días, a razón de 11 sueldos barceloneses diarios, importando en total 440 sueldos barceloneses, comprometiéndose a servir al rey de Aragón en Lérida a mediados de julio de 1413, como consta en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 70v.

203. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 506.

204. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.



suministro de leña y de carbón al real.²⁰⁵ No sería descartable que su ayuda se debiera a presiones o que no fuera todo lo sincera que cabía esperar, sobre todo por encontrarse sus tierras en las que habían sido posesiones del conde don Jaime de Urgel. En cualquier caso y durante el desarrollo del cerco existen numerosos testimonios de oposición a la monarquía y de apoyo a la causa urgelista en importantes ciudades de la Corona, como Castellón de la Plana y Villarreal,²⁰⁶ o también en Valencia, donde alcanzaron gran influencia, entre otras razones por el apoyo popular.²⁰⁷

6. Medios empleados en el sitio

Se ha señalado la importancia que se concede a la artillería en esta acción de armas, no solo por parte de las crónicas sino también por numerosos testimonios documentales. Hay constancia de que el monarca solicita bombardas y otras artillerías a las ciudades de Calatayud y de Zaragoza para combatir el castillo de Tremoz, antes del comienzo del cerco a Balaguer, en escrito dirigido al gobernador general de Aragón.²⁰⁸ Con posterioridad y ya con la mente puesta en el sitio al conde de Urgel en Balaguer las peticiones de artillería se hacen a las veguerías de Lleida, Cervera y Tárrega²⁰⁹ o, sin ir más lejos, en la carta que el monarca envía al comendador mayor de Jerusalén para que dispusiera del mayor número de piezas posible.²¹⁰ Estos documentos, además de los indicados antes, solicitando materiales para la construcción de piezas de artillería principalmente, son muestra del tipo de combate más frecuente por parte de las tropas reales. Sin embargo, la documentación manejada plantea dudas acerca de la disponibilidad inmediata de estas piezas por parte del monarca. Se conoce que en fecha 9 de agosto don Fernando envió una carta a la reina su mujer para que dispusiera lo necesario para la provisión de ciertas necesidades que tenía el real; entre otras cuestiones, le da cuenta de las bombardas que tiene Pedro García, para hacer a esa medida las piedras que tendrían que disparar.²¹¹ Ello nos lleva a considerar que para esas fechas el rey don Fernando aún no contara con todas las piezas de artillería para utilizarlas en el cerco.²¹² A lo anterior hay que añadir la decisión de construir nuevas bombardas de cobre, como puede verse en las misivas dirigidas al arzobispo de Tarragona, al obispo de León y al baile, jurados y hombres buenos de Verdú.²¹³

El que el monarca no tuviera un número suficiente de piezas de artillería para su empleo inmediato debió de influir en su decisión de iniciar el cerco con los métodos empleados en las campañas granadinas; ese sentido habría tenido la construcción de una... "línea de contravalación".²¹⁴ Una

205. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492.

206. Carta del monarca (Barcelona, 15 de junio de 1413) dirigida al gobernador de Valencia dándole cuenta de una información que había recibido de que en esas ciudades se decían palabras injuriosas contra él, y para que investigue lo ocurrido y castigue a los culpables. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 58v.

207. En general y como se puede ver a lo largo de todo el artículo de Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos. Sobre la oposición a Fernando I de Trastámara". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 33/1 (2003): 191-261.

208. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 451-452.

209. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 453.

210. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 454-455.

211. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.

212. Así se deduce de lo que escriben Zurita y Monfar, respecto a su puesta a punto y a la demora en su utilización. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 493.

213. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383., f. 161; ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 172v.

214. Arantegui, José. "El sitio...": 455.



vez situadas las distintas piezas de artillería alrededor de la ciudad cercada,²¹⁵ abrieron fuego tanto las bombardas como los ingenios, por lo que los destrozos se hicieron sentir inmediatamente en la parte del castillo —el castell Formós—,²¹⁶ así como en el adarve de la muralla que protegía a Balaguer²¹⁷ y, posiblemente en fechas posteriores, en la torre que estaba sobre el puente, de la que derribaron la mitad.²¹⁸ Consecuencia de ello es que los daños debieron de ser cuantiosos, como demostrarían las descripciones que hacen Zurita y Monfar, que calculan el peso de cada piedra que lanzaba una de las máquinas en ocho quintales.²¹⁹ Estos destrozos fueron una de las causas, aunque no la única, de algunas de las distintas acometidas de los sitiados fuera de los muros de la ciudad.²²⁰

Otro de los medios de ataque de que se sirve el rey de Aragón en su acometida sobre la villa de Balaguer es el de las bastidas, castillos de madera y escalas, de los que contamos con pocas descripciones y de los que su constructor fue el mencionado Juan Gutiérrez de Henao.²²¹

Y era la bastida máchina de tan extraña grandeza y de tanta pesadumbre que parecía igualar con una torre muy grande; y moviase con harta facilidad y ligereza; y ponía tanto terror y espanto como si no hubieran de hallar ninguna resistencia las compañías de ballesteros que iban en ella.²²²

Si importante era la artillería para los sitiadores, no lo fue menor para los sitiados, según conocemos por Zurita y por los estudios de Arantegui, que estima su cuantía en más de treinta piezas.²²³ Cifras parecidas a las que ofrece Diego de Monfar, que da noticia de una bombardas llamada mayor, labrada en Castellón de Farfana y de otras treinta ordinarias que tiraban una bala más gruesa que

215. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 457. Arantegui da cuenta de hasta seis baterías, en poder de las tropas del real, alguna de ellas compuesta por un diferente número de trabucos, bombardas e ingenios.

216. La destrucción del castillo se ha fechado tradicionalmente en 1413, pero una carta del rey de 2 de noviembre de ese año en la que señala que tenía previsto instalarse en él en una visita a Balaguer, así como estudios arqueológicos que prueban que durante los siglos xvii y xviii estuvo ocupado por guarniciones militares que lo adaptaron a sus necesidades o la posterior construcción de servicios para la ciudad y las primeras actuaciones arqueológicas lo han puesto en cuestión. Al respecto véase Alós Trepát, Carme; Escuder Sánchez, Javier; Solanes Potrony, Eva. “El Castell Formós de Balaguer: arqueología de una fisonomía”, *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d’Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 417. Utilizamos la paginación del texto en castellano, el de lengua catalana se contiene en las páginas 109-121.

217. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364 y 368, respectivamente. En tiempos del conde Pedro II (1347-1408) se construyó la cerca de la muralla que contenía el barrió del Pla y todo el sector de la plaza del Mercadal, y se prolongó por los lados norte y oeste hasta el castell Formós, como tomamos de Velasco González, Alberto; Fité i Llevot, Francesc. “Los condes de Urgel, promotores artísticos”, *O rei o res. La fi del comtat d’Urgell*, Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2016: 397. Utilizamos la paginación del texto en castellano, el de lengua catalana está en las páginas 45-94.

218. Esto debió de ocurrir a finales del mes de agosto de 1413, pues la misiva del infante Alfonso lleva fecha de 2 de septiembre. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu ed. *Col·lecció documental...*: 996-997 (doc. núm. 931).

219. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 511.

220. Como la que señala Zurita para el 26 de septiembre, *...aquel mismo día salieron de la ciudad a escamuzar y hubo muy reñida y brava escaramuza*. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

221. Tenemos constancia al menos de tres pagos que se le hicieron para su mantenimiento con anterioridad al cerco a Balaguer y en los que figura como *Johan Gotiérrez maestre de las bastidas*. Están fechados el 27 de febrero, el 13 de abril y el 16 de julio en Barcelona, y los importes fueron de 30 florines, en la primera fecha y de 40 en la segunda y en la tercera, a razón de un florín diario. Como tomamos de ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 80r. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360.

222. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 371.

223. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 462.



una naranja.²²⁴ Esto concuerda con la afirmación de Zurita de que los sitiados poseían bombardas más pequeñas, que “eran como tiros de campo”²²⁵ y que hacían “harto daño en el real”, afirmación esta última que se contradice con lo que Monfar expresa de que “fueron de muy poco provecho al faltarle la pólvora”.²²⁶ Daños que trataron de causar al propio rey don Fernando a quien “pasó la pelota por encima de la cabeza”²²⁷ y que provocaron la muerte de un caballero castellano.²²⁸ Precisamente el incidente con el rey le serviría a éste como argumento para acuciar la acometida final a la plaza sitiada²²⁹ y en la respuesta que dio a su tía doña Isabel de Urgel que le pedía clemencia para su marido el conde.²³⁰

No obstante lo expresado, la artillería no fue lo que más utilizaron los defensores de Balaguer, y ello a pesar de sus muchas bombardas y tiros, posiblemente por la falta de provisiones con que hacerla funcionar a causa del cerco al que estaban sometidos.²³¹ De ahí que, buena parte de su defensa se basara en “dar rebatos sobre las estancias, acometiendo por diversas partes, como gente desesperada y diestra; y esto era muy ordinario acometer a los reales”.²³² Esa defensa comportaba la destrucción de algunas de las máquinas instaladas en los reales²³³ y destinadas a su bombardeo, así como la captura de prisioneros y de animales, en este último caso para avituallarse. En este sentido destacan las entradas que los de Balaguer hicieron un día que tenía la guarda del real don Luis de la Cerda, llevándose entre ocho y diez hombres prisioneros y catorce o quince acémilas,²³⁴ o la que llevaron a cabo el 4 de septiembre sobre el real del duque de Gandía de donde se llevaron a veinte soldados como prisioneros.²³⁵ Estas acciones se hicieron menos frecuentes a medida que se prolongaba el cerco. Hay que ver en ello las consecuencias del cansancio físico y del abatimiento moral, en el que tendrían mucho que ver la desconfianza en la llegada de los socorros prometidos, las desertiones o la propia actitud del conde de Urgel.²³⁶ El desánimo de los sitiados se incrementó

224. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

225. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.

226. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

227. El 26 de septiembre el rey... iba vestido de un balandrán de escarlata y salió en un caballo blanco y le conocieron, armaron los de Balaguer un lombarda en una esquina de la barrera de la ciudad convirtiéndose en objetivo de los artilleros de Balaguer. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

228. El 13 de octubre... fue muerto de un tiro de bomba un caballero muy principal de la compañía del adelantado de Castilla que se llamaba Sancho de Leyva. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.

229. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

230. ...mandando tirar a mi persona con tiros de pólvora e ballestas, habiéndome conocido. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 355.

231. Monfar se hace eco de la falta de pólvora. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 492-493.

232. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 348.

233. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360.

234. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 497; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 355. La cuantificación solo la proporcionan estas fuentes, Zurita se limita a mencionar el hecho Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349. Mientras que la *Crónica anónima...*: 29, lo presenta como un gran descuido castellano que pudo tener consecuencias más graves.

235. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361; González Sánchez, Santiago. “1413, el año inédito...”: 239. Este real del duque de Gandía estaba, desde su toma, en el entorno del convento de Santo Domingo, como conocemos por González Sánchez, Santiago. “1413, el año inédito...”: 256, por ejemplo. Sobre dicho convento y su devenir histórico véase el trabajo ya antiguo de Timoneda Pikmant, Fernando. “Convento de Santo Domingo (Balaguer)”, *Album històric, pintoresch y monumental de Lleyda y sa provincia*, Lleida: Estampa de Joseph Sol Torrens, 1880: I, 85-92 (doc. núm. 10).

236. Sobre el problema de las desertiones entre los partidarios del conde de Urgel contamos con una carta del infante Alfonso a las autoridades de Palermo. En ella se refiere hasta en dos ocasiones a los numerosos abandonos que el conde estaba teniendo y a su paso al bando real, sin duda con un fin enaltecedor... *molts, de dia en dia, se ixen de la dita ciutat e*



por las continuas ayudas que el rey de Aragón recibía de Castilla y de los distintos territorios que componían su Corona y que contribuyeron a incrementar su presión militar.

7. Las tácticas utilizadas

La táctica varía dependiendo de los momentos por los que pasa el asedio a Balaguer. Así, por ejemplo, y respecto a la artillería, se pueden distinguir, al menos, dos momentos. El primero, en el que se observa una discontinuidad en los ataques y frentes abiertos debido, sobre todo, a la falta de disposición de todas las piezas pues algunas de ellas se estaban construyendo. Y el segundo, que se iniciaría a partir del 26 de septiembre, en el que se incrementa la presión sobre los sitiados con bombardeos simultáneos²³⁷ noche y día,²³⁸ que se recrudecerá con el combate a la ciudad por seis lados el 11 de octubre.²³⁹

La táctica que el rey de Aragón empleó en el campo de operaciones no comportó únicamente el uso de los combates de artillería o de caballería propiamente dichos, sino que se extiende a lo que podríamos denominar técnicas de propaganda, destinadas en primer lugar a minar la moral de los combatientes enemigos. Tenemos constancia de estos hechos a través de las fuentes y fueron desde la promulgación de una amnistía general pregonada en el real de Balaguer,²⁴⁰ la movilización conseguida a través del ordenamiento conocido como *Princeps namque*²⁴¹ o las acciones que llevaron a cabo dos caballeros, uno catalán, Luis de Garbó o Cardona según las fuentes consultadas y otro castellano Luis de la Cerda. La labor de Luis de la Cerda se presenta a través de las crónicas como una especie de labor de zapa que poco a poco tenía que conseguir minar la confianza de algunos de los subordinados del conde de Urgel en él. Su cometido consistió en convencer a algunos defensores de la ciudad de Balaguer en la justicia y en el perdón que obtendrían del rey don Fernando en el caso de que abandonaran a don Jaime.²⁴² Este acercamiento se produjo por los tratos que se llevaron a cabo para liberar a los prisioneros que entre sus tropas habían realizado los partidarios del conde de Urgel.

se'n vénen al dit senyor rey... grant gent dels dela dita ciutat se.n hixen tot dia e vénen al dit senyor rey. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu ed. *Col·lecció documental...*: 996-997 (doc. núm. 931).

237. Es interesante la afirmación de Lorenzo Valla, pues de ser cierta supone un avance considerable respecto al cerco a Antequera, cuando señala que... *para que el estruendo fuera más horrendo y los golpes más efectivos, no sólo operaban todas [las piezas de artillería] al mismo tiempo, sino casi en el mismo instante.* Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando...*: 188.

238. ... *y de allí adelante no cesaban de batir las lombardas y trabucos a grande furia de día y aun de noche, como decían, a piedra perdida.* Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 364.

239. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367.

240. Otorgada por el rey a todos aquellos que abandonasen la causa de don Jaime de Urgel y saliesen de la ciudad de Balaguer en el término de quince días, ofreciéndoles un guage por dos meses que les asegurare la inmunidad de los delitos perpetrados. En el caso de no aceptar serían declarados traidores y castigados en personas y bienes. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu ed. *Col·lecció documental...*: 995-996 (doc. núm. 930).

241. El usatge *Princeps Namque* se començaria a aplicar a mediados del mes de septiembre de 1413, como sabemos por López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 128-129 (doc. núm. 133). La orden fue leída en el consell de Tarragona el 4 de octubre de 1413, como conocemos por Cortiella i Òdena, Francesc. *Una ciutat catalana a les darveries de la Baixa Edat Mitjana: Tarragona*, Tarragona: Institut d'Estudis Tarraconenses Ramón Berenguer IV. Exma. Diputació Provincial de Tarragona, 1984: 25. No obstante, con fecha 10 de octubre el rey convoca a los barones, caballeros, ciudadanos y hombres de Cataluña, tanto de realengo como de señorío para que acudiesen a Balaguer de inmediato en ayuda de la corona para sofocar la rebelión de don Jaime de Urgel. Rodrigo Lizondo, Mateu ed. *Col·lecció documental...*: 998-999 (doc. núm. 932).

242. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: 510; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 363.



Un fin distinto, pero destinado igualmente a socavar la resistencia de los defensores de Balaguer, era el que tenía la labor del caballero catalán Luis de Garbó o de Cardona, quien... *movió cierta plática con uno de los de dentro ofreciendo que el rey le haría merced y a través del cual se ganó la casa de la condesa de Urgel el 20 de octubre.*²⁴³ Las vicisitudes de la entrega de este fuerte se las comunica don Fernando a su hijo Alfonso por medio de una carta. Por esa misiva sabemos que:

*...ferem exir los altres qui no eren del tracte de fora en scusa de cercar lenya e los restants tancaren la porta de la casa e feren cert senyal al Governador de Cathalunya e certa gent qui staven avisats los quals vist lo senyal anaren ves la dita casa e com los exits de aquella volguessen tornar trobaren les portes tancades e per fugir a les mans de nostres gents lançaren se en lo riu on muri hu dells; los altres passaren se a la ciutat e la dita gent nostra ubrint los del tracte les portes ja dites entraren sen dins la dita casa levant tantots nostre standart per senyal al altres de nostre real de la qual cosa los de la dita ciutat mostren gran abatiment.*²⁴⁴

Los éxitos de estas acciones se debieron a muchos factores, entre los cuales destaca la falta de provisiones por el estrechamiento del cerco, al menos en lo que respecta a la tropa. Sin embargo, consideramos que elementos de otro orden, entre los que se contarían los de la salvación de la propia familia o la preservación del patrimonio, eran los que movían a importantes caballeros que seguían al conde desde tiempo atrás a abandonarle. En ese caso estaría Martín López de Lanuza que abandona al conde junto con su familia o a Juan de Sesé y a otras cuarenta personas en un mismo día,²⁴⁵ o a don Artal de Alagó.²⁴⁶ No obstante, desconocemos qué razones se dieron en otros casos, como ocurrió con los caballeros Ivany dez Ponts y Ombert de Vilafrancha, que salieron de Balaguer el 18 de agosto y a los que el rey recompensó con dos y con cuatro bestias de quitación y con su inclusión en la casa del infante don Alfonso.²⁴⁷ Sin embargo, una pregunta que queda por responder es cuál fue el papel que tuvieron, si es que les dejaron desempeñar alguno, estos y otros personajes que se pasaron al bando real en el desarrollo posterior del asedio.

Las tácticas señaladas chocaron a veces con factores adversos que repercutían en los dos reales que el rey estableció en torno a la ciudad sitiada. Aunque un primer momento hubo razones estratégicas en su división,²⁴⁸ es posible que al finalizar el cerco estuviesen relacionadas con otras causas de índole natural, como el crecimiento del río Segre, que ya había puesto impedimentos al rey al inicio de la campaña.²⁴⁹ Así pues, las tropas reales se encontraban en dos lugares diferentes al

243. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352, tan sólo señala el hecho; la fecha la aporta Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368.

244. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 353-354 (doc. núm. 179).

245. La fecha de salida de Martín López de Lanuza de Balaguer fue el 20 de octubre, como tomamos de Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368; Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352, no proporciona la fecha. Juan de Sesé era hijo de García López de Sesé a quien el entonces abad de Valladolid, Diego Gómez de Fuensalida, trató de atraer a la opinión de don Fernando mediante el ofrecimiento de posesiones y dinero sin conseguirlo.

246. Vendrell de Millás, Francesca, Masiá de Ros, Angels. *Jaume el Dissortat. Darrer comte d'Urgell*, Barcelona: Editorial AEDOS, 1956: 156.

247. López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 64 (doc. núm. 54).

248. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 346. Cuando el duque de Gandía llegó ante el rey se le ordenó pasar a la otra parte del río y permanecer en uno de los lugares que se revelaría como estratégico.

249. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 350; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 38-39 (doc. núm. 18).



finalizar el asedio, una parte estaba al mando del monarca y la otra a cargo del duque de Gandía.²⁵⁰ Algunos de los condicionantes del cerco fueron lo avanzado de la estación, con menos horas de luz, y la carestía del terreno, esto último a pesar de encontrarse en una comarca feraz,²⁵¹ debido ante todo a que el conde de Urgel había consumido las provisiones;²⁵² contrariedades como las deserciones que, en algunos momentos, parecen ser constantes y masivas, sobre todo en lo que respecta a algunos oficios de artesanos, como los canteros, de los que se prendieron en un día hasta veinte, que se habían marchado sin el permiso del rey;²⁵³ problemas derivados de la excesiva dilación en la construcción de castillos y máquinas para el combate. Aunque, sin duda, una de las mayores preocupaciones era la creciente diversidad de pareceres y los rencores que habían surgido entre los grandes que asistían al Consejo. Fue aquí, sobre todo, donde se mostró la oposición entre catalanes y castellanos concerniente a cómo se debía llevar la guerra.²⁵⁴ En líneas generales, estas serían algunas de las circunstancias que contribuían a ralentizar y quizá, en algún momento, a impulsar la toma de la ciudad de Balaguer cuanto antes por parte de los sitiadores. Precisamente se podría pensar en la toma de Balaguer como una especie de cauterizador de las posibles discrepancias existentes entre los caballeros de los distintos reinos que ayudaban a don Fernando en su empresa.

8. El número de combatientes del rey y la presencia de castellanos

El rey de Aragón se sirvió para tomar la ciudad de Balaguer²⁵⁵ de un importante número de gentes de armas venidas de Castilla, de los territorios peninsulares que componían la Corona de Aragón y de Navarra.²⁵⁶ Es difícil evaluar la cuantía de los efectivos atendiendo a su origen. De los castellanos se ofrecen cifras muy diversas, por ejemplo, de mil lanzas para el inicio de la campaña, a las que habría que añadir las “que podrían ser hasta ciento” de castellanos pobres que don Fer-

250. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. Lo conocemos también por el alarde realizado al finalizar el asedio, en concreto el día 3 de noviembre de 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 204r-206r.

251. Así lo destacan los relatos de los distintos cronistas. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica*, (1953): 350; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 344.

252. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

253. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 506.

254. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 360-361. El autor llega a considerar normal estas contrariedades debido a la diversidad de naciones existente en el cerco a Balaguer.

255. El sitio finalizó el 31 de octubre con la rendición de don Jaime de Urgel, como el rey comunica a su hijo Alfonso. Bofarrull y Mascará, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes y Parlamentos de Cataluña, Aragón y Valencia custodiados en el Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, en *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Establecimiento Litográfico y Tipográfico de Jose Eusebio Monfort, 1847: II, 534-535; López Rodríguez, Carlos, ed. *Epistolari de Ferran I...*: 199 (doc. núm. 232). Contamos con noticias de su difusión en Castilla, por ejemplo en la ciudad de Sevilla como consta por un pago de albricias de 6 de diciembre de 1413. Collantes de Terán Delorme, Francisco. *Archivo Municipal de Sevilla. Inventario de los papeles del Mayordomazgo del siglo xv, 1401-1416*, Sevilla: Excmo. Ayuntamiento de Sevilla, Delegación de Cultura, Sección de Publicaciones: Instituto de la Cultura y las Artes, 1972: I, 464 (doc. núm. 98). Y en otros reinos peninsulares como Navarra, donde Álvaro de Garavito fue a comunicarlo y recibió 60 escudos de oro del cuño de Francia. Castro, José Ramón. *Archivo General de Navarra. Catálogo de la Sección de Comptos. Documentos*, Pamplona: Diputación Foral de Navarra, 1962: XXX, 435 (doc. núm. 878).

256. El monarca, sin especificar cantidad alguna ni procedencia, dirigiéndose a los catalanes en su alocución en las Cortes de Montblanc de 1414 señala que fue... *ab notable nombre de gent darmes e de peu*. Cortes...: XI, 345. La ayuda navarra al frente de la cual estuvo Godofre, mariscal y conde de Cortes, fue de siete caballeros y cuatro escuderos navarros con una fuerza de 20 hombres de armas, como señala Fernández de Larrea y Rojas, Jon Andoni. *El precio de la sangre. Ejércitos y sociedad en Navarra durante la Baja Edad Media (1259-1450)*, Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2013: 100.

nando mandó armar en Barcelona y que se encargarían de su protección,²⁵⁷ además de las escasas fuerzas que estaban dispersas por los diferentes territorios de la Corona de Aragón. Según García de Santa María “quando cerco al conde de Urgel en Balaguer que le fueron de Castilla mil e quinientos homes de la guisa e de armas e otra gente de pie”.²⁵⁸ En cualquier caso, el número de efectivos castellanos estaría mezclado después con otros procedentes de los territorios de la Corona de Aragón. Así se deduce de una carta del monarca de mediados de junio dando cuenta de la llegada de hombres de armas de Castilla a la ciudad de Zaragoza, tropas que unidas a las aragonesas que había en la ciudad cuantificaba en dos mil rocines.²⁵⁹ Y también se puede observar durante la contienda propiamente dicha.²⁶⁰ En el caso de encontrarnos los datos individualizados no se alcanza la cifra señalada y nada permite concluir que todas esas tropas fuesen de Castilla, como es el caso del adelantado Diego Gómez de Sandoval, al que se le adjudican seiscientos lanzas, sin que se indique su procedencia.²⁶¹ A los efectivos anteriores habría que añadir las tropas castellanas que estaban preparadas en la frontera de ese reino con el de Aragón por sí se producía la entrada de tropas extranjeras y que el rey cuantifica en una de sus cartas. Según don Fernando... *en les fronteres de Castella que son prests vuy millia bacinets e deu millia omes a peu per entrar en nostra ajuda al primer ardit que hagen nostre si era cas que de la dita gent estrangera entrava. E daquesta gent de Castella vindra per capita Johan de Velasco*.²⁶² Cifras muy elevadas de combatientes que no hubo que movilizar, como también parecen exageradas las que un testigo ofrece en el proceso contra el conde de Urgel acabado el asedio, de cinco mil a seis mil lanzas castellanas.²⁶³

Otra evidencia de que esas tropas de Castilla fueron cuantitativamente importantes la tenemos en las muestras o alardes que se hicieron con anterioridad y durante el asedio a Balaguer. En los alardes efectuados en Barcelona, Zaragoza, Huesca, Balaguer y Lleida, aproximadamente cuarenta contabilizados, hubo compañías de gentes de armas castellanas, de muy diferente cuantía, en once de ellos. Y en otros veinte alardes más al menos, y encuadrados en tropas de otro origen, se contabiliza un combatiente castellano. A ellos hay que añadir algún caso en que no consta el lugar donde se hizo el alarde y las tropas que formaban parte de la casa del rey de Aragón. Desde un punto de vista temporal la mayor parte de esos alardes y en los que se concentra la presencia castellana tuvo lugar durante los meses de junio, julio y en menor medida agosto de 1413.

257. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 349. En esta cifra de mil lanzas castellanas concuerdan la *Crónica incompleta...*: 24 y Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 329, que también da la cantidad de hasta de cien de caballo castellanos.

258. García de Santa María, Álar. *Le parti inedite della: 'Crónica de Juan II' di Álvaro García de Santa María*, Donatella Ferro, ed. Venecia: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Gruppo Studi d'Ispanistica), 1972: 151.

259. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2383, f. 57r.

260. El monarca en una carta escrita durante el asedio a Balaguer cuantifica, también sin indicar la procedencia, que tenía disponibles 4.000 hombres de armas. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, f. 29v. Véanse también Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 351. Por ejemplo, Álvaro de Ávila, Mosén Bernal de Centelles, Mosén Gil Ruiz de Lihori y Pedro Alfonso de Escalante que estaban junto a sus gentes de armas, que ascendían a seiscientos, en el monasterio de monjas de la ciudad, como sabemos por la *Crónica incompleta...*: 24, y por González Sánchez, Santiago. “1413, el año inédito...”: 233. Podría tratarse del convento de Santa Clara sobre el que versa el trabajo de Triviño Monrabal, María Victoria. “Convento de Santa Clara de Balaguer (Lleida) siglo xix”, *La desamortización. El expolio del patrimonio artístico y cultural de la Iglesia en España*, San Lorenzo del Escorial: Ediciones Escorialenses, Real Centro Universitario Escorial-María Cristina, 2007: 829-845.

261. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 351; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 345; *Crónica incompleta...*: 28.

262. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 351 (doc. núm. CLXXV).

263. Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: 303.



Por citar algunos casos, el viernes 24 de junio hizo muestra en Barcelona la compañía de Francisco Ortiz.²⁶⁴ En el mes de julio, el día 10, al menos cinco hombres de armas llegaron de Castilla.²⁶⁵ El día 15 se da cuenta del alarde de la compañía de García de Herrera, integrada por él y por otros diez caballeros,²⁶⁶ y de los trece hombres de armas que vinieron con Juan Delgadillo, de los cuales al menos nueve eran castellanos.²⁶⁷ En Huesca el 14 de junio hizo alarde Martín de Pomar, junto con veinticuatro caballeros más.²⁶⁸ El día 16 y en la misma ciudad fue Álvaro Rodríguez de Escobar al frente de sesenta caballeros y de seis ballesteros.²⁶⁹ El día 17 también hizo alarde en Huesca Suero de Nava con trece caballeros, once lanceros y veintisiete hombres equipados con pavés y lanza.²⁷⁰ En Balaguer a comienzos de agosto de 1413 también hizo alarde Suero de Nava procedente “de las partes del reino de Francia” junto a cinco hombres de armas y a cinco ballesteros.²⁷¹ Y el citado Martín de Pomar el 13 de septiembre, aunque ya había estado al servicio del monarca desde el 3 de agosto, en la villa de Menàrgues con varios hombres de armas.²⁷² Y, sin ánimo de extenderlos más, en Lleida el 17 de noviembre de 1413 el rey mandó pagar el sueldo a Alfonso de Aguilar, capitán de la gente de armas que había venido de nuevo de Castilla, en concreto desde Córdoba, para que se le librasen los veinte días de ida y vuelta y los cuatro que habían estado en Lleida. Eran cuarenta y siete caballeros y cuatro ballesteros a caballo.²⁷³

Además de estas tropas señoriales relacionadas con don Fernando por vínculos vasalláticos, el rey de Aragón también se sirvió e hizo uso profuso de tropas a sueldo procedentes de Castilla. Estas tropas, de acuerdo con la documentación, figuran como compañías de ballesteros y almogávares. Como los veinticinco ballesteros a sueldo al mando de Íñigo de Solórzano,²⁷⁴ los otros veinticinco dirigidos por Juan de Palencia²⁷⁵ y la misma cantidad bajo la jefatura de Juan de Guecho.²⁷⁶ En cualesquiera de los tres casos indicados figuran bajo la “constabla de...”

A sueldo, y sin duda por su gran experiencia, estuvieron adalides castellanos del área fronteriza con el reino de Granada. Hemos contabilizado al menos veintitrés adalides procedentes, entre otros lugares, de Jerez, Morón, Baeza, Antequera, Córdoba, Lorca o Baena, cada uno de ellos al frente de diez almogávares, es decir doscientos cincuenta y tres contando a los capitanes, que estuvieron en

264. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 48r.

265. El primero que aparece en la relación es Pero García de Villagómez, sin que conste que sea capitán. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 51v.

266. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 27v.

267. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 44v.

268. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 188r-v.

269. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 190r-191r.

270. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 191v-192v.

271. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 38r.

272. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 46v.

273. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 57v-58v.

274. Hicieron alarde en Barcelona el 9 de mayo de 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 114r.

275. Aunque hicieron alarde en Barcelona el 10 de agosto de 1413, también hicieron muestra el 6 de octubre en el sitio de Balaguer, como consta en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 119r-v.

276. Hicieron alarde en Barcelona el 28 de mayo de 1413. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 113r.

el sitio de Balaguer.²⁷⁷ Es posible, de acuerdo con un testimonio recogido, que estas tropas, además de su servicio en el cerco y del que más tarde prestaron en el sitio de Loarre,²⁷⁸ también hicieran entradas y correrías por las tierras del entorno o en las que aún seguían fieles al conde de Urgel ya que ese era uno de sus principales cometidos.²⁷⁹ De esos diez almogávares de cada adalid no se nos proporciona el nombre aunque es probable que fuesen castellanos en su gran mayoría, sin descartar a alguno de procedencia musulmana. No obstante, conocemos lo que percibía el adalid y los almogávares a su mando, cuatro y tres sueldos barceloneses diarios, respectivamente.²⁸⁰ Sin duda, los contactos que don Fernando estableció durante las campañas granadinas y los servicios que estas tropas le prestaron en ellas están detrás de la contratación de estos soldados.

Otras tropas castellanas procedieron de poblaciones que estaban bajo el señorío del rey de Aragón. En tal sentido se pueden diferenciar las solicitudes de milicias a ciertos concejos del deber de vasallaje que unía a ciertos caballeros que tenían tierras con él. Don Fernando alude a su deber de asistirle como vasallos, por lo que mandó llamar “a todos los escuderos e caualleros que de él tenían tierra” en Paredes de Nava,²⁸¹ en Cuéllar,²⁸² en Villalón de Campos,²⁸³ en Medina del Campo

277. Véase la relación de adalides en *Castellanos en el cerco a Balaguer*. Las referencias documentales sobre estas tropas se encuentran en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, ff. 128v-130r. Sobre los almogávares: grados, funciones militares y su presencia en las guerras del siglo xv, es interesante la obra de Ferrer i Mallol, María Teresa, *Organització i defensa d'un territori fronterer. La Governació d'Oriola en el segle xiv*, Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1990: 242-284, que considera que a finales del siglo xiv habían desaparecido totalmente de Cataluña, lo que quizá explique que sean castellanos la mayoría de los que figuran aquí.

278. El rey, acabado el cerco a Balaguer, mandó al menos a diez de ellos a Loarre. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500, f. 149r.

279. Ese fue el caso de Gonzalvo Gutiérrez para el que monarca solicita, sin especificar destinatario, que se le provea a él y a sus compañeros de lo que necesitasen con su dinero, y si fuese necesario guías y ayuda. ACA., Cancillería, reg. 2381, ff. 34r-v.

280. Como se puede ver, por ejemplo, en las pagas que se ordenan a Juan García de Jerez y a Alfonso de Baeza por servir al rey... *vers les parts de Leyda* por un mes (19 y 18 julio 1413, Barcelona). ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 72v.

281. AMPdN., Cuentas de Propios, (1413), carpeta 238, f. 14/23v. Desconocemos si este concejo envió el mismo el número de ballesteros y de lanceros que mandó al sitio de Antequera en 1410, en total ciento sesenta vecinos, divididos en dos turnos. González Sánchez, Santiago. *Los recursos militares de la monarquía castellana a comienzos del siglo xv. Las campañas granadinas del infante don Fernando: Setenil y Antequera (1407-1410)*, Madrid: Comité Español de Ciencias Históricas. Dykinson S.L., 2016: 137.

282. Tenemos constancia de una carta del rey de Aragón para que la villa de Cuéllar contribuyese con lo que había ofrecido —desconocemos exactamente a qué se refiere— para la guerra sobre Balaguer y Perpiñán, como tomamos de Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. *Colección diplomática de Cuéllar*, Segovia: Publicaciones históricas de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de Segovia, 1961: 412-413 (doc. núm. 198); Velasco Bayón, Albino; Herrero Jiménez, Mauricio; Pecharromán Cebrián, Segismundo; Montalvillo García, Julia. *Colección documental de Cuéllar (934-1492)*, Cuéllar: Ayuntamiento de Cuéllar, 2010: I, 467-468 (doc. núm. 279). Lamentablemente el documento está perdido, por lo que nos tenemos que conformar con la noticia recogida de un inventario de comienzos del siglo XVIII. Quizá pueda ser indicativa la noticia de que en 1411 el entonces infante don Fernando reclamó al concejo de Cuéllar el envío de “... treinta vasallos con sus ballestas y otras armas, que sean jóvenes y no posean bienes raíces” que le servirían para reforzar a las tropas que ya tenía en los reinos de la Corona de Aragón. Velasco Bayón, Albino; Herrero Jiménez, Mauricio; Pecharromán Cebrián, Segismundo; Montalvillo García, Julia. *Colección documental de Cuéllar...*, I: 438 (doc. núm. 262).

283. Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. “La candidatura al trono...”: 889, nota 76. La signatura que proporciona es (AMVill, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1404-1423, f. 23r-44r). Sin embargo, nos ha sido imposible contrastar esta afirmación con el documento original ya que, según los archiveros de la Diputación de Valladolid —donde ahora se encuentra el archivo de Villalón de Campos—, no se conservan las Actas Capitulares de 1413, sino que se pasa de las de 1411 a las de 1419. De lo que sí tenemos constancia es de la gente de armas que proveyó para la campaña de Antequera en 1410, que fueron 25 ballesteros y 23 lanceros, como sabemos por el AMVillalón, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1404-1423, f. 23v. ¿Cabe suponer que se solicitara la misma cantidad para el asedio a Balaguer?



y en Olmedo,²⁸⁴ en Arévalo y en Ávila,²⁸⁵ en las cinco villas de Ledesma²⁸⁶ y en Alba de Tormes. Sobre esta última población conocemos que con fecha 1 de junio de 1413 convocó para ir a Soria, donde tenía tropas concentradas, a tres de sus caballeros vasallos: Fernán Alfonso de Olivera, regidor, Lorenzo Doval, alcalde, y Juan Martínez de Beleña, ex alcalde, que aportaban ocho lanzas. Además de los 1.500 maravedíes de tierra por cada lanza, cada uno de ellos recibe el sueldo para diez días de viaje, “correspondiéndoles 150 maravedíes por cada lanza”. Al final, Fernán Alfonso de Olivera, no llevó cuatro lanzas, sino seis, siendo en total diez lanzas.²⁸⁷

Además de lo anterior hay que tener en cuenta el número de combatientes, generalmente caballeros, con los que distintos nobles castellanos de las casas del rey y de la reina se ofrecieron a servir a don Fernando. En tal sentido y al margen de los que formaban su guardia estarían los siete hombres de caballo armados con los que Juan Carrillo, ujier de armas del rey don Fernando le había prometido servir en el reino de Aragón;²⁸⁸ los cinco que le vinieron de nuevo del reino de Castilla;²⁸⁹ los trece hombres a caballo armados venidos de nuevo de Castilla, además de otros tres más con que Juan Delgadillo, panicer del rey se comprometió a poner a su disposición,²⁹⁰ y por no extendernos más los tres que habría reclutado Fernando Díez de Toledo, arcediano de Niebla y médico del monarca.²⁹¹

En cualquier caso, ni siquiera hay constancia de un número determinado de castellanos para lo que puede denominarse el periodo final de la contienda pues, por ejemplo, se recoge que el rey mandó hacer cuenta con los caballeros de Castilla que allí estaban y de todas sus gentes para pagarles, sin especificar su número.²⁹² Número que sí sabemos de los refuerzos finales que venían en su ayuda y de los que estaba preparando la reina de Castilla para enviarle, trescientos bacinetes pagados por tres meses.²⁹³ Además, contamos con las cifras que proporciona Zurita de valencianos

284. *Crónica anónima...*: 24. Olmedo contribuyó con un número indeterminado de lanzas de los vasallos que el rey tenía en esa población, que podían ser sesenta y seis, como se puede ver en González Sánchez, Santiago. “1413, el año inédito...”: 226.

285. Medina del Campo, Cuéllar, Paredes de Nava, Arévalo y Ávila habrían aportado un total de doscientos sesenta y seis lanzas, como recoge González Sánchez, Santiago. “1413, el año inédito...”: 231.

286. Ledesma, junto con sus cinco villas y Saldaña habrían proporcionado un total de cien lanzas. Al respecto véase González Sánchez, Santiago. “1413, el año inédito...”: 231.

287. AMAL, Libro de Actas Capitulares, 1413, ff. 28v-29r, 30r-31r, 36v-37r. Las fechas que se corresponden con esos folios son 1-6-1413, 2-6-1413 y 20-6-1413, respectivamente. Las referencias documentales y la información sobre la aportación de este concejo proceden de Monsalvo Antón, José María. *El sistema político concejil: el ejemplo del señorío medieval de Alba de Tormes y su concejo de villa y tierra*, Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1988: 181-182. También da cuenta de la documentación Muñoz Gómez, Víctor. “La candidatura al trono...”: 889.

288. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 29v (Barcelona, 20 junio 1413). Noticia de estos siete hombres de caballo armados en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71v, pago por importe de 105 florines (Barcelona, 15 de julio 1413).

289. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 40v (Barcelona, 24 julio 1413).

290. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 40v (Barcelona, 23 julio 1413). Noticia de estos tres hombres de caballo armados en ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, vol. 417, f. 71v, pago por importe de 45 florines (Barcelona, 15 de julio 1413).

291. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 37r (Barcelona, 18 julio 1413).

292. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356.

293. Giménez Soler, Andrés. *Don Jaime de Aragón...*: 351 (doc. núm. 175); Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. Las relaciones entre la reina doña Catalina y don Fernando pasaron por altibajos pero, en general fueron malas. Por ello llama la atención que uno de los testigos en el proceso incoado contra el conde de Urgel tras su derrota afirme que que le oyó decir... *que el sabia per letres que la Reyna de Castella havia mesa veda en Castella que gent*

y de catalanes al comienzo del asedio, trescientos valencianos, que habían llegado con el duque de Gandía,²⁹⁴ y seiscientos catalanes, todos a caballo,²⁹⁵ aunque los primeros se elevarían después a quinientos o seiscientos.²⁹⁶ Desconocemos el número de los procedentes del reino de Aragón, salvo los nombres de algunos caballeros.²⁹⁷ El rey de Aragón también contó con la ayuda de dos importantes caballeros navarros que traían veinte hombres de armas, aunque rechazó el ofrecimiento de trescientos hombres procedentes de ese reino.²⁹⁸ Ello hubiera supuesto internacionalizar el conflicto y, quizá lo más evidente, el que se interpretara en el ámbito interno de la Corona de Aragón que el nuevo monarca carecía de legitimidad, además de haber mostrado dudas acerca de su poder militar.

Sobre la cuantía total de combatientes castellanos²⁹⁹ su cifra oscilaría entre los tres mil y los tres mil quinientos de caballo durante el cerco.³⁰⁰ En el alarde final, por encontrarse el real dividido en dos, la cifra únicamente del real del monarca se elevaba a los dos mil, exceptuando la gente que ya se había llevado al conde de Urgel a Lleida³⁰¹ y que sabemos que fueron entre doscientos

darmes non isques. Bofarull y de Sartorio, Manuel de. *Proceso contra el último conde...*: I, 303. Es probable que don Jaime de Urgel con esta afirmación y otras cuantificando el número de combatientes que esperaba... *Il rocins lança en ma e D arxes e D lançes de gascons*, tratase de infundir ánimo a sus seguidores.

294. Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos...": 246-247 (doc. núm. 1). Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey. Nobleza y guerra en el reinado de Alfonso el Magnánimo*, Valencia: Universitat de València, 2008: 143, basándose en ARV., Real Cancillería, n.º 619bis, ff. 1r-37v, proporciona la misma cifra. Por su parte, Sarasa Sánchez, Esteban. "El asedio de Balaguer...": 432, destaca que el duque de Gandía desde el comienzo formara parte del ejército real, habiendo sido uno de los competidores por el trono de la Corona de Aragón.

295. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 346-347.

296. La cifra de quinientos la recogemos de Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 181-182 (doc. núm. 17), 182-183 (doc. núm. 18) y 185 (doc. núm. 21) y de Pérez Pérez, Desamparados. "Presencia valenciana en el sitio de Balaguer. Año 1413", *Medievalia*, 8 (1989): 305. Las dos cantidades en Rubio Vela, Agustín. "Urgelistas valencianos...": 224-225. Siguiendo a este último autor también da una cifra entre quinientos y seiscientos Narbona Vizcaíno, Rafael. "La milicia ciudadana de la Valencia medieval", *Clio e Crimen*, 3 (2006): 319-320. De acuerdo con los datos que tomamos de Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey...*: 143, a los trescientos financiados por la Diputació del General habría que añadir los doscientos cincuenta y tres que reclutó el baile general. Los primeros trescientos, bajo la capitania del duque de Gandía, fueron contratados por tres meses de servicio; los ciento cincuenta y tres al mando de Bernat Centelles y los cien restantes dirigidos por el noble Pero Maça de Liçana, por dos meses. Sobre la función económica de esta institución y aunque no recoge el caso citado trata Camarena Mahiques, José. "Función económica del General del Regne de Valencia en el siglo XV". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 25 (1955): 529-542. Sobre Pero Maça de Liçana contamos con varias fuentes de información la crónica que lleva su nombre *Crónica de Pere Maça...*; el libro que basándose en ésta escribió Riquer Morera, Martí de. *Vida i aventures del cavaller valencià don Pero Maça*, Barcelona: Quaderns Crema, 2004: cap. VI, 59-63. Hay una primera edición de 1984. Y las noticias que nos proporciona Hinojosa Montalvo, José. *Diccionario de Historia medieval del Reino de Valencia*, Valencia: Nova Composición, 2002: III, 61-62.

297. A los miembros de importantes linajes citados páginas atrás cabe añadir Juan de Moncayo, al que don Fernando recompensó sus servicios en Balaguer con la concesión de los lugares y castillos de Clamosa y Puy de Cinca, en el reino de Aragón, como tomamos de AHPZ., exp. Casa Ducal de Híjar, ES/ AHPZ-P/1-114-57, con fecha 8 de octubre de 1414. Y mosén Sancho Pérez de Pomar, al que se le habían arrebatado veintisiete cargas de trigo estando presente en el cerco a Balaguer, en Lleal, Coloma. *El castellano del siglo xv...*: 34-35 (doc. núm. 12).

298. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 367-368. Zurita no proporciona el número de estos caballeros ni menciona el ofrecimiento que el rey Carlos III de Navarra hizo a don Fernando y que éste rehusó.

299. Declaraciones de algunos testigos llamados a pronunciarse en la causa abierta contra el conde don Jaime de Urgel estimaban el número de lanzas castellanas presentes en Balaguer entre cinco y seis mil. Bofarrul y Mascaró, Próspero. *Procesos de las antiguas Cortes...*: III, 81.

300. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362; Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 538. Las dos cifras señaladas se corresponden con ambas crónicas.

301. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374.



y doscientos cincuenta.³⁰² Por su parte, Lorenzo Valla establece unas cifras que parecen bastante exageradas “Las tropas del rey estaban formadas por castellanos y catalanes conjuntamente, en número aproximado de ocho mil infantes y cuatro mil jinetes”.³⁰³ Contrasta esta opinión con la de Zurita, al menos, por lo que se refiere a la diferente cantidad de combatientes a pie o a caballo, pues lo que se observa en este autor es la preponderancia del número de caballeros sobre el de lanceros y ballesteros, de los que afirma que eran pocos en el alarde final que se hizo en el real del monarca;³⁰⁴ desconocemos por qué causa, si por deserciones o por encontrarse un buen número de ellos en misión fuera del real.

Un sector del ejército permaneció activo aunque se desconoce por cuánto tiempo. A juicio de Sáiz Serrano, se iría reduciendo hasta quedar como pequeña unidad de la guardia real. Serían unas doscientas cuarenta y ocho lanzas, lideradas por ciento treinta caballeros y hombres de armas de origen castellano.³⁰⁵

No obstante, un estudio más detallado del documento en el que Sáiz Serrano se basa nos proporciona valiosas informaciones. La primera es el posible servicio al rey durante tres meses y un día, pues el secretario regio Juan de Tudela hizo un pago el 8 de diciembre de 1413 en Lleida, por el que sabemos que se les libró el sueldo de un mes, pero la orden del monarca se extendía hasta el 10 de marzo de 1414. La segunda es que el número de capitanes castellanos se elevaba a ciento treinta y cuatro, y el de lanzas a doscientos cincuenta.³⁰⁶ Además de recoger el nombre de varios capitanes importantes presentes en el cerco a Balaguer,³⁰⁷ el documento nos permite ver cómo estaba organizada la hueste real. Por él conocemos que ochenta y nueve capitanes iban al mando de una lanza, lo que representaba un 66,51 por ciento de las doscientos cincuenta; treinta llevaban dos lanzas, un 44,77 por ciento; cinco aportaban tres lanzas, un 11,19 por ciento; tres llevaban cuatro lanzas, un 8,95 por ciento; uno iba con cinco lanzas, un 3,73 por ciento; dos llevaban seis lanzas, un 8,95 por ciento; uno contribuía con ocho lanzas, un 5,97 por ciento; otro asistía con nueve lanzas, un 6,71 por ciento; uno participaba con doce lanzas, un 8,95 por ciento, y Pedro Núñez de Guzmán llevaba veintiocho lanzas, un 20,89 por ciento. Además de la onomástica los topónimos de los apellidos de estos capitanes revelan su procedencia: Rueda, Ayllón, Salamanca, Soria, Sepúlveda, Logroño, Ávila, Olmedo, Portillo, Almazán, Cilleruelo, Carrión, Oviedo, Aguilar, Vozmediano, Pedrosa, Villalón, Tordehumos, Revenga, Serón (de Nágima), Zamora, Tiedra, Villapadierna, Cuenca, Mayorga, Mieres, Berlanga, Vergara, Valbuena, Villaviciosa, Valderas y Urueña. Algunas de estas poblaciones estaban bajo el señorío del rey de Aragón, como Olmedo, Villalón o Tiedra, por lo que es probable que algunos de estos caballeros tuviesen vínculos feudovasalláticos con don Fernando. De acuerdo con la toponimia la población que contribuyó con más caballeros

302. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356; Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374. Las dos cifras señaladas se corresponden con ambas crónicas.

303. Valla, Lorenzo. *Historia de Fernando...*: 188.

304. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 374.

305. Sáiz Serrano, Jorge. *Caballeros del rey...*: 101.

306. Esto coincide con el pago final de 3.746 florines, que debían de ser 3.750 para que coincidiera el pago de 15 florines mensuales a cada lanza, no obstante una lanza, sin que sepamos la razón, se paga a 11 florines. Llamamos la atención sobre el diferente sueldo que se pagaba a una lanza castellana. Durante la época del Interregno a razón de 1 florín diario, como sabemos por Janer y Graells, Florencio. *Examen...*: 147-148. Mientras duró el asedio a Balaguer y tras la toma de la ciudad a razón de medio florín diario como conocemos por ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, f. 6r.

307. Los casos más destacables son los de Pedro Núñez de Guzmán y el de su sobrino Pedro de Guzmán también citados en diferentes crónicas.

fue Olmedo, con diez. También hay que destacar que en veintidós de los casos recogidos el caballero se sirve de otros de su misma condición o de escuderos para prestar el servicio, veinte de ellos aportaban una lanza, uno dos y otro tres.³⁰⁸

Otra cuestión a considerar es lo que puede denominarse cualificación de los combatientes, fruto en muchos casos de su experiencia previa. En tal sentido, conocemos la consideración que merecían las tropas castellanas que estaban esperando la llegada de don Fernando en Igualada para dirigirse a Balaguer, pues se les califica de “escogida” y de “muy lucida” tropa.³⁰⁹ Sin embargo, estos calificativos se tornan en un punto de admiración cuando se tilda a la mayoría de ellos de “soldados viejos”, en alusión a la experiencia que tenían de las campañas granadinas, lo que no sería óbice para su inadaptación a este terreno si entraba el invierno.³¹⁰

Estas opiniones contrastan con las que se tenía de la gente que combatía por el conde de Urgel y que estaban asediados en Balaguer, de los que se destaca su condición de no ser “todos soldados”, a pesar de lo cual se les considera diestros, aunque por las condiciones a las que estaban sometidos y por su inexperiencia, es probable que se encontrasen detrás de acciones de gran arrojo, propias de “gente desesperada”.³¹¹

Por lo tanto, hay una dimensión cualitativa que diferenciaría a los combatientes de uno y de otro de los contendientes. Quizá, y aparte de aumentar y así desequilibrar el mayor número de fuerzas del monarca, una de las razones del deseo de ayuda que el conde de Urgel tenía de combatientes ingleses a sueldo era su destacada “profesionalidad”.

En cualquier caso, la ayuda de Castilla para que don Fernando cobrase definitivamente el trono de la Corona de Aragón se ha venido considerando como fundamental. Al margen de testimonios que dan cuenta de esos apoyos en los meses previos a la campaña de Balaguer,³¹² nos atrevemos a esbozar tres cuadros de estas ayudas en el Apéndice que, sin duda, pueden ampliarse. En el primero se da cuenta de algunos de los pagos que se hicieron a castellanos que estuvieron al servicio del rey de Aragón durante el cerco a Balaguer, bien por sus servicios de armas, bien por su colaboración material. En el segundo en el que los nombres de los que aparecen son o bien de capitanes o de miembros de la nobleza castellana presentes en el asedio. Y en el tercero se recoge un pago a los castellanos que quedaron al servicio del rey tras el cerco a Balaguer.

Lo expuesto nos lleva a considerar el papel que los castellanos tuvieron a lo largo del asedio a Balaguer. En primer lugar, y como se ha expresado hay que destacar su labor como proveedores de materiales y de otros pertrechos necesarios para el mantenimiento del asedio a Balaguer y que hemos centrado en el infante don Alfonso, en la reina doña Leonor y en los obispos de León y de Zamora. Al margen a estos últimos y de sus abastecimientos, hubo otros importantes como el de animales que hacen escuderos como Sancho del Corral.³¹³

308. ARV., Maestre Racional, n.º 8304, ff. 6r-10r.

309. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 343.

310. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

311. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349.

312. Valgan como ejemplo, de los muchos que podrían ponerse, los casos de Sancho Pérez de Pomar, de Martín de Pomar y de Pedro de Pomar, los cuales estaban a servicio del monarca con diez hombres los dos primeros y con cinco el tercero, a fecha 24 de mayo de 1413 en el reino de Aragón. ACA., Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Ejército, Revista de Caballería, vol. 2500bis, f. 20v.

313. Citado en el cuadro de Pagos a castellanos en el cerco a Balaguer. En relación con ello, sobre todo con la saca de caballos, es necesario pararse a considerar el daño causado a la economía castellana con tales acciones, como pone de manifiesto García de Santa María, Álvar. *Le parti inedite...*: 152.



Otro aspecto es el de su labor en el asedio propiamente dicho. Se puede ver a los castellanos presentes en todas las acciones de armas, bien por su importante número, ya señalado, bien por la confianza depositada en ellos. Esta certidumbre en los castellanos pudo engendrar desconfianza en los hombres de armas procedentes de los territorios de la Corona de Aragón. Eso se podría deducir de los testimonios recogidos pues prácticamente en todas las acciones de armas al lado de un caballero de este origen se encuentra otro castellano. Valga como ejemplo, de los varios que se podrían presentar, la persecución de los posibles enemigos ingleses que llegaban en ayuda del conde de Urgel y que se encomendó tanto al gobernador de Cataluña como al castellano Pedro Núñez de Guzmán.³¹⁴ Hay más razones que la que nos dan a conocer los cronistas sobre una diferente concepción de la continuidad del cerco a Balaguer, lo que lleva a discrepar en el consejo del rey a castellanos y a catalanes.³¹⁵ Hay que suponer que esta coparticipación de caballeros de ambos reinos se extendiera más allá de las acciones de armas propiamente dichas que señalan las crónicas y que llegara hasta la guarda del real, aunque parece ciertamente sospechoso el que no fuera así por las dos referencias que al respecto tomamos de Zurita y que, en ambos casos, se refieren exclusivamente a castellanos.³¹⁶ Pero si se pueden considerar como indudables las preferencias por una parte de los combatientes, no lo es menos la que muestra el rey de Aragón por el adelantado mayor de Castilla Diego Gómez de Sandoval, en quien se confiaban todas las guardas y sobre guardas nocturnas y que “andaba sobre todos”.³¹⁷

Estas acciones de armas suponen igualmente el encumbramiento definitivo de caballeros castellanos que habían iniciado su experiencia militar en las campañas granadinas y que eran de la casa del rey de Aragón. Esos serían los casos de Diego Gómez de Sandoval y de Álvaro de Ávila.³¹⁸ Para otros fueron el inicio de su carrera militar, como puede verse con Álvaro de Garavito.³¹⁹

La situación geoestratégica de los reinos peninsulares e insulares de la Corona de Aragón, su implicación en la solución al Cisma que tenía a la Iglesia dividida en dos, entre otros problemas, harán que la presencia de tropas castellanas en los territorios de la Corona de Aragón se prolongue por lo que respecta al ámbito de este estudio hasta el final del reinado de Fernando I de Aragón en 1416, con el fin igualmente de consolidar su poder y afianzar el de su sucesor.

9. Las recompensas a los castellanos

El grueso de las concesiones que don Fernando hizo como rey de Aragón se produjo tras la derrota del conde de Urgel y de sus seguidores. Hay que recordar la grave situación en la que

314. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 362.

315. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 361. Razón que se deja entrever igualmente en Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 498-499.

316. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 349 y 366.

317. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 371. Monfar, aparte de poner de relieve la importancia de este personaje, refiriéndose al monarca añade que “... sin fiarse de catalanes ni aragoneses”. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 518.

318. Al respecto de este último personaje puede consultarse el artículo de Franco Silva, Alfonso. “El mariscal Álvaro de Ávila y los orígenes del Condado de Peñaranda”, *La fortuna y el poder. Estudios sobre las bases económicas de la aristocracia castellana* (S. XIV-XV), Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, Servicio de Publicaciones, 1996: 241-264.

319. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 365. Este personaje, que no encontramos citado, se integraría en la familia leonesa del mismo apellido, sobre la que trata de forma breve Álvarez Álvarez, César. “Linajes nobiliarios y oligarquías urbanas en León”, *La nobleza peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales*, León: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 1999: 61-62.



se encontraba el patrimonio real a su entrada en Aragón,³²⁰ la incautación de los bienes de los perdedores³²¹ y la necesidad de recompensar, de alguna manera, la ayuda castellana, que la vez anterior en buena medida no había sido satisfecha. La derrota del conde de Urgel supuso desde el punto de vista patrimonial un incremento de las posesiones de la Corona y una cierta solvencia económica,³²² lo que propició la petición de los que “solicitaban la enmienda de sus servicios, más aún los que le habían servido en el sitio de Balaguer”.³²³ De ahí que en alguna de estas mercedes haya una necesidad de recompensa, como la que tuvo lugar tras la rendición del conde de Urgel en la misma ciudad de Balaguer, momento en que el rey donó todos los bienes que hallasen en el palacio condal a algunos castellanos que allí se encontraban.³²⁴

En fechas posteriores el monarca, aparte del sueldo, recompensó a quienes le sirvieron durante el cerco a Balaguer.³²⁵ Estas mercedes tuvieron lugar a lo largo de 1414 y de 1415 y, en buena medida, se hicieron en regiones en las que el conde de Urgel y sus partidarios habían tenido sus posesiones, algunas sobre esas mismas propiedades.³²⁶ Estas donaciones no son solo una recompensa por determinados servicios y actitudes mostrados hacia el rey de Aragón, sino que uno de los objetivos del monarca era que a través de ellas parte de la nobleza castellana, en particular algunos muy fieles, pudiesen arraigar en la Corona de Aragón o, en su defecto, conseguirles unas nuevas fuentes de ingresos y a través de ellos tener unas bases de poder estable y así controlar el reino.

Entre los bienes propiedad de los partidarios del conde de Urgel, conocemos que el 23 de febrero de 1415 don Fernando hizo donación de los que habían sido de Luis de Cegrany, a Nuño de Laguna y a García de la Vera.³²⁷ Ese mismo carácter de donación, aunque encubierta, habría tenido el matrimonio de Álvaro de Garavito con una de las hijas de Martín López de Lanuza, doña Violante, a través del cual volvieron los bienes de aquel caballero aragonés a su familia.³²⁸

En cualquier caso, tenemos más referencias del reparto de las posesiones del conde de Urgel que estaban dispersas por Aragón, Valencia y Cataluña. La donación de estas posesiones recayó en colaboradores muy cercanos al monarca como Suero de Nava, Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Diego

320. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 291. A Diego Gómez de Fuensalida se le menciona como testigo entre los que estaban presentes en el juramento de los tres delegados: Juan de Subirats, Berenguer de Bardají y Francisco Sarçuela encargados de averiguar la situación en la que se encontraban los bienes patrimoniales de la Corona de Aragón en los comienzos del reinado de Fernando I, según pone de manifiesto: Gallostra Vendrell, Francisca. *Rentas reales de Aragón de la época de Fernando I (1412-1416)*, Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, (CoDoIn. ACA.), Madrid-Barcelona: Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1977: XLVII, 15.

321. A este respecto se pueden ver las incautaciones de los bienes a Martín López de Lanuza, tras su salida de Balaguer en Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 368. O la confiscación del estado de don Antón de Luna en Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 381. O la pérdida de los bienes de la madre del conde de Urgel en Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 357. Sobre el destino de los derechos y propiedades de don Antonio de Luna véase Torre Gonzalo, Sandra de la. “Por hacer paz y justicia”: la traición como arma política durante el ‘Interregno’ en el reino de Aragón (1410-1412)”, *e-Spania*, 14 (Diciembre, 2012) <<http://e-spania.revues.org/22001>> (Consultado el 1 de Junio de 2017).

322. Vendrell de Millás, Francesca; Masía de Ros, Angels. *Jaume el Dissortat...*: 174.

323. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 626.

324. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 34.

325. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 538. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 356.

326. Nos referimos, en concreto, a la donación de Balaguer al infante don Juan, como puede verse en Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 535-536, y en Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 48-49. Sobre el proceso de disgregación del condado véase el apartado del mismo título del artículo de Bertran Roigè, Prim. “El comtat d’Urgell...”: 165-169.

327. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 631.

328. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 391. Según se deduce de este autor Álvaro de Garavito no contaría más que con diecisiete o dieciocho años, a lo sumo, cuando se concertó su matrimonio.



Fernández de Vadillo y Álvaro de Ávila. Al primero se le conceden, el 15 de agosto de 1414, los castillos y lugares de Orviergo y Setcastelles, en el reino de Aragón, con todos los derechos y provecho que se sacaba de ellos, como consecuencia de sus actuaciones militares de los sitios del castillo de Loarre y de Balaguer, así como por haber servido al rey con su hacienda.³²⁹ A Diego Gómez de Sandoval se le concedió Liria, cercana a Valencia, población que sería posteriormente restituida a la corona, ya que su donación contravenía los privilegios números 36 y 40 establecidos por Pedro IV.³³⁰ Al secretario regio Diego Fernández de Vadillo se le otorgó el 1 de julio de 1414 una de las villas que formaban parte del condado de Urgel, Albesa, por sus buenos servicios y en especial por su comportamiento en el cerco a la ciudad de Balaguer.³³¹ Álvaro de Ávila fue el personaje que recibió un mayor número de donaciones. A este caballero castellano se le concedieron el 29 de julio de 1415 varias de las posesiones que habían pertenecido al conde de Urgel, como las villas y castillos de Sieteaguas, Bunyol, Macastre, Ayatava y Alborraix, en el reino de Valencia. Las razones para estas concesiones fueron los servicios en la toma de Antequera, el haber metido gente en el reino de Aragón y el haber servido al rey en el sitio de Balaguer, entre otras.³³² Esta donación dio lugar a una doble controversia posterior, con mosén Vidal de Villa Nona, que reclamaba su propiedad,³³³ y con el baile general de Valencia Joan Mercader, cuyo hijo Berenguer era alcaide del castillo y que esperaba que estos dominios pasasen a su poder.³³⁴ Los intereses de la familia Mercader sobre la Hoya de Buñol debían ser muy fuertes pues, con posterioridad a estos hechos, Alfonso V compró a Álvaro de Ávila estos dominios, por los que le pagó quince mil florines, vendiéndolos después a su camarero Berenguer Mercader por doce mil.³³⁵

Dentro de la propia familia real también hubo beneficiarios de las posesiones del conde de Urgel, como el infante don Juan de Aragón, al que se le adjudicaron Balaguer, Agramunt y otras villas de las que no se menciona su nombre.³³⁶ Por el testamento del rey don Fernando, al menos, dos de las pertenencias que heredó su hijo el infante don Pedro eran antiguas posesiones del conde de Urgel, en concreto Tárrega y Vilagrassa, además se le hizo donación en Cataluña de la villa de Terraza³³⁷ y en el reino de Valencia de Elche y de Crevillente.³³⁸

Por otra parte, las acciones de armas que aquí se han estudiado también sirvieron para recompensar a algunos caballeros castellanos con propiedades en su reino de origen. El caso más evidente es el de Diego Gómez de Sandoval al que, a través de su tío, el entonces obispo de Palencia don

329. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 628.

330. Vidal Beltrán, Eliseo. "Política patrimonial de Fernando I y Alfonso V en el Reino de Valencia", *IV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona: Vda. de Fidel Rodríguez/ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, 1970: I, 495-503. Este autor no proporciona la fecha de la donación.

331. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, X, 632. Basándose en Monfar también lo recoge Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell...": 167. Y el mismo autor en Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El condado de Urgel...": 351, que destaca que esta villa era el punto meridional del desaparecido condado de Urgel.

332. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 634.

333. González Sánchez, Santiago. "Documentos del reinado...": 365 (doc. núm. 59).

334. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 263-264.

335. Tintó Sala, Margarita. *Cartas del baile...*: 42.

336. Las concesiones se hicieron en el reinado de Alfonso V de Aragón. Monfar y Sors, Diego. *Historia de los Condes...*: II, 535-536; Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 48-49; Bertran Roigè, Prim. "El comtat d'Urgell...": 165-169.

337. Nos inclinamos a pensar que se trate de la actual Tarrasa, población cercana a Barcelona y que, como pone de manifiesto Zurita, pertenece a Cataluña.

338. Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales...*: 473.

Sancho de Rojas, la reina doña Leonor concedió Saldaña... “por los grandes servicios que él hizo al Rey de Aragón mi marido, en la sucesión del Reino de Aragón, y en la batalla con los ingleses, cuando vinieron a favorecer al Conde de Urgel en el cerco de Balaguer”.³³⁹

10. Conclusión

Hay que destacar varios hechos del triunfo de don Fernando en Balaguer. En primer lugar, la distinta postura mantenida frente a su rival en orden a la generalización del conflicto, a que pudiera salir de las fronteras de los territorios de la Corona de Aragón. Se puede ver como el conde de Urgel y sus partidarios como don Antonio de Luna lo que tratan es de internacionalizar el problema, bien mediante sus tratos con personajes ingleses o con la contratación de hombres de armas de ese reino y de sus posesiones francesas. Por otro lado, el rey don Fernando cuida de que la ayuda se circunscriba a los reinos que componían su corona, a Castilla y puede decirse que a título individual a Navarra, por el rechazo a la ayuda oficial que se le ofreció. Igualmente existe una actitud diferente por parte de cada uno de los contendientes en su forma de estar ante sus tropas. En don Jaime de Urgel debieron de influir las dificultades por las que atravesaba. En tal sentido conocemos sus momentos de vacilación, de dejarse llevar por las influencias, incluso, y de creer a alguna fuente, de querer abandonar para salvarse.³⁴⁰ Por su parte, el rey de Aragón, que cuenta con una literatura favorable a su causa, habría demostrado en todo momento una actitud de control de la situación, como lo demuestran determinados hechos recogidos por los cronistas, como por ejemplo que... “el Rey andaba en torno a la cibdad”.³⁴¹ En su favor estaba la marcha favorable del sitio, sin olvidar su experiencia militar anterior.

Desde el punto de vista militar, el cerco a Balaguer supone un avance considerable con respecto al sitio de Antequera, tres años antes. Por ejemplo, en este último... “la poliorcética prepondera aún sobre la artillería”.³⁴² Artillería que no se limita en el cerco a la ciudad catalana al disparo de piedras sino que dispone de balas de hierro, como conocemos por los documentos conservados. En Balaguer se vislumbran otros fenómenos que se generalizarán posteriormente. Uno de ellos, por las necesidades del conde de Urgel, es el recurso a las milicias de oficio, que aquí aparecen al lado de la hueste feudal. Si Antequera había representado el encubramiento de don Fernando en su reino de origen, Balaguer puede considerarse como el triunfo que le asegura a él y a sus sucesores el trono de la Corona de Aragón. Quizá con tanta razón como se le conoce con el sobrenombre de Antequera podamos nombrarle con el de Balaguer. Pues desde un punto de vista personal, y como ha quedado demostrado, la toma de esta población le consagrará como triunfador en la última y más decisiva batalla de armas de su vida.

339. Así lo tomamos de García Rámila, Ismael. *Estudio histórico-crítico sobre la vida y actuación político-social del burgalés ilustre que se llamó D. Diego Gómez de Sandoval, Adelantado Mayor de Castilla y primer Conde de Castro y Denia (1385-1455)*, Burgos: Imprenta Excm. Diputación de Burgos, 1953: 94 (doc. núm. 10).

340. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 352. Una obra tan favorable al conde de Urgel como *La fi del comte d'Urgell*, sin duda para alabar su comportamiento, refiere que don Jaime en varias ocasiones salió de Balaguer durante el cerco, pero que una vez fuera no tenía ánimo para escaparse y abandonar su casa, por lo que volvía a entrar en la ciudad. Salas Bosch, Xavier de. *La fi del comte...*: 28. Sobre la figura de don Jaime, aunque nos ha sido imposible su consulta, también puede verse Carrové i Viola, Doménec. *Jaume d'Urgell. El dissortat*, Balaguer: Arts Gràfiques Romeu. 1968.

341. Pérez de Guzmán, Fernán. *Crónica...*: 353.

342. Arantegui, José. “El sitio...”: 463.



ESTAT DE LA QÜESTIÓ I NOVES PERSPECTIVES EN EL TRACTAMENT DE L'HERÈNCIA PATRIMONIAL D'AL-ÀNDALUS A CATALUNYA

JESÚS BRUFAL SUCARRAT
UNIVERSITAT DE LLEIDA

A la Sonia

RESUM

Parlar de patrimoni cultural significa parlar de l'herència material i immaterial del passat cultural d'una societat però des del present. A Europa, massa sovint, el patrimoni es gestiona en clau econòmica i ideològica d'acord amb allò que ven (el turisme) i allò que la memòria i la ideologia han escrit per fonamentar les bases de l'Estat-Nació.

L'Islam, en l'Edat Mitjana, fou una civilització que arribà ben amunt dels Pirineus, una aventura ben curta certament, però es consolidà en bona part de la península Ibèrica durant almenys quatre segles. Des d'una visió crítica i de la investigació, afrontem el tractament que ha rebut el patrimoni islàmic medieval a Catalunya, tot cercant espais de debat per millorar una enorme herència cultural que massa sovint o s'ha oblidat o s'ha mitificat.

1. Introducció

A Europa, l'herència històrica en forma de patrimoni cultural és un bé preuat per les respectives societats que la configuren. N'és un nítid reflex la generalització d'organismes ministerials o entitats públiques i privades gestores del patrimoni cultural, dins dels governs dels estats europeus i, de la Unió Europea. A més, des d'un punt de vista de la legislació, els governs segueixen regulant la interacció entre la societat i el patrimoni o entre la investigació i el patrimoni. Per tant, es constata una acció de govern que respon a les inquietuds socials o a les dinàmiques investigadores dels centres de recerca.

Talment, si cal destacar el motiu singular per entendre la intervenció en el patrimoni cultural dels governs dels Estats-Nació europeus no és altre que la consolidació i prolongació en el temps de la memòria i la ideologia que configuren la identitat nacional. Els mites fundacionals s'entenen com l'essència bàsica de la cohesió i inclusió social, molt per sobre de conèixer els períodes històrics des d'un punt de vista científic i rigorista, el qual sempre ha de ser neutral i exempt d'ideologia.

També, la societat valora els diversos elements patrimonials del propi lloc de residència, d'un territori concret o d'un país. Sigui quina sigui la perspectiva des de la qual perceben l'herència material i immaterial, val a dir que les societats europees han assolit tradició en el coneixement crític entorn aquesta qüestió. Per això, la constant salvaguarda i projecció del propi patrimoni cultural. Alhora, aquesta valuosa herència s'està obrint al gran públic mitjançant el turisme cultural, el qual



massa sovint disfressa els llocs emblemàtics per atraure visitants atrets pels escenaris i no tant pel contingut històric o artístic.¹ Això en certa mesura incideix amb el tipus de polítiques patrimonials, les inversions que les recolzen i sobretot quin patrimoni rep un tractament òptim i quin no. La perspectiva d'anàlisi és àmplia per això posem la lupa en l'herència patrimonial d'al-Àndalus en un territori concret, Catalunya.

2. El patrimoni islàmic medieval a Catalunya

Des de la conquesta islàmica, a cavall del 713 i 714, dels territoris nord-orientals del desmembrat regne visigot, fins la conquesta dels territoris islàmics dels districtes de Tortosa i Lleida el 1148 i 1149 respectivament, la societat andalusina forjà un voluminós i heterogeni patrimoni cultural. Aquest, s'estratificà a mesura que la societat que l'anava construint s'anava consolidant o canviant, doncs no és gens menyspreable la xifra de quatre segles i mig en què el territori de l'actual Catalunya fou islàmic. A tall d'exemple, actualment constatem en fortaleses islàmiques, cas de la torre de la Ràpita (Vallfogona de Balaguer, Lleida), la realització de reformes tècniques endegades per la mateixa societat andalusina per seguir enfortint els murs defensius. Això permet afirmar que segons el context històric, aquell mur rep el tractament que la societat li demana i la tecnologia li permet allargar la vida i la utilitat.

Sens dubte, en els districtes islàmics de Lleida i Tortosa la vida quotidiana generà una quantitat immensa d'elements patrimonials, molts dels quals són ben visibles en els jaciments arqueològics, tot destacant el "Parc Arqueològic 'Pla d'Almatà'" a Balaguer per la seva excepcionalitat i qualitat del material identificat. Així doncs, són diversos els jaciments arqueològics que en la seva superfície i la seva potència estratigràfica, emmagatzemen artefactes nítidament islàmics, tot deixant ben palesa la intensitat de la ocupació d'aquest territori. Alhora, el paisatge també cospa els efectes de la cultura andalusina, principalment aquells que són frontera amb els territoris cristians. Sobre el terreny en les àrees islàmiques on s'identifica una intensificació de l'ocupació i explotació dels terrenys, cas de l'anomenat Pla del Mascançà,² o en l'àrea tortosina,³ el paisatge ho ha registrat tot destacant l'extensió de la xarxa d'irrigació o la configuració dels poblats rurals.⁴ Mentrestant, en la zona fronterera dels Aspres (districte islàmic de Lleida) es visualitza la toponímia erma de vocables àrabs⁵ i d'infraestructures tant defensives com de producció.

Per tant, a mode de síntesi corroborarem en els nostres dies l'existència d'un valuós llegat patrimonial de l'Islam a l'edat mitjana però alhora aquests conjunts materials i immaterials són ben poc perceptibles. A continuació desglossarem en sub-apartats un seguit de casuístiques que poden explicar la dificultat per visibilitzar el llegat islàmic d'al-Àndalus a l'actual territori català.

1. Sabaté, Flocel. "El patrimoni històric afaïçonat sota el criteri econòmic", *El gran valor de les lletres i les humanitats. Homenatge al Dr. Frederic Vilà i Tornos*, Ximo Company, Isidro Puig, Cristina Mongay, Sandro Machetti, eds. Lleida: Edicions i Publicacions de la Universitat de Lleida, 2015: 269-275.

2. Actual Pla de Lleida.

3. Negre, Joan. "Poblamiento rural en el distrito islámico de Tortosa: resultados de las campañas de prospección arqueológica en las 'Terres de l'Ebre' (2010-2011)", *Arqueologia Medieval. La Ciutat*, Flocel Sabaté, Jesús Brufal, eds. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2014: 277-298.

4. Brufal, Jesús. *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica (s. XI-XII). Lleida i l'est del districte: Castells i el Pla del Mascançà*. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2013.

5. Corsà, Jesús. "Toponímia de Tartareu". *Societat d'Onomàstica: butlletí interior*, 119 (2010): 233-246.



2.1 La tradició historiogràfica del medievalisme

Diversos són els investigadors medievalistes que han publicat recerques entorn el tractament del període islàmic a l'actual territori de Catalunya.⁶ L'excel·lència d'aquests treballs demostren el notable interès per part de l'actual historiografia, per desmitificar mites i proposar anàlisis a partir de la metodologia científica, i per aclarir i proposar noves interpretacions històriques que defugen de les ideologies religioses i nacionalistes.⁷ Per això les línies de recerca que venen desenvolupant s'alimenten de noves eines metodològiques⁸ i de noves corrents historiogràfiques,⁹ que clarament aproximen a l'investigador a una major coneixença de l'etapa islàmica al nord-est de la península Ibèrica, i concretament a l'actual Catalunya.

Històricament el medievalisme català ha destinat majors esforços en la investigació del període baix medieval en detriment de l'alt medieval. Concretament, a l'alta edat mitjana, si prenem com a referència l'espai geogràfic del present estudi, es constata com sobresurten les recerques que tenen com a focus principal d'estudi l'etiquetada Catalunya Vella (engloba el Pirineu, el pre-Pirineu, l'actual Catalunya Central) mentre que la Catalunya Nova (engloba pla de Lleida, Camp de Tarragona i Terres de l'Ebre) s'estudia a mesura que la conquesta comtal es consolida ja ben entrat el segle XII.¹⁰ Per tant es coneixen els territoris del centre-oest i del sud-oest de l'actual Catalunya a partir del procés de conquesta, mentre que les idiosincràsies internes de la societat andalusina han passat per alt fins ben entrat el segle XX.¹¹

6. Sabaté, Flocel. "Frontera peninsular e identidad (siglos IX-XII)", *Las Cinco Villas aragoneses en la Europa de los siglos XII y XIII*, Esteban Sarasa, ed. Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007: 47-94; Sabaté, Flocel. *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII): Conquesta o repoblació?* Lleida: Edicions de la Universitat de Lleida, 1996: 9-64; García Sanjuan, Alejandro. *La conquista islámica de la península Ibérica y la tergiversación del pasado*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2013: 27-244; Fierro, Maribel. "Al-Andalus en el pensamiento fascista. La 'revolución islámica en Occidente' de Ignacio Olagüe", *Al-Andalus/España. Historiografías en contraste, siglos XVII-XXI*, Manuela Marín, ed. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009: 325-349; Marín, Manuela. *Al-Andalus y los andalusíes*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2000: 8, 57-67.

7. Sabaté, Flocel. "El Nacimiento de Cataluña. Mito y realidad", *Fundamentos medievales de los particularismos hispánicos*. Ávila: Fundación Sánchez-Albornoz, 2005: 223-276.

8. Brufal, Jesús. "El reto de la Historia, integrar la tecnología", *Historia y videojuegos: el impacto de los Nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*, Juan Francisco Jiménez, Íñigo Mugueta, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Campo-bell, 2016: 123-134.

9. Aurell, Jaume; Balmaceda, Catalina; Burke, Peter; Soza, Felipe, eds. *Comprender el pasado. Una historia de la escritura y el pensamiento histórico*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 2013: 237-329.

10. Sabaté, Flocel. *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII)...*

11. Destaquem algunes de les principals recerques que es dugueren en territori català: Curto, Albert; Lorient, Ana; Martínez, Charo; Rosa, Elisa. "Excavacions al Castell de La Suda de Tortosa". *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 1 (1984): 141-145; Curto, Albert. "Els nivells islàmics en l'excavació en la Plaça de Ntra. Sra. De la Cinta o de l'Oliviera de la ciutat de Tortosa (Tarragona)", *I Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*. Zaragoza: Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 1985-1986: III, 99-112; Balaña, Pere. "Els musulmans a Catalunya (713-1153). Una aproximació bibliogràfica". *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes. Suplementos bibliográficos*, 3 (1986): 287-288; Barceló, Miquel. "Aigua i assentaments andalusins entre Xerta i Amposta (s. VIII-XII)", *II Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española*. Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid, 1987: 411-420; Barceló, Miquel. "La invasió àrabo-musulmana a Catalunya". *L'Avenç*, 117 (1988): 14-17; Sénac, Philippe. "Notes sur les Husūn de Lérida". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 24 (1988): 53-69; Lorient, Ana. *L'horitzó andalusí de l'antic Portal de Magdalena*. Lleida: Ajuntament de Lleida, 1990; Balaña, Pere. *Els noms de lloc de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Editorial Millà, 1991; Barceló, Miquel; Kirchner, Helena; Martí, Ramon; Torres, Josep Maria. "L'hisn dels Madyuna (Mediona, Alt Penedès): la qüestió dels assentaments berbers a Catalunya", *Catalunya i França Meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil. Actes del Col·loqui Internacional Hug Capet*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1991: 283; Giral, Josep. "Fortificacions andalusines a la marca superior d'Al-Andalus: aproximació a l'estudi de la zona nord del districte de Lleida", *La Marche Supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident Chrétien*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1991: 67-74; Barceló, Miquel. "Els establiments àrabs i berbers de l'Alt Penedès i els seus noms", *Catalunya Romànica*. Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1992: XIX, 26.

Pels autors i pensadors moderns i contemporanis, al-Àndalus suscità un interès més aviat de reivindicació d'arrels nacionals i religioses, ressaltant els trets clàssics i tradicionals de la identitat. La "Reconquesta" medieval és l'eix vertebrador que articulava una Espanya identificada en un concret sistema de valors i amb una missió específica en la història.¹² Així doncs, aquest eix es compartit pels intel·lectuals i polítics del segle XIX pel fet que atorga cohesió interna i justifica l'existència d'una realitat prèvia, la idea que abans de l'arribada de l'Islam la identitat nacional ja s'havia forjat en les resistències de Sagunt i Numància davant l'invasor romà.¹³ Autors com José Álvarez Junco focalitzen la seva atenció en la "Reconquesta" i en l'acte d'exaltació d'identitat dels principals trets característics dels espanyols com a nació, per això, de les seves paraules es destaca la *esencia guerrera y religiosa del pueblo español*.¹⁴ Similarment, Catalunya troba amb Carlemany la seva pròpia via d'identitat seguint els mateixos continguts. Així, Víctor Balaguer identifica Otger Cathaló com el *Pelayo Catalán* i interpreta que Manresa fou la *Covadonga Catalana*.¹⁵ Pels historiadors de l'edat moderna fins al segle XIX, la llegenda d'Otger Cathaló completa la visió heroica dels primers catalans, que hagueren de lluitar ferotgement contra els musulmans,¹⁶ i alhora, prepararen l'arribada de Carlemany que es explicada amb un caire d'alliberament.¹⁷ Des d'un punt de vista geogràfic, el naixement de la nació catalana s'identifica amb les àrees pirinenques i pre-pirinenques, on allí es refugià la població tot fugint de la dominació islàmica. Aquests camperols aloers progressivament apripsonaren l'espai vers la frontera amb al-Àndalus.¹⁸

Tot i la publicació dels primers treballs sobre l'Islam a la península Ibèrica per part de Codera¹⁹ i Dozy,²⁰ la certesa és que l'estudi d'aquest període històric segueix sense incentivar-se, i la historiografia segueix repetint els tòpics poc contrastats. Així s'accedeix al segle XX, oblidant per una banda la història d'al-Àndalus i per altra seguint amb els tòpics sobre la recuperació del territori català usurpat pels musulmans, és a dir la "Reconquesta".²¹ Aquests plantejaments encaixen i faciliten el lligam amb els diferents elements de la història nacional.²² En aquest context, Josep Maria Millàs i Vallicrosa²³ és el referent en la recerca i estudi de la documentació àràbiga referent als territoris lleidatans i tortosins. Les seves investigacions marcaran, més endavant en el temps,

12. García Carcel, Ricardo. "La manipulación de la memoria histórica en el nacionalismo español". *Manuscrits*, 12 (1994): 180-181.

13. Fox, Inman. *La invención de España. Nacionalismo liberal e identidad nacional*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1997: 40.

14. Álvarez Junco, José. *Mater dolorosa. La idea de España en el siglo XIX*. Madrid: Taurus, 2001: 218.

15. Balaguer, Víctor. *Historia de Cataluña y de la Corona de Aragón*. Barcelona: Librería de Salvador Manero, 1860: 1, 108-407.

16. Riu-Barrera, Eduard. "Els orígens de Catalunya, de la historiografia feudal al medievalisme noucentista. A propòsit de l'obra de Miquel Coll i Alentorn". *El Contemporani*, 4 (1994): 4.

17. Zimmermann, Michel. "Les goths et l'influence gothique dans l'empire carolingien". *Les cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxà*, 23 (1992): 33-36.

18. Bofarull, Antoni. *Historia crítica civil y eclesiástica de Cataluña*. Barcelona: Biblioteca Clàssica Catalana, 1906: 178.

19. Codera, Francisco. "Límites probables de la conquista árabe en la cordillera pirenaica". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 48 (1906): 289-311.

20. Dozy, Reinhart. *Historia de los musulmanes de España hasta la conquista de los almorávides*. Madrid-Barcelona: Calpe, 1920-1934.

21. Serra Vilaró, Joan. "Origen d'algunes localitats catalanes". *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 4 (1910): 4.

22. Vicens Vives, Jaume. *Notícia de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Ediciones Destino, 1982; Rovira i Virgili, Antoni. *Història de Catalunya*. Bilbao: La Gran Enciclopèdia Vasca, 1972-1984.

23. Millàs i Vallicrosa, Josep Maria. "Els textos d'historiadors musulmans referents a la Catalunya carolíngia". *Quaderns d'Estudi*, 14 (1922): 125-161.



la trajectòria d'investigadors arabistes catalans, com Dolors Bramon. Gairebé coetàniament amb Millàs i Vallicrosa, Évariste Lévi Provençal²⁴ i la seva obra són la referència de les recerques sobre l'islam occidental a l'edat mitjana. Destaca la seva interpretació evolucionista del poder central andalusí a Còrdova i posa la lupa sobre la família Omeia. Tanmateix, aquesta visió no engloba en el seu conjunt els territoris de les fronteres, especialment el de la Frontera Superior.

Des del medievalisme català, Ramon d'Abadal a partir dels seus estudis sobre el fenomen expansiu permet assumir i reorientar la visió tradicional.²⁵ Explica que un Pirineu farcit de població serà la base a partir de la qual els comtes empenyin la població vers la frontera amb al-Àndalus. Aquests colons dels territoris fronterers erms de població els ocupen i els exploten, a mesura que progressivament van avançant vers terres meridionals. Aquesta idea desplaça la "Reconquesta" i n'introdueix una de nova la "Repoblació", degut a que les escomeses bèl·liques només es focalitzen en la conquesta de les ciutats o importants emplaçaments islàmics. La interpretació de la repoblació culmina amb Pierre Bonnassie qui explica que la població dels Pirineus es desplaça per raons socio-econòmiques, tot reduint l'impacte de l'acció comtal.²⁶

Tanmateix, la buidor dels espais fronterers es posa en dubte a partir d'estudis concrets a la Vall de Lord²⁷ i a Sant Joan de les Abadesses.²⁸ Salrach, des d'una visió més global, planteja entendre el fenomen d'ocupació de l'espai com un procés lent, on per una banda fa una lectura econòmica de l'apropiació de sòl agrari,²⁹ i per l'altra la dinàmica feudal porta a un expansionisme inherent projectat cap a la societat andalusina. Així, no es parla de "repoblament" sinó que pren força la visió d'una conquesta militar però sense considerar els mites de les accions heroiques del passat.

Alhora que la recerca medievalista avança vers noves vies d'interpretació, la historiografia andalusina adopta nous i renovadors plantejaments. Pierre Guichard,³⁰ a partir de la seva formació multidisciplinar, s'aproxima a l'estudi d'al-Àndalus des d'una perspectiva antropològica, històrica i arqueològica. De fet, el territori en la seva complexitat és el seu objecte d'estudi per arribar a entendre la societat andalusina. Els seus estudis focalitzats en l'àrea lleuantina el porten a afirmar un paper destacat de les comunitats rurals, moltes d'elles organitzades a partir de grups clànics. En certa mesura, Guichard ens proposa una història regionalista d'al-Àndalus, que toparia amb la visió centralitzadora de Lévi-Provençal. L'embranchida dels estudis sobre al-Àndalus pren força a mesura que ens aproximem a l'últim quart del segle XX. Miquel Barceló³¹ s'endinsa en l'estudi de la societat andalusina a partir, sobretot, de l'anàlisi de l'hidràulica en les comunitats rurals. Tanmateix, tot i l'empenta de la historiografia andalusina arreu d'Espanya, a Catalunya cal esperar

24. Lévi-Provençal, Évariste. *L'Espagne musulmane au X^e siècle: institutions et vie sociale*. Paris: Maisonneuve&Larose, 1950.

25. D'Abadal, Ramon. *Els primers comtes catalans*. Barcelona: Editorial Vicens Vives, 1983.

26. Bonnassie, Pierre. *Catalunya mil anys enrera (segles X-XI)*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1979.

27. Benet, Albert. "El Solsonès. Marc històric", *Catalunya Romànica. XIII. El Solsonès i la Vall d'Aran*. Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1987: 24-31.

28. Feliu, Gaspar. "Sant Joan de les Abadesses. Algunes precisions sobre l'acta judicial del 913 i el poblament de la Vall", *Homenatge a la memòria del prof. Dr. Emilio Sáez. Aplec d'estudis dels seus deixebles i col·laboradors*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona-Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989: 421-434.

29. Salrach, Josep Maria. "Repoblament i colonització agrària a l'alta edat mitjana". *Cuadernos de historia económica de Cataluña*, 19 (1978): 17-28.

30. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 1998.

31. Barceló, Miquel. "El diseño de espacios irrigados en al-Andalus: un enunciado de principios generales", *El agua en zonas áridas: Arqueología e Historia*, Lorenzo Cara, ed. Almería: Instituto de Estudios Almerienses, 1989: 15-47.

fins als anys 90 per trobar la primera investigació on es presenta una visió de conjunt de l'islam a les terres lleidatanes i tortosines.³² La coneixença d'al-Àndalus es consolida, més endavant, amb la investigació de Dolors Bramon sobre la documentació aràbiga, la qual dóna continuïtat a l'obra de Millàs i Vallicrosa.³³ Certament, en aquest context de finals del segle XX i la primera dècada del XXI, és important la producció bibliogràfica fruit de recerques d'abast territorial, tot destacant els estudis de Giralt³⁴ en l'àrea balaguerina, d'Eritja³⁵ al voltant de les almúnies, d'Esco³⁶ sobre la Tortosa islàmica, de Kirchner i de Virgili en l'estudi dels paisatges agraris i hidràulics en la Tortosa andalusina,³⁷ de Negre³⁸ sobre les comunitats rurals a l'àrea tortosina, de Lorient en el cas concret de la ciutat de Lleida,³⁹ de Monjo en el cas de Balaguer⁴⁰, i de Brufal⁴¹ en el conjunt del territori de l'antic districte de Lleida.

Les recerques endegades per la metodologia arqueològica conviuen amb les edicions i estudis de la documentació aràbiga. Tot plegat aporta una fructífera producció bibliogràfica que ens mostra la societat, l'economia i la identitat andalusina tant als districtes de Lleida com de Tortosa. Per la seva banda, els estudis sobre l'expansió de la societat comtal vers els territoris andalusins han adoptat un nou marc d'interpretació, la frontera. Els conceptes "reconquesta" i "repoblació" s'han superat pels avanços significatius en l'anàlisi de les fonts, en la seva diversitat, i per la visió holística i hermenèutica. En aquest sentit, Flocel Sabaté⁴² explica el fenomen expansiu de l'espai comtal en una acurada periodització que inicia al segle IX i culmina al segle XII. Aquest nou enfoc amplia la visió vers la globalitat de la història, abraçant des de la història econòmica, militar, fiscal, religiosa, política... tant del vessant comtal com de l'andalusí. Sembla doncs que la historiografia medievalista ha assimilat l'andalusina, tot aproximant vies conjuntes d'interpretació davant el mateix fenomen.⁴³

Malgrat copsar sintèticament l'evolució dels estudis sobre el tractament historiogràfic de l'expansió comtal vers el territori islàmic, i sobre al-Àndalus, val a dir que el pes ideològic d'una determinada tradició historiogràfica heretada, fa que el recurrent tema de l'Islam a la península Ibèrica susciti força controvèrsia, tant en la societat catalana com en l'espanyola dels segles XX i XXI. L'ar-

32. Balañà, Pere. *Els musulmans a Catalunya (713-1153)*. Sabadell: AUSA, 1993.

33. Bramon, Dolors. *De quan érem o no musulmans. Textos del 713 al 1010*. Barcelona: Eumo Editorial, 2000.

34. Giralt, Josep. "Fortificacions andalusines a la marca superior d'Al-Andalus: aproximació a l'estudi de la zona nord del districte de Lleida", *La Marche Supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident Chrétien*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1991: 67-74.

35. Eritja, Xavier. *De l'almúnia a la turris organització de l'espai a la regió de Lleida (segles XI i XII)*. Lleida: Edicions i Publicacions de la Universitat de Lleida, 1998.

36. Esco, Carlos; Giralt, Josep; Sénac, Philippe. *Arqueología Islámica en la Marca Superior de Al-Andalus*. Osca: Diputación de Huesca, 1988.

37. Kirchner, Helena; Virgili, Antoni; Antolín, Ferran. "Un espacio de cultivo urbano en al-Ándalus: Madīna Turṭūša (Tortosa) antes de 1148", *Història Agrària*, 62 (2014): 11-45.

38. Negre, Joan. *De Tortosa a Turṭūša: L'extrem oriental d'al-Ṭagr al-A'là en el context del procés d'islamització d'al-Andalus*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Tesi Doctoral), 2013.

39. Lorient, Ana. "La vaixella andalusina de la primera meitat del segle X apareguda a la ciutat de Lleida", *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent*, 10 (2000): 293-325.

40. Monjo, Marta. "El naixement de madina Balaguer: el Pla d'Almatà (segles VIII-XII)", *Catàleg de la col·lecció de materials andalusins del Museu de la Noguera*, Carme Alòs, Eva Solanes, eds. Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera, 2010: 21-29.

41. Brufal, Jesús. *El món rural i urbà en la Lleida islàmica (s. XI-XII)...*

42. Sabaté, Flocel. *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII)...*; Sabaté, Flocel. *El territori de la Catalunya medieval. Percepció de l'espai i divisió territorial al llarg de l'Edat Mitjana*. Barcelona: Fundació Salvador Vives i Casajuana, 1997.

43. Sénac, Philippe. *La frontière et les hommes (VIII-XII siècles). Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Ebre et les débuts de la conquête aragonaise*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2000.



quebisbe de València l'any 2008 escrigué *el cristianismo, la fe catòlica —se profese o no por las personas y se quiera o no— constituye el alma de España*.⁴⁴ Certament aquesta afirmació no és gens casual si la posem en context, donat que en el segon mandat polític del president José Luís Zapatero (PSOE), el braç conservador de la societat espanyola temé per la pèrdua d'identitat com a nació, per això anà a l'arrel del que ells consideren l'origen de la essència d'Espanya i mostrà nítidament la base teòrica del que ha de ser l'espanyol, on la religió catòlica n'és el pilar, tot defugint d'explicar les influències històriques de més religions com la islàmica. En la mateixa línia conservadora però des de la posició com ex-president del govern d'Espanya, José María Aznar (PP) pronuncià el 2004 una conferència sobre el terrorisme islamista a la Georgetown University. L'ex-president explica que el problema del terrorisme a Espanya no té com a punt d'inici la guerra d'Iraq o al-Qaeda sinó que es remunta a l'Edat Mitjana, a partir del 711 amb la conquesta islàmica del Regne Visigot, o tal com ell anomena la invasió dels “moros” d'Espanya.⁴⁵ Aquesta terminologia respon al discurs negacionista i catastrofista de la història, on intencionadament i obviant les fonts històriques s'interpreta una fase important de la història de l'occident d'Europa en clau presencialista. S'explica el present a partir del passat i a més amb un marcat caràcter ideològic. Els mitjans de comunicació pròxims a les tesis conservadores publiquen articles que s'alineen amb el discurs de la identitat espanyola. Així doncs, Pedro Fernández Barbadillo el 2011 cita *cuando los árabes irrumpieron en España ya existía un país independiente y unas personas que se llamaban a sí mismas españolas*.⁴⁶ Recentment, i de nou el cardenal Cañizares, en un “esmorzar informatiu” incorpora al debat la relació entre la immigració, bàsicament siriana, i la pèrdua dels valors tradicionals d'Europa, fonamentats amb el cristianisme.⁴⁷ La immigració de sirians, dita per Cañizares com “la invasión”, tot equiparant-la amb el 711, alhora s'interpreta com una perillosa entrada d'infidels al territori cristià tot deixant entreveure l'objectiu obscur d'enlairar-nos. Certament, i de nou, les teories basades amb el nacional-catolicisme impregnen el debat públic sense parar atenció als fets objectius els quals avui estan tant ben estudiats per experts universitaris o liberals.

A l'altre extrem dels postulats que hem presentat neix a partir dels anys 80 del segle XX fins a l'actualitat una visió “bonista” o romàntica de l'Islam medieval a la península Ibèrica.⁴⁸ Des d'un punt de vista ideològic, aquestes percepcions s'ubiquen tant a segments progressistes com en el nacionalisme andalús. Aquest darrer veu en

la civilización andalusí la máxima culminación histórica del “pueblo andaluz”. Más recientemente se prolonga como manifestación de una pretendida historia “antisistema”, que adopta una pose postmoderna

44. Cañizares Llovera, Antonio. *El esplendor visigótico, momento clave en la edificación de España y para su futuro*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2008: 44.

45. Vegeu a partir del segon 45 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Zt5h_wbaP4> (Consultat el 15 de Novembre 2015).

46. García Sanjuan, Alejandro. *La conquista islàmica de la península Ibèrica y la tergiversación del pasado*. Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2013: 52.

47. Levante. El mercantil valenciano. “Cañizares: ‘¿Esta invasión de inmigrantes y de refugiados es del todo trigo limpio?’”. 14 Octubre 2015. 15 Juny 2016 <<http://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2015/10/14/canizares-invasion-emigrantes-refugiados-trigo/1327304.html>>.

48. Menocal, Maria Rosa. “Al-Andalus and 1492: The ways of remembering”, *Islamic Civilization in Medieval Spain*. Leiden: Brill, 1992: 483-504; Menocal, Maria Rosa. *Culture in the time of tolerance: al-Andalus as a model for our own time*. New Heaven: Yale Law School, 2000; Menocal, Maria Rosa. “The dialogue of cultures in Medieval Spain”, *Le Dialogue des Cultures: est-il possible?* Rabat: Academie du Royaume de Maroc, 2005: 329-333.

*de cuestionamiento de las verdades de la historiografía "oficial", siempre adicta al poder y justificadora de sus manipulaciones.*⁴⁹

Més recorregut han tingut i segueixen tenint les tesis romàntiques entorn al-Àndalus i la societat andalusina o islàmica. D'una banda les tesis de la "Espanya musulmana" una formulació inventada i en si mateixa contradictòria que demostra la forma de fer història en un determinat moment. Darrera aquests postulats s'amaga la necessitat de diferenciar entre l'andalusí i el magrebí, tot manifestant que el primer visqué en una societat de poetes i il·lustrats mentre que el segon procedia d'un lloc bàrbar i ple de perills.

Les idees romàntiques no finalitzen aquí sinó que s'accentuen a partir de la Transició espanyola i la marcada voluntat rupturista, per part de determinats historiadors i sectors ideològics, vers la història oficial que havia explicat fins llavors l'esdevenir d'Espanya. Específicament, la consolidació de les comunitats autònomes posà en funcionament la recuperació de senyes d'identitat pròpies i en aquest projecte al-Àndalus no hi faltà. Així doncs, es generà un discurs on la imatge d'al-Àndalus s'entrelligà a la d'una societat islàmica on la tolerància i la convivència entre les tres cultures era possible fruit d'una mútua comprensió que fou suprimida violentament pels conquistadors cristians.⁵⁰

A més, i d'acord amb Manuela Marín, com a derivació de la idea de tolerància s'enalteixen virtuts de la vida andalusina equiparant-les amb "el arte de vivir" andalusí.⁵¹ Aquestes es relacionen en aspectes ben diversos de la vida quotidiana, tot ressaltant els "goces sensuales, el gusto por los perfumes, los jardines, la buena mesa, la música y las bellas mujeres".⁵² Tanmateix, els mites entorn la societat andalusina cal matisar-los a partir de l'anàlisi històric tot evidenciant les fal·làcies a partir de les quals es sostenen⁵³.

*La 'tolerancia' es una idea relativamente reciente y ajena a los andalusíes (y a cualquier otra colectividad anterior a la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos), o que la única cultura con caracteres dignos de ser considerada como tal, en al-Ándalus, fue la árabe-islámica. Es cierto que las minorías judías y cristianas gozaron en al-Ándalus de un estatuto de "protección" infinitamente mejor que el de los judíos en la Europa medieval, que hubo familias de religión mixta y que los emires musulmanes tuvieron a su servicio administradores y médicos judíos y cristianos. También es cierto que los episodios de persecución a estas minorías religiosas fueron contadísimos en la historia de al-Ándalus, aunque existieron y en algún caso, como en el progromo de Granada del siglo XI, con un número elevado de víctimas. Todo ello no implica, sin embargo, que existiera lo que hoy se califica admirativamente de convivencia modélica.*⁵⁴

Tanmateix, els mites perduren entorn la conquesta islàmica, el procés de conquesta cristià, i les dinàmiques socials andalusines. Potser cal preguntar-se el per què es mantenen aquest tipus de mites i la resposta la trobaríem en la ideologia partidista o de grups xenòfobs i racistes. De fet, la pràctica d'entendre el passat a partir d'una idea del present pren cos i forma arreu d'Europa, tal i com ho evidencia Flocel Sabaté referint-se a la presència de l'Edat Mitjana en el discurs lingüístic actual:

49. García Sanjuan, Alejandro. *La conquista islàmica...*: 24.

50. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2000: 62.

51. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes...*: 63.

52. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes...*: 63-64.

53. Fernández-Morera, Darío. *The Myth of the Andalusian Paradise. Muslims, Christians, and Jews under Islamic rule in Medieval Spain*. Wilmington: ISI Books, 2016.

54. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2000: 64-65.



L'Edat Mitjana és molt present a la societat actual. A penes és a l'escola. Viu, en canvi, en l'ambient: apareix en passar les pàgines del diari, en cercar les ofertes per a l'oci de cap de setmana familiar, en tota mena de discursos, a favor del progrés o del retrobament de la identitat maltractada, en propostes per encertar l'estructuració adient per al món actual. És una mena de fenomen atemporal que no deixa de ser una invocació històrica incrustada en el present i, potser, pretenent condicionar el futur.⁵⁵

Precisament, és en l'ensenyament on trobem el principal transmissor de certs tòpics i mites⁵⁶ sobre l'Islam a l'Edat Mitjana. Ja ho advertia Flocel Sabaté quan es referia a "*generaciones de españoles se han formado bajo una omnipresente Reconquista*".⁵⁷ Es referia a la formació escolar en temps de la dictadura franquista, la qual recollia tots els mites i tòpics sobre l'expansió dels regnes i comtats cristians vers el territori andalusí. La petjada d'aquesta història nacional on els mites i les tergiversacions ideològiques del passat tenen un pes important, també es reflecteixen a l'escola democràtica. Probablement fruit de la necessitat de justificar la natura i el ser de les comunitats autònomes, cadascuna ideà el currículum educatiu en història. En el cas de Catalunya, encara perduren tòpics entorn l'alta edat mitjana: destaquen la sobrevaloració de la batalla de Covadonga, seguir amb la mítica "reconquesta" del territori de l'antic Regne Visigot, i manifestar l'essència cristiana.⁵⁸ Al cap i a la fi, es dedueix nítidament com al darrera de la formació nacional de Catalunya hi ha la conquesta per la força d'un territori usurpat i alhora la moral i l'esperit és cristià. Alhora, aquests tòpics conviuen amb els propis de la visió romàntica de l'Islam. L'alimentació, l'art, la mesquita i les xarxes d'irrigació són els temes més recurrents a l'hora d'explicar al-Àndalus.

Certament la tasca i la responsabilitat dels historiadors és enorme a l'hora d'estudiar i explicar episodis de la història on les fonts històriques no són abundants. Si a més, hi sumem una profunda trajectòria d'interpretació històrica, la feina de l'historiador és multiplica significativament. Sens dubte, cal seguir estudiant la frontera alt medieval, cal entendre-la des de tots els punts de vista que la configuraven i sobretot sense excloure arbitràriament cap dels elements, i menys un de tant important, la societat andalusina.

2.3 Feble sensibilitat per preservar el patrimoni islàmic medieval. D'on venim?

El món acadèmic i intel·lectual ha posat sobre la taula la valoració i la salvaguarda del patrimoni cultural, especialment aquell referent a la història i l'art. El punt precedent n'és un bon exemple, doncs com hem anotat, a mesura que es cerquen mecanismes d'interpretació de la identitat nacional, tant espanyola com catalana, els diversos elements patrimonials eren un dels principals recolzaments argumentals. Per tal de garantir la preservació del patrimoni el 1900 es creà el *Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes* i la *Dirección General de Bellas Artes*. Des d'aleshores fins el 1933 es posen les bases legals per protegir, conservar, valorar i regular el patrimoni cultural espanyol i

55. Sabaté, Flocel. "Medievalismes actuals", *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*. Catarroja: Editorial Afers, 2012: 283-305.

56. Luque, Alberto. "La historia medieval a les escuelas: una visión deformada?", *L'Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Catarroja: Editorial Afers, 2012: 243-258.

57. Sabaté, Flocel. "Frontera peninsular e identidad (siglos IX-XII)", *Las Cinco Villas aragonesas en la Europa de los siglos XII y XIII*, Esteban Sarasa, ed. Saragossa: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas-Excelentísima Diputación de Zaragoza, 2007: 54.

58. García, Margarita; Gatell, Cristina; Llorens, Montserrat; Ortega, Rosa; Pons, Josep; Roig, Joan; Viver, Carles. *Marca 2. Ciències Socials, Geografia i Història*. Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 2006.

català. Tot i que la llei de *Patrimonio Nacional* de 13 de mayo de 1933⁵⁹ assenta tot el recorregut legislatiu des del 1901⁶⁰ fins aquesta data, cal remuntar-se al *Decreto de 22 de mayo de 1931*⁶¹ per copsar l'avantguarda que preparà la llei de 1933. Aquest *Decreto* recull per primer cop l'alienació d'immobles i objectes artístics, arqueològics o històrics, per tal d'evitar l'espoli i la exportació de patrimoni cultural cap a l'estranger. Amb aquesta base legislativa, des de l'any 1932 es treballa en el que fou la primera gran llei de patrimoni històric d'Espanya.⁶² Després de gairebé un any de preparació la llei s'aprovà i es publicà el mes de maig de l'any 1933. Aquesta llei regula els següents aspectes: el contingut i la noció de Patrimoni *Histórico-Artístico Nacional*, la organització administrativa de la protecció dels béns patrimonials, l'atribució a la Policia de la persecució de les infraccions contra el Patrimoni històric, el règim jurídic dels immobles, la funció dels arquitectes conservadors de monuments, la creació del cens d'edificis en perill, en dret internacional regula la vigilància de l'exportació fraudulenta de patrimoni, mesures pel foment dels museus públics, el nou règim dels béns mobles que es basava en la prohibició de la seva cessió quan eren propietat de l'Administració o de l'Església, i normatives sobre la formació del *Inventario del Patrimonio Histórico-Artístico Nacional*.

En aquest fervorós context legislatiu, l'Estatut d'Autonomia de Catalunya aprovat per la *Ley de 15 de septiembre de 1932* atribuïa en l'article 7⁶³ "*los Servicios de Bellas Artes, Museos, Bibliotecas, Conservación de monumentos y archivos, salvo el de la Corona de Aragón*". En aquest marc legislatiu es dictaren les següents lleis pròpiament catalanes referent al patrimoni cultural: la *Ley de creación del Consejo de Cultura de la Generalitat* de 14 de diciembre de 1933, la *Ley del Servicio de Bibliotecas, Archivos, Museos y Patrimonio Histórico, Artístico y Científico de Catalunya* de 20 de marzo de 1934, i la *Ley de Conservación del Patrimonio Histórico, Artístico y Científico de Catalunya* de 26 de junio de 1934.

La *Ley de 1933* es mantingué en vigor durant l'etapa franquista tot i haver estat promulgada per la Segona República. Durant el franquisme, aquesta llei, es complementà amb la *Ley de 16 de diciembre de 1954* que regulava l'expropiació forçosa del sòl on es detectés vestigis arqueològics,⁶⁴ i la contemplació per primer cop de l'arqueologia submarina (*decret 2055/1963 de 25 de septiembre*).⁶⁵

59. "Ley Relativa al Patrimonio Artístico Nacional". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 25 Maig 1933: CXLV, 1393-1399 <<http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1933/145/A01393-01399.pdf>> (Consultat el 26 d'Octubre de 2016).

60. El Real Decreto de 18 de octubre de 1901 va aprovar el reglament pel règim i servei de les Biblioteques Públiques de l'Estat. "Reglamento para el Régimen y Servicio de las Bibliotecas Públicas del Estado". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 22 Octubre 1901: CCXCV, 359-360 <<http://boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1901/295/A00359-00371.pdf>> (Consultat el 26 d'Octubre de 2016).

61. Alcalá-Zamora, Niceto. "Decretos". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 23 Maig 1931: CXLIII, 880-881. <<http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE//1931/143/A00880-00881.pdf>> (Consultat el 26 d'Octubre de 2016). D'aquest *Decreto* volem destacar, de la introducció, el reconeixement que tot ciutadà té *pleno derecho al disfrute de las obras de arte y de cultura legadas por el pasado; derecho que se funda, no solo en el origen e historia e inmuebles y objetos, sino en que su guarda y conservación ha sido y es carga de España*.

62. García Fernandez, Javier. "La regulación y la gestión del Patrimonio Histórico-Artístico durante la Segunda República (1931-1939)", *Revista electrónica de Patrimonio Histórico*, 1 (2007): 12-14. <<http://www.revistadepatrimonio.es/revistas/numero1/legislacion/estudios/articulo.php>> (Consultat el 25 d'Octubre de 2016)

63. Alcalá-Zamora, Niceto. "Ley. Título II. Atribuciones de la Generalidad de Cataluña". *Gaceta de Madrid*. 21 Setembre 1932: CCXLV, 2091 <<http://www.boe.es/datos/pdfs/BOE/1932/265/A02090-02094.pdf>> (Consultat el 26 d'Octubre de 2016).

64. Franco, Francisco. "Ley de 16 de diciembre de 1954 sobre expropiación forzosa". *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. 17 Desembre 1954: CCCLI, 8261-8278 <<http://boe.es/boe/dias/1954/12/17/pdfs/A08261-08278.pdf>> (Consultat el 26 d'Octubre de 2016).

65. Franco, Francisco. "Decreto 2055/1969, de 25 de septiembre, por el que se regula el ejercicio de actividades subacuáticas". *Boletín Oficial del Estado*. 27 Setembre 1969: CCLII, 15182-15184 <<https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1969/09/27/>>



Des de començaments del segle XX fins el 1978 existeix un marc legal ben definit, però insuficient per aturar la destrucció de patrimoni cultural, especialment l'arquitectònic i l'arqueològic. La Guerra Civil jugà un paper destacat en la pèrdua de patrimoni ja sigui per ser front de guerra o pels saqueigs de patrimoni eclesiàstic, arxius, col·leccions de particulars, etc.

No s'ha de perdre de vista que a partir de l'arribada del "turisme de masses" i l'incontrolat creixement urbanístic al litoral mediterrani i a les principals ciutats, s'accentuà la destrucció d'un gruix important de patrimoni arqueològic i arquitectònic. L'absència de coordinació entre les institucions que vetllaven pel patrimoni, els escassos recursos materials i humans, ajudaren al seu deteriorament. Si fem referència al patrimoni arqueològic o arquitectònic islàmic la situació s'agreuja més per dos factors: el primer la desconexença de la cultura material de l'Islam a la península Ibèrica durant l'edat mitjana, i el segon l'existència d'un intencionat oblit dels vestigis materials andalusins. A pesar d'aquest panorama desolador, els grans monuments cordovesos reberen un tracte especial ja des del segle XIX, així com Granada tot destacant el monument de l'Alhambra.⁶⁶ Són els grans monuments simbòlics els que reben una acurada atenció per evitar-ne la seva pèrdua, altra cosa és la interpretació històrica i artística.

A Catalunya, exemples de destrucció o deteriorament de patrimoni arqueològic o arquitectònic islàmic no en falten. Per exemple, l'any 1905 es construeix el dipòsit d'aigua potable dins del Castell Formós de la ciutat de Balaguer, un dels monuments històrics amb un nítid horitzó islàmic més emblemàtics del nord-est de la península Ibèrica. Alcassaba islàmica primer, i posteriorment ja en el segle XIV, residència dels comtes d'Urgell, el recinte fortificat recull una alta quantitat i qualitat d'informació històrico-arqueològica i artística que requeria un tractament singular.⁶⁷ Certament, la necessitat de construir aquesta infraestructura municipal⁶⁸ propicià la destrucció de bona part del monument, condicionant a més, les futures intervencions arqueològiques. Tot i l'alta vàlua històrica, l'any 1905 no existien les condicions legals idònies per evitar la construcció dels dipòsits i destruir bona part de l'interior de la fortalesa.⁶⁹ A Balaguer, era prou conegut l'emplaçament i el valor com a monument, de fet, a partir dels anys 60 del segle XX així ho feren constatar diverses publicacions d'estudiosos locals i especialistes europeus amb la temàtica.⁷⁰ Tanmateix, l'absència de sensibilitat de les autoritats polítiques, la inexistència d'una llei de patrimoni que el salvaguardés, i el desinterès de la població, condemnaren per sempre el Castell Formós.

Aquest context previ a la democràcia també es reconeix com el de l'acció d'investigadors i erudits que individualment iniciaren recerques sobre temàtiques ben diverses. Sota la protecció d'institucions com el Museu Arqueològic Provincial de Tarragona, l'Institut d'Estudis Tarraconenses

pdfs/A15182-15184.pdf> (Consultat el 26 d'Octubre de 2016).

66. Rosselló-Bordoy, Guillem. "Introducció a l'estudi de la ceràmica andalusina", *Arqueologia Medieval. Reflexions des de la pràctica*. Lleida: Ajuntament d'Algèri-Pagès Editors, 2007: 21-142.

67. Díez-Coronel, Luis. "La alcázar de Balaguer y su Palacio árabe del siglo XI". *Ilerda*, 29 (1969): 337-347; Ewert, Christian. *Hallazgos islámicos en Balaguer y la Alfajería de Zaragoza*. Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones del Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, 1979-1980.

68. Aquest tipus d'actuacions es repeteixen en altres llocs de les terres lleidatanes com per exemple al castell de Sunyer, del qual avui en queda ben poca cosa després que hi construïssin un dipòsit d'aigua municipal.

69. Fem referència al Real Decreto de 29 de novembre de 1901, el qual aprova el reglament per al règim dels Museus Arqueològics de l'Estat, servits pel cos facultatiu d'arxivers, bibliotecaris i arqueòlegs.

70. Sanahüja, Pere. *Història de Balaguer*. Barcelona: ed. Seráfica, 1965. Díez-Coronel, Luis. "El palau dels comtes d'Urgell, fortalesa àrab". *Ilerda*, XLIII (1973): 31-39; Ewert, Christian. *Hallazgos islámicos en Balaguer y la Alfajería de Zaragoza*. Madrid: Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural, 1979; Giral, Josep. "El Castell Formós (o de Balaguer)", *Catalunya Romànica. La Noguera*. XVII. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1994: 225-238.

Ramon Berenguer IV de la Diputació de Tarragona, i l'Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs de la Diputació de Lleida, aquests investigadors endegaren primeres recerques històriques i arqueològiques.⁷¹ Sense cap mena de dubte són els pioners de la història local a les terres lleidatanes i tarragonines. El seu treball en el territori afavorí la preservació, sobretot, de jaciments arqueològics i la seva divulgació en ambients científics com a la societat en general.⁷²

Tot i les complexitats per salvaguardar el patrimoni cultural, i especialment l'islàmic, al llarg del segle XX, val a dir, que s'ha de reconèixer la legislació de principis de centúria i la de la IIa República, així com l'interès de moltes persones, ja siguin erudits o especialistes en patrimoni cultural, que individualment realitzaren les tasques de documentació i estudi, una feina colosal que avui tant preuem.

2.4 L'herència patrimonial islàmica. On som?

La consolidació del sistema democràtic espanyol a partir de la Constitució del 1978 suposà en el camp del patrimoni cultural un notable avanç vers la seva preservació, consolidació i projecció social. Per això en el camp legislatiu es promulga la *Ley 16/1985 de 25 de junio del Patrimonio Histórico Español*,⁷³ la qual obre la porta a la modernització del concepte de patrimoni cultural i a l'estructura organitzativa i d'acció per tal de preservar-lo i adaptar-lo al context europeu. A partir de les competències específiques en Cultura, la Generalitat de Catalunya a partir del seu Departament de Cultura estableix la llei catalana del patrimoni cultural, la Llei 9/1993, de 30 de setembre.⁷⁴ Una revisió i actualització als nous temps es realitza a partir del Decret 78/2002, de 5 de març, del Reglament de protecció del patrimoni arqueològic i paleontològic de Catalunya.⁷⁵ Sense cap mena de dubte, en l'Espanya democràtica, la nova legislació en patrimoni cultural propicià la necessària re-organització de l'administració, sobretot en els tipus de proteccions, la coordinació entre administracions, la formació del personal funcionari, i la seva representació en la totalitat del territori mitjançant els propis desplegaments ideats a partir de cada Comunitat Autònoma. En el cas de Catalunya, la Generalitat de Catalunya obrí delegacions del Departament de Cultura a Tarragona, Lleida i Girona.

La consolidació del règim democràtic espanyol i la definició i desplegament d'un marc legal estable, també coincidí amb el notable auge de les actuacions impulsades per l'administració pública per recuperar, consolidar o dinamitzar el patrimoni cultural, i dins d'aquest l'andalusí no en quedà exclòs. S'assimilà per primer cop que al-Àndalus també fou una etapa més de la història d'Espanya. En aquest sentit destaquem les intervencions arqueològiques en el marc urbà tant de la ciutat de Lleida tot destacant el jaciment de l'Antic Portal de Magdalena, com de Tortosa en les diverses

71. Destaquen Luis Díez-Coronel, Rodrigo Pita Mercè, Josep Lladonosa, Enrique Bayerri, Pere Sanahüja.

72. Díez-Coronel, Luis. *La Alcazaba de Balaguer y su palacio árabe del siglo XI*. Lleida: Instituto de Estudios Ilerdenses de la Excelentísima Diputación de Lérida, 1969.

73. Juan Carlos I. "Ley 13/1985, de 25 de junio, del Patrimonio Histórico Español". *Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 29 Juny 1985: CLV, 20342-20352 <<https://www.boe.es/boe/dias/1985/06/29/pdfs/A20342-20352.pdf>> (Consultat el 27 d'Octubre de 2016).

74. "Llei 9/1993, de 30 de setembre, del Patrimoni Català". *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, 30 Setembre 1993 <http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=92717&language=ca_ES> (Consultat el 27 d'Octubre de 2016).

75. "Decret 78/2002, de 5 de març, del Reglament de protecció del patrimoni arqueològic i paleontològic". *Diari Oficial de la Generalitat de Catalunya*, 5 Març 2002. <http://portaljuridic.gencat.cat/ca/pjur_ocults/pjur_resultats_fitxa/?action=fitxa&mode=single&documentId=276664&language=ca_ES> (Consultat el 27 d'Octubre de 2016).



actuacions a la Suda i al propi casc urbà, i les primeres excavacions arqueològiques al Pla d'Almatà i al Castell Formós de Balaguer. Aquests treballs en patrimoni islàmic conviuen amb les diverses intervencions arqueològiques i de recuperació de la Col·legiata de Sant Pere d'Àger, del Castell de Siurana, del Castell de Castellldans, del Tossal de Solibernat, del monestir d'Avinganya, el Castell de Miravet, de la torre de Vallferosa, del Castell d'Os de Balaguer, del Castell de Tartareu, del Castell d'Aitona, del tossal de Vinatesa i del castell d'Algerri, entre d'altres. A mesura que ens aproximem al canvi de segle, un enorme patrimoni arqueològic i arquitectònic islàmic s'anava descobrint en les terres occidentals i meridionals de Catalunya. Evidentment, el Departament de Cultura, les Diputacions i les universitats inverteixen esforços per a la gestió i preservació d'aquesta valuosa herència.

En aquesta vessant cal destacar el paper dels museus de Balaguer, Lleida, Tortosa i Terres de l'Ebre (a Amposta). Aquests realitzen una important i incansable tasca divulgativa i didàctica a través dels missatges conceptuals ben visibles en les diverses sales d'exposicions. A més, aquests equipaments serveixen de base logística per endegar projectes arqueològics o de restauració i conservació dels vestigis materials.⁷⁶ En aquest sentit són un pont entre la recerca universitària i la divulgació cap a la societat. Seguint aquesta línia, cal mencionar els esforços divulgatius mitjançant publicacions de notable interès. Així doncs, des del museu de Balaguer s'han impulsat dues publicacions sobre el patrimoni balaguerí i de la comarca de la Noguera a cavall de la tardo-antiguitat i l'alta edat mitjana.⁷⁷

També, l'herència patrimonial andalusina es visualitza en els llibres de text d'història de 2n d'ESO.⁷⁸ La inclusió d'aquest tipus de continguts doten als estudiants de competències per valorar i entendre la rica herència cultural, i més concretament l'andalusina. Sens dubte, aquesta acció educativa és el pilar per garantir la comprensió crítica del passat comú, i per tant, afavoreix la integració cultural del present.

2.4.1 El tractament d'al-Àndalus en el camp de la divulgació vers el gran públic

Dins el present sub-capítol, hem considerat adient incorporar un apartat específic per tractar la qüestió de la divulgació al gran públic. Sens dubte, una de les funcions de l'historiador és transmetre a la societat els coneixements històrics processats amb una metodologia científica. Malauradament, hem perdut aquesta important funció que dona raó de ser a la ciència històrica, ja sigui per desídia dels propis historiadors o per l'impuls d'altres professions. Els novel·listes mitjançant el gènere de la novel·la històrica ambientada en l'Edat Mitjana, és innegable que ha fet molt per la divulgació i difusió d'aquest període, tot destacant per exemple a Ken Follet.⁷⁹ Tanmateix, cal ser crítics amb aquest gènere literari per la massa sovint tergiversació d'importants esdeveniments històrics, la dificultat de recrear vestuaris, comportaments i encara més en tot el referent a mentalitat

76. També, dels museus catalans cal ressaltar la funció del Servei d'Atenció als Museus (SAM) el qual té per missió l'assessorament i donar suport als museus ubicats en el seu àmbit territorial. Segons el Pla de Museus de Catalunya, el Museu de Lleida fou el pioner en oferir aquest servei.

77. Giralt, Josep, ed. *La Noguera antiga. Des dels primers pobladors fins als visigots*. Balaguer: Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Museu de la Noguera-Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2001; Alòs, Carme; Solanes, Eva. *Catàleg de la col·lecció de materials andalusins del Museu de la Noguera*. Balaguer: Museu de la Noguera, Ajuntament de Balaguer, 2012.

78. García, Sebastián; Gatell, Margarita; Arimont, Cristina. *Ciències socials, Geografia i Història*. Barcelona: Vicens Vives, 2013: 4-17.

79. Bueno, María Luisa. "Los escenarios materiales en 'Los pilares de la tierra'", *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, María Isabel Del Val, Paco Martínez, eds. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Universidad de Valladolid, 2009: 147-159.

i valors. De fet, “tot plegat avança cap a un espai estètic, farcit d’elements aliens a cronologies precises. Cal preguntar-se, doncs, per una Edat Mitjana sense cronologia”.⁸⁰ L’exitosa sèrie televisiva “Joc de Trons” produïda per HBO recrea un món imaginari on set regnes pugnen pel tant preuat “tro de ferro”. La sèrie vol recrear l’edat mitjana europea on una sèrie de dinasties lluiten pel control de cadascun dels regnes.⁸¹ Aquest món de “Joc de Trons” s’organitza en un sistema econòmic inspirat amb el feudalisme, i una societat organitzada entre els qui batallen, els qui oren i els qui treballen. Els edificis que apareixen amb major notorietat són els d’origen medieval, com en la darrera temporada la catedral i casc antic de Girona. Quan sortim dels set regnes i ens trasllem al regne de Meeren, es constata com s’intenta plasmar el món islàmic. Tanmateix, la sèrie està ben lluny de recrear-lo per la mescla d’una societat esclavista, governada per reis que vivien en piràmides, i que alhora el capitalisme emergia per la compra-venta d’esclaus i tot tipus de mercaderies. Tot i la voluntat tant de l’autor de l’obra, George R. R. Martin, com dels guionistes de recrear l’edat mitjana, cal dir que els diàlegs, els vestuaris, el pensament, i la forma d’actuar disten força d’assemblar-s’hi, i més aviat, la sèrie vol semblar un “poti-poti” anacrònic.

Des d’una altra vessant de la divulgació, la televisió pública de Catalunya, TV3, produí i emeté el programa “Sota Terra” en dues temporades (anys 2010 i 2012). Volia ser un *reality show* per al gran públic, d’aquí que sota la direcció d’un prestigiós investigador, Eudald Carbonell, un equip d’arqueòlegs havia de treballar durant tres dies un espai arqueològic emblemàtic de Catalunya. El capítol vuitè de la segona temporada (any 2012) es dedicà a Balaguer,⁸² més concretament en diversos emplaçaments del casc antic i del valuós jaciment arqueològic del Pla d’Almatà. A Catalunya, per primer cop s’experimentava en un tipus de programa televisiu força trencador, on la història i l’arqueologia n’eren l’argument principal, i alhora, un jaciment islàmic en fou protagonista juntament amb d’altres d’èpoques històriques ben distants. Es pretenia imitar el prestigiós i popular *Time Team* de *Channel 4* el qual des del 1994 fins el 2014 presentà diverses excavacions de durada trienal,⁸³ sota la direcció d’un reconegut arqueòleg i presentat per l’actor Tony Robinson. Aquest programa “brought archaeology to the masses” segons el *Daily Mail*,⁸⁴ un fet força inèdit al Regne Unit, per bé que la programació de la BBC ja recollia una important hemeroteca de programes arqueològics, tot destacant la sèrie *Chronicle*.⁸⁵

Tornant al “Sota Terra”, sens dubte, aquest format televisiu aproximava al gran públic l’arqueologia i la història, i es pretenia fer pedagogia de l’ofici d’historiador i d’arqueòleg. Tanmateix, sorprenen desagradablement i impacten alguns dels diàlegs que es mantenen entre els membres de l’equip. Destaquem els següents: referent a les aportacions de la civilització islàmica es presenten els

80. Sabaté, Flocel. “Medievalismes Actuals”, *L’Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*, Flocel Sabaté, ed. Catarroja: Editorial Afers, 2012: 288.

81. Arias, Fernando. “Sentarse en el Trono de Hierro: el poder regio en Juego de Tronos desde una perspectiva medieval”. *Jot Down. Contemporary Culture Mag.* Novembre 2011. <<http://www.jotdown.es/2016/11/sentarse-trono-hierro-poder-regio-juego-tronos-desde-una-perspectiva-medieval/>> (Consultat el 8 de Novembre de 2016).

82. Veure: TV3 a la carta, “Balaguer: una ciutat musulmana per descobrir”, *TV3*, 11 Març 2012. 18 Novembre 2016 <<http://www.ccma.cat/tv3/alacarta/sota-terra/balaguer-una-ciutat-musulmana-per-descobrir/video/3991571/>>.

83. Veure: Channel4, “The guerrilla base of the king”, *Time Team*, 18 Novembre 2016 <<http://www.channel4.com/programmes/time-team>>.

84. Thomas, Liz. “Time Team’s final dig: Tony Robinson’s series ‘that brought archaeology to the masses’ is axed by Channel 4 after 20 years”. *Mail Online*. 23 Octubre 2012. 2 Novembre 2016. <<http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2221664/Time-Teams-final-dig-Archaeology-series-starring-TonyRobinson-axed-Channel-4-20-years.html>>.

85. Veure: BBC, “Chronicle: Archaeology on Television Collection”, 2014. 25 Octubre 2016. <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/chronicle/>>.



següents judicis de valors: “progrés econòmic i tecnològic” (11:22-11:27), “el comte d’Urgell no sap gestionar les sèquies, ni els molins ni el sistema de reg” (11:56-12:04) i “enderrocar una mesquita islàmica després de la conquesta és una barbaritat” (26:02-26:04). Respecte la conquesta del comte d’Urgell Ermengol VI es realitza la següent comparació “recorda una mica l’època franquista on el general Franco intenta esborrar els trets característics de la cultura catalana” (11:40-11:53), per acabar amb el presentador afirmant “que la reconquesta cristiana ens va fer més mal que bé” (12:35-12:39). En conjunt, els diàlegs entre alguns dels membres de l’equip són forçats i plens de judicis de valors, una mala *praxis* que a primer de carrera s’ensenya que mai un historiador ha d’utilitzar. A pesar d’aquests comentaris força desafortunats, que fan més mal que bé, tant Eudald Carbonell com Joan-Eusebi García Biosca aporten alguns dels valors científics més destacables com el rigor i la prudència en les valoracions de les diverses activitats arqueològiques que es dugueren a terme.

La proliferació de fires i mercats medievals podria ser una altra via per apropar al-Àndalus a la societat actual. La transferència del coneixement tindria un nítid recorregut amb un impacte elevat doncs és un format d’activitat cultural i lúdica molt ben acceptat. Tanmateix, en els formats d’aquesta mena d’esdeveniments costa molt diferenciar algun element característic de l’època medieval en general, i menys de la islàmica. Bé, sí, de la islàmica és habitual programar balls amb dansa del ventre, tot recordant aquells plaers de la bona vida dels ciutadans andalusins. Les actuals fires i mercats medievals són grans espais de negoci, on artesans de tot tipus, venen els seus productes disfressats d’una mena d’origen pur, ecològic i de proximitat, el medieval, entès aquest darrer com un valor afegit.

Els materials multimèdia proliferen a la xarxa per tal d’augmentar la visibilitat de museus, jaciments arqueològics, esdeveniments culturals, etc. En el cas concret del patrimoni islàmic existeix un nombre important de recursos multimèdia que apropen tota aquesta rica herència a la societat. Plataformes com “arqueoxarxa” en són un bon exemple, i en el cas concret de l’Islam incorporen diverses entrades tant al Pla d’Almatà⁸⁶ com al Castell Formós.⁸⁷ De fet, aquests dos jaciments s’han convertit amb la cara visible del patrimoni islàmic a Catalunya.⁸⁸

La indústria multimèdia ha experimentat en els darrers anys un auge vertiginós en el camp específic dels videojocs. La societat els ha entès des dels seus inicis com un producte lúdic destinat a infants i adolescents. La cada cop més sofisticació dels dissenys, la cerca de crear mons imaginats, o de recrear escenaris del passat, ha fascinat a un públic adult que ha agafat el tren dels videojocs amb molt d’interès i entusiasme.⁸⁹ Dins d’aquest gran tema, els videojocs que recreen el passat han agafat una important volada, i això es vist no només pels productors d’aquests, sinó pels historiadors com una gran oportunitat per divulgar i educar a la societat en història.⁹⁰ Per això, les produccions cerquen cada cop més el detall específic dels fets que es volen explicar, la minuciositat en les vestidures, els relats amb rigor històric, les músiques adaptades al context, etc. Aquí, per tant,

86. Veure: Arcovaleno, “Muralla islàmica del Pla d’Almatà de Balaguer”, 2011. 25 Octubre 2016 <<http://arcovaleno.org/arcovaleno/muralla-islamica-del-pla-dalmata-balaguer/>>.

87. Veure: Aqueoxarxa, “Castell Formós (Balaguer)”, 2012. 25 Octubre 2016 <<http://www.arqueoxarxa.cat/Jaciments/CASTELL-FORMOS-BALAGUER/>>.

88. Caldria valorar si la predilecció per uns jaciments emblemàtics és una bona estratègia, donat que darrera seu, existeixen jaciments arqueològics més petits que avui resten a l’ombra.

89. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. “The other Possible Past: Simulation of the Middle Ages in Videogames”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011): 299-340.

90. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. *De la Edad de los Imperios a la guerra total: Medioevo y Videojuegos*. Murcia: Campobell, 2016.

és on els centres de recerca especialitzats amb el món medieval prenen especial protagonisme, tot aportant els continguts amb rigor necessaris per fabricar aquesta tipologia de videojocs.

A més a més, cal ressaltar una vessant inèdita o menys coneguda, els "videojocs seriosos". Aquests sobretot es despleguen en l'àmbit de la pedagogia destinats a escoles o centres de formació.⁹¹ Els resultats de les experiències pioneres han demostrat que adolescents que han interactuat en aquest tipus de videojocs han implementat els coneixements i competències en les assignatures d'història.⁹²

Per tant, dins dels clars i les ombres en l'ampli camp de la divulgació, cal destacar que hi ha marge per la millora i per aproximar la història medieval i d'al-Àndalus en tota la seva amplitud a la societat. Els videojocs són l'excel·lent exemple, i a més, amb força recorregut per davant.

2.4.2 La recerca. Vies estables d'interpretació del passat i de transferència del coneixement

Tot i que a Catalunya cada cop s'assimila més el passat cultural del període islàmic a l'edat mitjana, val a dir que des del camp de la recerca, l'arqueologia adopta un important protagonisme. En aquest sentit, un dels vessants on hi ha molt camí per recórrer és precisament amb el de l'arqueologia de l'arquitectura islàmica, especialment, en tot el territori de la vall de l'Ebre. És important investigar les edificacions perquè seguim sense reconèixer les tipologies constructives islàmiques⁹³ mentre que les reconegudes, cas de les diverses morfologies del carreu a llarg i través, encara avui no s'han contextualitzat dins la visió global d'al-Àndalus. Una via és sens dubte implementar un projecte integrador que desplegui una única metodologia d'anàlisi que es recolzi amb els principis teòrics i metodològics de l'arqueologia de l'arquitectura. A més, un projecte tant ambiciós ha de comptar amb arquitectes especialitzats en patrimoni i sobretot formats en el període islàmic. En aquest sentit, Pedro Gurriarán proposa estudiar les tècniques constructives amb carreu a partir de qui els elaborà i qui els col·locà, és a dir, resseguir les petjades dels picapedrers i mestres d'obra musulmans.⁹⁴ Aquest plantejament rau en la singularitat de la tècnica constructiva a llarg i través en tota la vall de l'Ebre. També es suggereix la realització de mostres de morter per analitzar-ne la composició, estrès hídric, i la cronologia a partir de l'estudi per radiocarboni. Aquesta línia ha tingut resultats òptims a la torre de la Saira i al Castell d'Alguaire, doncs s'han contextualitzat, en poc marge d'error, ambdues construccions.⁹⁵ Amb un projecte d'aquestes característiques es podrà

91. Mugueta Moreno, Íñigo; Manzano Andrés, Ane. "La historia moderna estudiada en el aula a través de un videojuego: 'Age of Empires III'", *Historia y Videojuegos: El impacto de los Nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*. Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Íñigo Mugueta Moreno, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Campobell, 2016: 135-166.

92. Guevara Sánchez, José Manuel. "Jugar aprendiendo. Una propuesta del uso de los videojuegos en el aula de Ciencias Sociales", *Historia y Videojuegos: El impacto de los Nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*. Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Íñigo Mugueta Moreno, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Campobell, 2016: 167-176.

93. Brufal, Jesús. "Identificación y sistematización de las técnicas constructivas andalusíes en el distrito de Lleida", *Nuevas investigaciones de jóvenes medievalistas*, Conchita Villanueva, Diego Reinaldos, Jorge Maíz, Inés Calderón, eds. Murcia: Editorial Universidad de Murcia, 2013: 69-80.

94. Gurriarán, Pedro. "Una arquitectura para el Califato: poder y construcción en al-Andalus durante el siglo X". *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa*, 19 (2008): 261-276.

95. Brufal, Jesús. *Memòria de la Intervenció Arqueològica Preventiva: "Recollida de mostres i documentació del Castell de la Ràpita (Vallfogona de Balaguer, la Noguera), el Castell d'Alguaire (Alguaire, el Segrià) i la Torre de la Saira (Almacelles, el Segrià)*. (R/N: 494/K121 1-11505/2014), 2014: 9-14.



donar resposta a la vessant social i econòmica que pivoten al voltant de les edificacions andalusines a la vall de l'Ebre.

Seguint amb el camp de la recerca sobre l'Islam en l'alta edat mitjana, avui la disciplina més completa i integradora per estudiar-lo és l'arqueologia del paisatge. Aquesta, a partir d'una visió holística obre línies interpretatives davant la complexitat del paisatge històric. El paisatge es configura a partir d'elements antròpics (vil·les, torres, fortaleses, necròpolis, molins, mines) i del medi natural (sòls, boscs, aigua, pedra, minerals). És aquesta enorme complexitat de factors tecnològics, culturals, agronòmics, etnològics, que alhora obre innovadores vies de recerca, les quals ben cohesionades en una estructura multidisciplinària, conclouran en respostes força concretes sobre el paisatge històric, o en aquest cas, andalusí. A nivell europeu són diversos els projectes on l'arqueologia del paisatge ha obert noves vies interpretatives. Destaquem els projectes APSAT dirigit per Gian Pietro Brogiolo, The Ecology of Crusades dirigit per Alex Pluwsowski, MEMOlab dirigits per José María Martín Civantos, o els diversos projectes que duen a terme des del Grupo de Investigación en Patrimonio y Paisajes Culturales dirigit per José Antonio Quirós. Aquests projectes atenen amb especial cura la transferència del coneixement vers la educació o el turisme cultural. Són al final productes molt ben elaborats i rigorosos i altament sensibles amb el patrimoni cultural. Al cap i a la fi és una excel·lent metodologia de divulgar des de la ciència per construir amb més fermesa el discurs del record a través de la memòria històrica.

3. Conclusions

En l'actual Catalunya ha perviscut un patrimoni cultural d'herència islàmica protegit per la llei, pel fet de ser patrimoni de tots, estudiat científicament pels centres de recerca, i divulgat i conservat per equipaments culturals com els museus. El camí transcorregut fins avui ha sigut, i en certa mesura segueix sent, complex degut a l'auge de teories que cerquen una visió mítica de la història del país, i on l'Islam hi apareix com el pitjor dels mals. A més, amb l'auge de l'anomenat "terrorisme jihadista" sembla doncs que reconèixer aquest patrimoni cultural islàmic, fruit de quatre segles de formar part d'al-Àndalus, encara molesta o no s'acaba d'assimilar com a propi, com una peça més de la memòria conjunta.

El patrimoni andalusí es visualitza en una àmplia diversitat de vessants de la nostra vida quotidiana: les paraules, xarxes hidràuliques, la documentació escrita, l'urbanisme, l'alimentació, i les tradicions populars. Aquest ric patrimoni andalusí que va més enllà dels monuments, ha de ser una palanca per aproximar a la societat, des de la història i la didàctica, una etapa de la història que si més no es percep encara amb certa reticència. A més, aquesta aproximació es converteix en un exercici democràtic, cívic i de recuperació de la memòria històrica.

D'un extrem a l'altre, la dificultat amb la que s'ha enfrontat sempre la interpretació de la història d'Al-Àndalus radica en la seva irrenunciable vinculació amb la de les nacions espanyoles o catalanes. Espanya i Catalunya es feren contra al-Àndalus i tot sembla indicar que no hi ha una sortida clara al dilema del refús o l'adopció. Citant a Manuela Marín

Quizá haya que esperar a que se pueda entender que la historia de al-Ándalus no es la de la España musulmana y que tampoco es la historia que debió ser para el presente; es decir, a que se pueda entender al-Ándalus como una historia pròpia, la de una sociedad islámica en el Mediterráneo occidental.⁹⁶

96. Marín, Manuela. *Al-Ándalus y los andalusíes*. Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2000: 66.

LA SERIE *JUEGO DE TRONOS* COMO EJE VERTEBRADOR DE LA ENSEÑANZA UNIVERSITARIA DE CULTURAS HISPÁNICAS MEDIEVALES

ÓSCAR PEREA RODRÍGUEZ
PROYECTO PHILOBIBLON

RESUMEN

Este artículo muestra como recientemente y con propósitos educativos he combinado mis investigaciones en historia cultural española medieval y de principios del Renacimiento con la serie televisiva *Juego de Tronos* (*Game of Thrones*). He podido diseñar un seminario principal capaz de atraer a los estudiantes interesados en esta popular serie de ficción con aires medievales, demostrándoles que la mayoría de los elementos de su éxito no son originales sino que pueden encontrarse en la mayoría de culturas europeas medievales, incluyendo la Península Ibérica. En este artículo examino tres grandes ejemplos (la entrevista de Remesal con Felipe el Hermoso y Fernando el Católico como fue narrada en la *Memorias* de Bernáldez; la leyenda de los *Siete Infantes de Lara* y las *Coplas de tabefe*) para mostrar la metodología y la estructura del curso a otros colegas que puedan estar interesados en usar *Juego de Tronos*, o cualquier otro programa de televisión, para aprovecharse de la conexión medieval que existe entre algunos aspectos de la cultura pop contemporánea en un contexto de educación superior.¹

1. Introducción

Durante la primavera de 2012 impartí dos cursos universitarios dedicados a la historia, la literatura y la cultura de la España medieval. El primero, un seminario para estudiantes de maestría y de doctorado, llevaba por título *Ocupemos la literatura medieval española: subversión y protesta en las culturas hispánicas medievales, siglos XI-XV*.² El segundo era el clásico recorrido por literatura e historia de España de la Edad Media y el Renacimiento, al que titulé *Mujeres dentro y fuera del canon de la literatura hispánica medieval*. Organicé este último para estudiar las líneas maestras de la literatura medieval enfatizando a la vez la presencia o ausencia de mujeres, como autoras y como personajes, además de los entramados o roles particularmente considerados como femeninos según el canon medieval hispánico.³ Aunque suene a tópico y a cliché, créanme cuando les digo que disfruté mucho la docencia de ambos cursos y acabé plenamente satisfecho del resultado final, pues creo que todos los estudiantes, tanto posgraduados como estudiantes de carrera, acabaron por obtener el

1. Abreviaturas utilizadas: BN, Biblioteca Nacional de España; GoT, Game of Thrones.

2. El temario completo se puede descargar en mi perfil de Humanities Commons. Perea, Oscar. "Occupy Spanish Medieval Literature: Subversion and Protest in 11th and 12th Century Spain", *Humanity Commons*. Mayo 2017. 19 Mayo 2017 <<https://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:13559/>>.

3. Perea, Oscar. "Women Inside and Outside the Spanish Literary Canon (Middle Ages-Golden Age)". *Humanity Commons*. Mayo 2017. 19 Mayo 2017 <<http://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:13557/>>.



conocimiento y las habilidades que pretendía que alcanzasen, y además lo hicieron con agrado, a juzgar por las evaluaciones positivas que realizaron al final del trimestre.

Pese a estar convencido —entonces y ahora— de que los dos cursos aunaban materias culturales del pasado con un tratamiento lo suficientemente atractivo para suscitar el interés por el mundo medieval del estudiante de hoy día, no me duelen prendas en reconocer que mordí el polvo por completo en este último aspecto, y encima lo hice ante un tan inesperado como sorprendente rival. Así, un insospechado competidor se convirtió en protagonista absoluto de todas las conversaciones que mis estudiantes mantuvieron sobre la Edad Media mientras estaban estudiando mis cursos. En aquellos días en los que, al dispersarnos por el campus una vez acabadas las clases, desde la distancia prudencial que me daba el caminar hacia la parada de autobús un poco por detrás de ellos, pude escuchar sus conversaciones, fueron innumerables las ocasiones en las que los oí hablar con afectación y sorpresa, con extraordinario interés y con cálido y encendido apasionamiento, de un fenómeno relacionado con lo medieval que yo hasta entonces desconocía: los capítulos de *Juego de Tronos*.⁴

Fue precisamente el entusiasmo de mis estudiantes lo que me llevó a interesarme por una serie que, como espectador, he de decir que no me atraía demasiado. Lamento mucho romper los estereotipos sobre los medievalistas, pero en mi caso concreto, si bien la Edad Media ocupa casi toda mi actividad docente e investigadora, su peso con respecto a mi tiempo de ocio es bastante escaso. Disculpen esta especie de confesión personal, pero he de ser honesto con los lectores y dejar claro que, para empezar, no me interesan en absoluto las novelas históricas enmarcadas en la Edad Media.⁵ Tampoco es que enloquezca precisamente cuando hay exposiciones artísticas de temas medievales cerca de mi lugar de residencia y, desde luego, las discografías completas de Bruce Springsteen, Guns 'N Roses y The Clash me proporcionan mucho más placer que cualquiera de los pulcros álbumes de Jordi Savall sobre cancioneros del tardío medievo y del Renacimiento, pese a ser este uno de mis campos de investigación predilectos. En cuanto a series de televisión, *House of Cards*, *The Americans* y *The Walking Dead* consiguen motivarme mucho más que *GoT* o cualquier otra de contenido histórico o literario para que me plantee pasar una hora delante de la televisión, actividad esta que tampoco es de las que más practique salvo que se trate de un partido de baloncesto de la NBA o la ACB. Como dije antes, espero que disculpen mis muy poco medievales hábitos fuera de la academia.

A pesar de lo dicho en el párrafo anterior, apenas vi unos cuantos episodios de la primera temporada de *GoT* cuando mi percepción sobre la serie cambió por completo, sobre todo en cuanto me di cuenta de las muchas posibilidades de aplicar todo su entramado en un proyecto educativo serio y coherente. Por algo estamos ante una ficción audiovisual que ha sobrepasado el marco de lo meramente televisivo para ocupar un espacio mucho más amplio en la vida cotidiana de todos,⁶ convirtiéndose en un fenómeno global que no solo interesa a los millones de espectadores que

4. A partir de ahora, abreviaré la serie mediante el acrónimo *GoT* (*Game of Thrones*, su título en inglés). Se trata de la etiqueta (*hashtag*) más popular en Twitter, la red social que más ha ayudado a su popularidad (*#GoT*).

5. Si bien esta opinión personal no me impide reconocer la utilidad que estos materiales pueden tener para la enseñanza, como demuestra el excelente proyecto del profesor Andrés Palma Valenzuela. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, “La Universidad de Granada desarrolla una experiencia pionera de innovación en el aula con la novela histórica”. 6 Febrero 2017. 15 Abril 2017 <<http://www.mecd.gob.es/cultura-mecd/areas-cultura/libro/mc/observatoriolect/redirige/destacados/2017/febrero/autores-letras/novelahistorica-recursoUniversidadGranada.html>>.

6. Un buen resumen de su impacto realiza López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier. “Juego de Tronos”. En la nueva era dorada del drama televisivo, o ganas o mueres”. *FRAME*, 10 (2014): 144-149.

cada semana se dan cita ante la pequeña pantalla para visionar el capítulo, sino que sus ecos llegan muchísimo más allá de esta primigenia intención.⁷

Cuando se produce esta situación, la crítica periodística, de más rápido análisis que la académica, la suele denominar —de forma tan hedonista como esnob— cultura *pop*.⁸ Sin embargo, en este trabajo voy a alejarme a propósito de todos los peligros posmodernos del uso de la etiqueta «cultura popular»,⁹ pues prefiero utilizar la definición más académica de “fenómeno transmedia”,¹⁰ que enfatiza la capacidad de captar a consumidores de un producto cultural a través de diferentes plataformas, interactivas o tradicionales, hasta llegar a ser referencia común en el devenir cotidiano de cada uno de nosotros, sigamos o no la serie.¹¹

Para calibrar mejor la irrupción masiva de GoT en aspectos diarios alejados de su difusión seriada, estoy seguro de que al lector le bastará con buscar en Internet todo tipo de blogs relacionados con la serie, a los que se suman los ya existentes sobre las novelas de Martin,¹² más todos los pequeños vídeos que trocean episodios, comentan escenas favoritas y ofrecen teorías explicativas sobre el pasado, presente y futuro de la serie.¹³ Esta actividad, además, se ve fomentada por foros de comunicación en los sitios web de las series, que actúan asimismo como espacios transmedia.¹⁴

En el plano más académico, la serie ha merecido el análisis de varios colegas en congresos y conferencias —como veremos más adelante—, además de ser objeto de atención de algunos blogs de contenido científico. Entre otros, destacaré el de Carlos Lobato en el espacio web Naukas.com, que comenzó con una entrada general sobre biología y genética en GoT,¹⁵ y más tarde ha continuado planteando un simpático juego de problemas de genética (*Genética de Tronos*) a resolver por los lectores cada vez que un episodio de la serie le da opción a ello.¹⁶ Junto a este blog, existe no ya un mundo, sino un universo entero que desgrana los muchos atractivos visuales de GoT, tanto

7. Analizado en la pionera obra colectiva coordinada por Lozano, Javier; Raya, Irene; López, Francisco Javier, eds. *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*. Madrid: Fragua, 2013.

8. D'Arcens, Louise; Lynch, Andrew. *International Medievalism and Popular Culture*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2014.

9. Véase la crítica de Daniel Bernabé. Bernabé, Daniel. “Contra el mito de la cultura popular”. *La Marea*, 3 Mayo 2017. 4 Junio 2017 <<http://www.lamarea.com/2017/05/03/mito-la-cultura-popular/>>.

10. De acuerdo a Jenkins, Henry. *Convergence Culture. Where Old and New Media Collide*. Nueva York: University Press, 2008: 25-26.

11. Analizado a fondo en la reciente monografía de Mudan Finn, Kavita. *Fan Phenomena: Game of Thrones*. Bristol: Intellect, 2017.

12. Para análisis académicos sobre las novelas —no la serie, que será lo que se analice aquí—, remito a Battis, Jes; Johnston, Susan, eds. *Mastering the Game of Thrones. Essays on George R. R. Martin's 'A Song of Ice and Fire'*. Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2015.

13. Barragán Romero, Ana Isabel. “Los banderizos de ‘Juego de Tronos’”. Creación de comunidades y producciones discursivas del ‘fandom’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco Javier López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 453-476.

14. Para el caso específico de GoT, véase Guerrero, Mar. “Webs televisivas y sus usuarios: un lugar para la narrativa transmedia. Los casos de ‘Águila Roja’ y ‘Juego de Tronos’ en España”. *Comunicación y sociedad*, 21 (2014): 239-267; y Gómez Aguilar, Antonio; Martínez García, M^a Ángeles. “La arquitectura transmedia de ‘Juego de Tronos’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 537-558.

15. Lobato, Carlos. “La genética de ‘Juego de Tronos’”. *Naukas.com*. 25 Febrero 2013. 23 Julio 2016 <<http://naukas.com/2014/04/07/genetica-de-tronos-daenerys-nudibranquios-y-epistasia/>>.

16. Carlos Lobato, “Genética de tronos (I). Daenerys, nudibranquios y epistasia”. *Naukas.com*, 7 Abril 2014. 23 Julio 2016 <<http://naukas.com/2014/04/07/genetica-de-tronos-daenerys-nudibranquios-y-epistasia/>>.



en sus componentes más en puridad cinéfilos,¹⁷ como al efecto que el pasado hace en la cultura transmedia del presente. A lo largo de estas líneas esquivaré de forma consciente entrar de forma exhaustiva en estos aspectos estéticos,¹⁸ merecedores sin duda de una atención con muchas mejores herramientas analíticas que las mías. Me limitaré, por tanto, a explicar algunos ejemplos que, según mi experiencia, pueden ser de utilidad al docente de temas medievales interesado en utilizar esta serie para incorporarla a sus temarios generales o a algunas clases más específicas.

Sobre este último aspecto, lo primero que hay que señalar, y lo más importante para estructurar GoT como eje docente de culturas hispánicas medievales, es que los comentarios de los estudiantes que son de nuestro interés —y que seguramente sean también los de muchos espectadores— se localizan en hechos, tramas y elementos que no son invención de George R.R. Martin o de los guionistas televisivos;¹⁹ antes al contrario, el éxito de la serie se basa en que son tópicos culturales presentes en casi todas las civilizaciones occidentales, sobre todo las que comparten el común sustrato grecolatino. Por ejemplo, la recientemente publicada colección de ensayos que esquematiza las relaciones entre los guiones de la serie y destacados filósofos de la Historia incide precisamente en ese ingrediente:²⁰ en mostrar toda la gama de conexiones entre el ayer y el hoy a través de los personajes de la trama diseñada por el autor de las novelas y tamizada por guionistas, actores y directores de los capítulos televisivos.²¹

Sobre este pilar se habrá de establecer, por tanto, el éxito de diseñar un curso sobre historia y literatura hispánica medieval basado en una serie: en la capacidad de aprovechar la emoción del alumnado sobre una actividad realizada por placer y fuera de las aulas para descubrir a los estudiantes —en términos educativos— la influencia que en esa emoción, directa o tangencialmente, tiene el tema académico a elección del docente.²² Guiado por estas ideas, y gracias al entusiasta apoyo de mis compañeros y mi director de departamento entonces, en la Universidad de California en Riverside, me decidí finalmente a llevar a cabo el diseño de un curso basado en utilizar pequeños videoclips con escenas de GoT y ver estos mismos temas en las culturas hispánicas medievales. Lo impartí como seminario de último año de carrera en el otoño de 2012,²³ justo cuando la segunda temporada de *Juego de Tronos* había terminado y cuando la popularidad de la serie era tal

17. Para cuyo estudio teórico, específicamente centrado en la Edad Media, contamos ahora con la monografía colectiva a cargo de García Mansilla, Juan Vicente; Ortiz Villete, Áurea. *Del castillo al plató. 50 miradas de cine sobre la Edad Media*. Barcelona: Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2017.

18. Remito a: Barrientos Bueno, Mónica. “Fuentes de inspiración visual en ‘Juego de Tronos’: el referente pictórico”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*. Lozano Delmar, Javier; Raya Bravo, Irene; López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 359-390; y Pérez de Algaba Chicano, Cristina. “Escribiendo fantasía en imágenes. Análisis audiovisual de ‘Juego de Tronos’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*, Lozano Delmar, Javier; Raya Bravo, Irene; López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 391-422.

19. Analizado por López Rodríguez, Francisco Javier; García, Juan A. “De la novela a la pantalla. La adaptación televisiva de ‘Juego de Tronos’”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco Javier López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 91-114.

20. Owen Jacoby, Henry, ed. *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012.

21. García, Elio M.; Antonsson, Linda. “Foreword”, *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: ix-xii, especialmente xi.

22. Grindley, Carl James. “Teaching the Middle Ages”, *Mass Market Medieval: Essays on the Middle Ages in Popular Culture*, David W. Marshall, ed., Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2007: 140-153, especialmente 149.

23. Disponible en mi perfil personal de la web Humanities Commons. 19 Mayo 2017 <<http://hcommons.org/deposits/item/hc:13561/>>.

que sus adeptos contaban con impaciencia los días que quedaban para el regreso de sus personajes medievales favoritos en la tercera temporada, estrenada en la primavera de 2013. El resultado fue un éxito inesperado y sin precedentes: las evaluaciones superaron con mucho las de los cursos antes mencionados, hasta el punto de que jamás una clase mía ha tenido tanto predicamento entre los estudiantes en los 15 años que llevo dedicado a la docencia universitaria. Con todo, lo que más me satisfizo fue que los contenidos académicos se hicieron hueco en las conversaciones habituales de los alumnos: a partir de ese trimestre, continuaron hablando sobre *Juego de Tronos* pero ya incluían también lo que iban viendo en clase y conectaban textos de la Edad Media hispánica con los capítulos de la serie. Como ven, una inmejorable aplicación práctica del clásico dicho de unirse al enemigo si no se puede con él.

Desde aquel otoño de 2012, la reacción de la docencia en educación superior y de la investigación procedente de tales espacios ante el éxito de GoT ha sido desigual y, sobre todo, bastante ambigua. La comunidad norteamericana, siempre más abierta a debatir novedades audiovisuales en contextos académicos, fue pionera en dedicarle atención al fenómeno GoT. Hasta donde ha llegado mi pesquisa, el primer espacio académico en que la ficción medievalizante encontró acomodo fue en el célebre congreso internacional de estudios medievales de Kalamazoo, Michigan, celebrado en 2013,²⁴ un año después de que yo enseñara mi curso por primera vez. Poco después, en 2015, el departamento de estudios de cine de la Universidad de California en Berkeley ofreció un curso de verano ya con la serie como objeto de estudio,²⁵ y dos profesores de Northwestern Illinois University trazaron un curso análogo al mío en el mismo año 2015,²⁶ buena prueba de que la progresiva popularidad de *Juego de Tronos* no ha pasado desapercibida en las aulas norteamericanas donde se imparten conocimientos relativos al medioevo.²⁷ Algunos colegas han llegado a anunciar que estamos viviendo una época propicia al fomento de tales tendencias educativas,²⁸ como quizá se demuestre con el hecho de que hasta la prestigiosísima Universidad de Harvard haya recientemente incorporado un curso sobre la serie, impartido por los profesores Sean Gilsdorf y Racha Kirakosian.²⁹

Mucho menor éxito han alcanzado estos contenidos audiovisuales en la estirada academia británica, universalmente conocida por su proverbial resistencia al cambio en todos los aspectos. Al

24. "Panel Is Coming: A Game of Thrones Discussion (A Roundtable)", organizado por Jason Pitruzzello (University of Houston) y presidido por Shiloh R. Carroll (Middle Tennessee State University). *48th International Congress on Medieval Studies*, Kalamazoo, 9-12 de mayo de 2013.

25. El temario de curso, impartido por el profesor Justin Vaccaro, puede consultarse aquí. Vaccaro, Justin. "Film Genre: Game of Thrones". *Department of Film and Media*. 2015. University of California Berkeley. 23 Julio 2016 <<http://filmmedia.berkeley.edu/course-information/2583428-film-genre-game-of-thrones>>.

26. Los profesores Jeff Chown y Valerie Garver son los creadores de este curso, titulado *Game of Thrones, Television, and Medieval History*. No he podido encontrar el enlace al temario completo y sé de su existencia solo a través de este artículo de Parisi, Tom. "Power behind the Throne: History, Modern Media Converge in NIU Course on HBO's 'Game of Thrones'". *Newsroom.niu.edu*. 8 Abril 2015. 19 Septiembre 2016 <<http://newsroom.niu.edu/2015/04/08/power-behind-the-throne/>>.

27. Un listado completo de universidades norteamericanas que imparten o han impartido cursos sobre GoT se puede consultar en el artículo de Amanda Bell: Bell, Amanda. "9 Colleges with Actual 'Game of Thrones' Courses". *MTV.com*. 27 Octubre 2015. 19 Septiembre 2016 <<http://www.mtv.com/news/2362741/game-of-thrones-college-courses/>>.

28. Jasper Bernes, profesor de Stanford University, piensa que "there is a trend in the academy and in the humanities toward offering these sorts of courses". Ver: Martínez, Jack. "'Game of Thrones' and the Changing Curriculum in Modern Universities". *Newsweek.com*. 23 Agosto 2015. 23 Septiembre 2016 <<http://www.newsweek.com/game-thrones-college-class-364628>>.

29. Waxman, Olivia B. "An Exclusive Look Inside Harvard's 'New Game of Thrones'-Themed Class". *Time*. 31 Mayo 2017. 1 Junio 2017 <<http://time.com/4798917/harvard-game-of-thrones-class/>>.



margen de mi curso, impartido en Lancaster University desde 2014,³⁰ solo un panel del famoso congreso internacional de estudios medievales de Leeds celebrado ese mismo año, llevaba en el título la locución *Game of Thrones*.³¹ Sin embargo, el contenido de las sesiones no aludió de ninguna manera a la serie de televisión, quedándose pues la referencia solo a un juego de palabras para el título. Al margen de esto, nada más he podido encontrar. Y, a pesar del confortable aterrizaje en el ámbito norteamericano de la serie, tampoco piensen los lectores que se ha aprovechado la fama de la serie para provocar un frenesí de investigaciones académicas publicadas sobre ella. Todo lo contrario; valga como muestra de tal escasez el hecho de que, en recientes monografías sobre el reflejo de la Edad Media en la televisión, no haya ni un solo ensayo sobre el espacio que, sin duda alguna, más ha ayudado desde la pequeña pantalla a la popularidad de la época medieval en los tiempos actuales,³² dejando para los mitos anglosajones típicos, como el rey Arturo o Robin Hood, la mayor parte de los análisis.³³

Es cierto que muchas veces la ausencia de estos temas en la docencia se debe al enorme freno que supone la burocracia universitaria a la hora de crear nuevos cursos. Nuestros *queridos* gestores de la universidad, en vez de buscar soluciones a los problemas planteados, hacen justo lo contrario, es decir, ponen todo tipo de problemas a cada una de las soluciones ofrecidas por el cuerpo docente en materia de innovación curricular, así que no dedicaré más tiempo a glosar penas y penalidades por todos sufridas y conocidas. Ahora bien: al margen de esta insoportable *dictadura del burocratado* en los sistemas de educación superior de los cinco continentes, justo es reconocer que muchas veces la culpa de tales ausencias es nuestra, es decir, del colectivo formado por todos los que estamos incluidos en entramados académicos. Como suele ser muy frecuente en similares fenómenos culturales como el planteado por *Juego de Tronos*, cuando la Academia se ha interesado por la explosión de popularidad de la serie lo ha hecho tarde y bastante mal, en especial enredándose en barroquizantes y oníricas discusiones. La más surrealista de todas las que me he ido encontrando es una disputa sobre una *boutade* nominalista: discutir si la serie es o no es ‘medieval’.³⁴ Se trata de una falsa polémica alimentada muchas veces por los periódicos, sobre todo los publicados en formato digital. En muchas más ocasiones de las debidas, estos medios enfangan buenos artículos de divulgación sobre la Edad Media por incluir la frase *Juego de Tronos* en el titular,³⁵ abominable práctica burdamente urdida para captar la atención de los seguidores de GoT buscando más visitas a la web al picar el anzuelo de esta miserable maniobra que se conoce con el vocablo inglés *clickbait*.

30. El temario ha modificado la idea original, centrarse únicamente en la Edad Media, para incluir poesía española contemporánea debido a exigencias del programa. Puede consultarse aquí. <<http://www.lusi.lancaster.ac.uk/CoursesHandbook/ModuleDetails/ModuleDetail?yearId=000117&courseId=017860>> (Consultado el 19 de Junio de 2016).

31. “An Empire of Buildings, or Simply a Game of Thrones?”, organizada por Audrey Thorstad (Bangor University), en *International Medieval Congress 2014*. Leeds (Reino Unido), 8 de julio de 2014.

32. Como sucede en el libro editado por Helen Young, *The Middle Ages in Popular Culture: Medievalism and Genre*. Amherst: Cambria Press, 2015.

33. Me refiero a Pagès, Meriem; Kinane, Karolyn, eds. *The Middle Ages on Television. Critical Essays*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2015. Sí hay referencias sueltas a personajes de la serie, sobre todo a la relación amorosa homosexual entre Renly Baratheon y Loras Tyrell, en un ensayo editado en esa colección: Gebhardt, Torben R. “Homosexuality in Television Medievalism”. *The Middle Ages on Television. Critical Essays*. Meriem Pagès, Karolyn Kinane, eds. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2015: 197-214.

34. Philippa Byrne. “Why Medievalists Should Stop Talking About ‘Game of Thrones’”. *The Conversation*. 15 Junio 2016. 23 Julio 2016 <<http://theconversation.com/why-medievalists-should-stop-talking-about-game-of-thrones-61044>>.

35. Restrepo, Hernán. “Clickbait: por qué está mal”. Ética segura. Red de ética y periodismo. 2016. 15 Abril 2017 <<http://eticasesgura.fnpi.org/2016/04/05/clickbait-esta-mal/>>.

Entre otros casos, señalo el de un excelente artículo divulgativo en defensa del habitualmente injusto tratamiento de la Edad Media en los medios actuales, ensombrecido por un tan decadente como injusto titular;³⁶ tal como asimismo sucede en otro en el que la conclusión es radicalmente opuesta a lo que indica el reclamo: la autora viene a decir que si en GoT hay características humanas reprobables como el racismo es porque también existe en nuestro mundo actual.³⁷

En tales vicisitudes, el consejo más sano, desde luego, es el de obviar posmodernidades incoherentes, pues solo muestran recalitrantes undivagismos y bizantinadas diversas de algunos miembros de la academia, a veces empeñados a toda costa en ser sus —y nuestros— mayores enemigos.³⁸ Para nuestro propósito aquí, que es sin duda más propedéutico de lo que algunos diletantes miembros de la academia son capaces de soportar, vamos a dar por supuesto que GoT sí lo es,³⁹ como seguramente suscribirían el 99% de quienes hayan visionado tan solo unos minutos de la serie.⁴⁰

Sin embargo, hay que matizar el significado de esa Edad Media desde la absoluta consciencia de que GoT es una ficción y,⁴¹ por lo tanto, todo en ella está permitido, incluido la mezcla de épocas históricas de forma indiscriminada que, aun en apariencia realista,⁴² puede hacer fruncir el ceño a algunos medievalistas, sorprendidos por los aspectos más fantasiosos de la serie. Así, tal vez sea difícil de digerir la trama que gravita alrededor de la creencia en unos seres, los Caminantes Blancos, capaces de retornar a la vida después de la muerte.⁴³ De igual forma, es bastante complejo aceptar en los tiempos medievales la convivencia de un agudo politeísmo y un incipiente monoteísmo, representado por R'hllor, el Señor de la Luz,⁴⁴ así como las consecuencias sociales y filosóficas derivadas de estas batallas espirituales.⁴⁵ Es cierto que estos dos aspectos no casan bien con el estadio

36. Sobre estas capciosas prácticas, véase Rodríguez, Ana. "La Edad Media no fue como cuentan en 'Juego de Tronos'". *El País*. 12 Abril 2017. 15 Abril 2017 <http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2017/04/12/actualidad/1492014207_352187.html>.

37. Young, Helen. "Game of Thrones' Racism Problem". *Publicmedievalist.com*. 21 Julio 2017. 22 Julio 2017 <<http://www.publicmedievalist.com/game-thrones-racism-problem/>>.

38. Espíritu que preside la acertada contestación al artículo antes mencionado, a cargo de Palmer, James. "Medievalists Should Talk About 'Game of Thrones'". *Merovingian World*. 17 Junio 2016. 15 Abril 2017 <<http://merovingianworld.wordpress.com/2016/06/17/medievalists-should-talk-about-game-of-thrones/>>.

39. Para ahondar más en la influencia de elementos medievales en las novelas sobre las que se basa la serie, consúltese el monográfico titulado "The Medieval World of George R.R. Martin". *The Medieval Magazine* 64/2 (2016) <<http://www.joomag.com/en/newsstand/the-medieval-magazine-no64/0017631001460728208>>. (Consultado el 19 de Abril de 2016).

40. Sobre la esterilidad del debate, ver Carroll, Shiloh. "Rewriting the Fantasy Archetype. George R. R. Martin, Neomedievalist Fantasy, and the Quest for Realism", *Fantasy and Science-fiction Medievalisms: From Isaac Asimov to A Game of Thrones*, Helen Young, ed. Amherst-New York: Victoria Press, 2015: 34-43.

41. Raya Bravo, Irene; García García, Pedro José. "El camino hacia 'Juego de Tronos'. Nuevas tendencias en la fantasía cinematográfica y televisiva del nuevo milenio", *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 33-60.

42. Raya Bravo, Irene. "'Juego de Tronos', una fantasía realista", *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 145-170.

43. Sobre estas creencias en la Edad Media, véase el clásico estudio de Patch, Howard R. *The Other World According to Descriptions in Medieval Literature*. Harvard: University Press, 1950: 80-81.

44. Frankel, Valerie Estelle. *Mythology in 'Game of Thrones'*. Williamsburg: Thought & Expression Co., 2010: 112-125; Rubio Hernández, María del Mar. "Religión y mito en 'Juego de Tronos'", *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo 'Juego de Tronos'*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez, eds. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 171-200.

45. Aspecto tratado por Schoone, Jaron Daniel. "'Why Is the World So Full of Injustice'? Gods and the Problem of Evil", *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 154-167.



evolutivo social, económico y científico de la Edad Media en Occidente,⁴⁶ pero los demás elementos fácilmente identificables con lo medieval presentan coincidencias suficientes, cuando menos, para que podamos cumplir el objetivo básico de diseñar un curso como este: una vez captado el interés de los estudiantes por elementos medievales fuera de las aulas, aprovecharlo a nuestro favor —bueno, en realidad es al suyo— dentro de ellas.⁴⁷

Es obvio que el terreno en el que nos movemos es pantanoso, para empezar porque, si aplicamos la lógica más simplista, en realidad debemos aceptar el hecho de que, con el debido conocimiento histórico y con ayuda de las herramientas historiográficas a disposición de los docentes, no nos resultaría demasiado difícil relacionar cualquier evento actual con acontecimientos similares del pasado. Por ejemplo, la reciente actividad del grupo Femen, con sus polémicas reivindicaciones feministas a través del empoderamiento activo de sus activistas mostrando sus cuerpos desnudos, aguanta bien la comparación con Godgyfu de Mercia, la legendaria Lady Godiva, cuyo desafiante paseo a caballo desvestida, más o menos,⁴⁸ por las callejuelas del hoy desaparecido Coventry medieval tuvo un loable objetivo: que su esposo, el conde Leofric, se atuviera a razones y bajase los impuestos a los ya de por sí afligidos campesinos del señorío. De manera análoga, es bastante sencillo equiparar la situación que personajes como Edward Snowden o Chelsea Manning viven en nuestro mundo actual con, por ejemplo, Doña Marina, la Malinche, la traductora e intérprete de Hernán Cortés durante los años de hierro de la presencia española en América,⁴⁹ pues todos ellos comparten el común denominador de ser considerados héroes por una parte de la sociedad y traidores por la diametralmente opuesta. Por todos estos motivos, la esencia fundamental de diseñar un curso basado en una serie de ficción es localizar el tópico en que se basa la escena que queremos destacar y, más tarde, encontrar su equivalente en la cultura hispánica medieval. En las líneas siguientes se ofrecerán varios de estos casos que llevo utilizando desde 2012, la primera vez que enseñé este curso, hasta la actualidad, en que continúa formando parte de mi actividad docente.

2. De los reyes godos a los reyes gordos

Ya desde los momentos iniciales de la serie podemos encontrar escenas susceptibles de ser relacionadas con la Edad Media hispánica. El capítulo segundo de la primera temporada (SE01EP02) está estructurado sobre uno de los aspectos de la vida medieval más complicado de mostrar en la pequeña pantalla: la majestuosidad de las entradas de los reyes en las ciudades o, como en el caso concreto de la serie, en el castillo de un noble,⁵⁰ Ned Stark. La cadena escénica arranca con una

46. Si bien algunos recientes hallazgos arqueológicos podrían modificar la tradicional percepción de que no existieron, en líneas generales, demasiados temores sobre retornados de ultratumba durante los siglos medievales. Sobre este aspecto, véase Mattison, Alyxandra. "Archaeological Finds Prove That Fear of the Walking Dead Was Very Real to Medieval Minds". *The Conversation. Arts + Culture*. 11 Abril 17. 16 Abril 2017 <<http://theconversation.com/archaeological-finds-prove-that-fear-of-the-walking-dead-was-very-real-to-medieval-minds-76068>>.

47. Tal como predica Paden, William D. "I Learned It at the Movies: Teaching Medieval Film", *Postmodern Medievalisms*, Richard Utz, Jesse G. Swan, eds. Cambridge (UK): D.S. Brewer, 2004: 79-98.

48. Explica las diferencias entre el concepto de desnudez en nuestros tiempos y en aquellos el estudio de Donoghue, Daniel. *Lady Godiva: A Literary History of the Legend*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003: 28-30.

49. Meza, Otilia. *La Malinche, Malinalli Tenepal: la gran calumniada*. México: Edamex, 1994.

50. Para ejemplos en la Castilla medieval, véase Andrés Díaz, Rosana de. "Las entradas reales castellanas en los siglos XIV y XV según las crónicas de la época". *En la España Medieval*, 4 (1984): 47-62.



sucesión de planos picados y contrapicados, recurso narrativo utilizado para mostrar la actitud de debida sumisión ante la visita del rey, y la firmeza del monarca como depositario del poder.⁵¹ Cuando llega el momento cumbre del protocolo, en el que por fin los dos hombres se encuentran cara a cara, el diálogo que tiene lugar entre rey y vasallo vira de lo suntuosamente ceremonial a lo cómico,⁵² pues el monarca, Robert Baratheon, le recrimina al señor de Winterfell que hubiera ganado peso con un sonoro “¡Estás gordo!” El leal compañero de armas del rey en la juventud de ambos opta por echar una socarrona mirada al orondísimo monarca —bastante más subido de peso— antes de fundirse, entre sonoras carcajadas, en un fraternal abrazo con él.

Aunque pueda parecer una mera anécdota narrativa, la escena representa en clave humorística la razón de ser de uno de los deportes medievales más conocidos: los torneos. Los juegos de guerra, o diversiones aparatosas, como las bautizó Jovellanos, eran esenciales para mantener en forma a los soldados cuya misión feudal era la de asegurar la defensa de la población.⁵³ Por ello, en muchas ocasiones el que los caballeros lucieran barriga era un más que evidente síntoma de paz, tal como deja entrever la amistosa charla entre el rey Robert Baratheon y su amigo Ned Stark, que debieron de estar en bastante mejor forma cuando ambos eran dos jóvenes guerreros peleando en la rebelión contra Aerys II Targaryen, el llamado *Rey Loco*.⁵⁴

Una vez vista la escena en clase, todos mis estudiantes se mostraron muy sorprendidos cuando los puse a trabajar en un diálogo prácticamente calcado al que aparece en GoT, protagonizado ni más ni menos que por uno de nuestros más famosos monarcas: Fernando II de Aragón y V de Castilla, el Rey Católico. Debemos el conocimiento de este evento a Andrés Bernáldez, Cura de los Palacios, autor de una famosa crónica del período de esplendor de los Reyes Católicos. Siguiendo la narración de Bernáldez, la escena tuvo lugar en la entrevista de Remesal, durante el verano de 1506, momento en el que Fernando el Católico y el nuevo rey de Castilla, Felipe de Habsburgo, se conocieron en persona por primera vez.

Y viéronse en lunes, quince días de julio, entre Sanabria y Esturianos, en un llano, en unos barbechos, en un robledal ralo [...] Venía el rey don Felipe en una mula baya muy hermosa y muy jaezada, y traía una capa francesa encima del sayo, toda de brocado. Iba el rey don Fernando en un caballo alazán claro, muy singular, y un capuz negro vestido. Las trompetas y bastardas, y chirimías y sacabuches, y dulzainas e instrumentos y músicas de ambos reyes eran tantas, y hacían tan grandes solemnidades y melodías, que no parecía sino gloria celestial. Y llegados el uno al otro a las cortesías, [...] se abrazaron, y estuvieron allí un gran rato los reyes.⁵⁵

51. Sobre esta caracterización en la serie, véase Fallis, Don. “It Is a Great Crime to Lie to a King”, *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Owen Jacoby, Henry, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 19-32.

52. Recurso frecuente analizado por Gómez Rodríguez, Araceli. “Juegos de poder. Poniente como espejo político del mundo real”, *Reyes, espadas, cuervos y dragones. Estudio del fenómeno televisivo ‘Juego de Tronos’*, Javier Lozano Delmar, Irene Raya Bravo, Francisco J. López Rodríguez. Madrid: Fragua, 2013: 275-302.

53. Melchor de Jovellanos, Gaspar. *Memoria sobre espectáculos y diversiones públicas / Informe sobre la Ley Agraria*, ed. Guillermo Carnero. Madrid. 1997: 128-129.

54. Timm, Chad William. “Stop the Madness! Knowledge, Power, and Insanity in ‘A Song of Ice and Fire’”, *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 264-277.

55. Bernáldez, Andrés. *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. Manuel Gómez-Moreno Martínez, Juan de Mata Carriazo Arroquia. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1962: 498.



La descripción de Bernáldez nos hace situarnos en el mismo escenario visto en GoT, una entrada real. Pero es que además, como si fuera Robert Baratheon, también el Rey Católico bromeó sobre el estado físico de aquellos opulentos nobles a quienes estaba saludando y que algún tiempo atrás habían sido sus soldados en las campañas militares contra los musulmanes de Granada:

Motejó el rey don Fernando al conde de Benavente, yéndole a besar la mano, lo abrazó y le dijo:

— Conde, ¿cómo os habéis hecho gordo?

Él respondió que andando con el tiempo. Y eso mismo, al duque de Nájera dijo ciertas palabras. Y dijo al comendador mayor, don Garcilaso:

— ¿Y aun tú, García, también?

Y él respondió:

— Doy la fe a vuestra alteza que todos venimos así.⁵⁶

La sorpresa en clase fue, como digo, mayúscula, al comprobar los estudiantes que no solo Robert Baratheon y Ned Stark se echaron en cara jocosamente esos kilos de más por culpa de la inactividad bélica, sino que un personaje histórico de la importancia de Fernando el Católico hizo lo mismo. De hecho, la escena de GoT, aun ficticia, es muchísimo más aprovechable para la comprensión de lo que la anécdota narrada significó en aquel momento concreto de la historia que, sin ir más lejos, la representación de esta misma escena en el reciente filme *La corona partida*.⁵⁷ En la película española se recrea la ya citada entrevista de Remesal entre Felipe I y Fernando el Católico haciéndole a este último pronunciar las palabras que el cronista Bernáldez pone en su boca: incidir sobre la gordura de los avejentados nobles castellanos, los mismos que le habían acompañado a la guerra de Granada y que ahora se veían más corpulentos embutidos en sus armaduras. El único problema es que, en la película, los actores que son acusados de haber ganado peso no es que no estén gordos, sino que están francamente delgados; además, únicamente el actor que representa al Rey Católico es capaz de amagar una especie de mueca que semeja una sonrisa. Todo lo contrario, pues, a la oronda figura y a la alegre risotada de los dos actores de GoT, que parecen estar representando la entrevista de Remesal ajustándose muchísimo más a su realidad histórica, a pesar de ser una ficción audiovisual sin nada que ver con la historia de España.⁵⁸

En definitiva, la sagaz broma de Fernando de Aragón para destensar una comprometidísima situación —¡menuda entrevista de paz a la que todos fueron armados hasta los dientes!—,⁵⁹ no ha sido entendida en absoluto por los guionistas de *La corona partida*, por lo que la anécdota queda en el limbo, como es tan frecuente en el cualitativamente deficitario tratamiento televisivo y cinematográfico de todo lo relacionado con Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón. En general, la

56. Bernáldez, Andrés. *Memorias...*: 498-499.

57. Dirigida por Jordi Frades en 2016. 21 Noviembre 2016 <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt4634422/>>.

58. Conforme a lo expresado por Garver, profesora de Northwestern Illinois University antes mencionada: ‘*Game of Thrones*’ does not claim to be an accurate representation of history, but it ends up conveying some aspects of the Middle Ages [...] far better than do other popular sources that purport to be historically accurate (“*Game of Thrones*’ no pretende ser una representación exacta de la historia, pero termina transmitiendo algunos aspectos de la Edad Media [...] mucho mejor que otras fuentes populares que pretenden ser históricamente precisas”). Parisi, Tom. “Power behind the Throne...”.

59. Uno de los procuradores llamados a las Cortes de Burgos del mismo año se quejaba amargamente diciendo que “todos los señores que están en la corte están acompañados de gentes de armas y usan de algunas formas que parecen más para la guerra y la revuelta de la corte que para sosiego del reino”. Recogido por Carretero Zamora, José Manuel. “Representación política y procesos de legitimación”, *Orígenes de la monarquía hispánica: propaganda y legitimación*, ca. 1400-1520, José Manuel Nieto Soria, dir. Madrid: Dykinson, 1999: 177-205 (texto citado en página 189, nota 29).



época de los Reyes Católicos, si bien ha conocido un cierto interés por parte del Séptimo Arte en los últimos años, ha cosechado fiasco tras fiasco en su representación, en la que suele primar lo vano, vacuo y superficial —en especial a lo más folletinesco— dejando de lado por completo cualquier aspecto más profundo.⁶⁰ Se tiene muy claro lo mucho que significó este reinado para el devenir de la posterior España imperial, pero en pantalla, grande o chica, todavía no se ha sabido mostrar ni un ápice del porqué ni mucho menos del cómo.

3. Bodas sangrientas y traiciones esenciales

Volvamos, pues, a *Juego de Tronos*. En uno de los más famosos episodios (SE03EP09), titulado *The Rains of Castamere*, tiene lugar el que es considerado como uno de los eventos de máxima tensión dramática de la serie: la Boda Roja. En ella, un oscuro y taimado noble llamado Walder Frey, compinchado en secreto con la familia Lannister y con la ayuda traidora del linaje Bolton, asesina no solo a Robb Stark, flamante Rey del Norte, sino también a la esposa de éste, Talisa —la cual, para mayor oprobio, se encuentra encinta durante el macabro suceso—, y a su madre, Catelyn Tully-Stark, en el banquete de la boda que se celebraba entre Edmure Tully, tío materno de Robb Stark, y Roslin Frey, hija del siniestro anfitrión. De nuevo se trata de un espacio histórico común en el Medioevo europeo: la infamia de no respetar la hospitalidad que debe presidir un enlace nupcial entre familias contendientes hasta transformar el evento en reproable ajuste de cuentas.⁶¹

El autor de la saga, George R.R. Martin, reconoció haber hallado inspiración para el que, sin duda alguna, es uno de los momentos cumbre de su narrativa en dos conocidos episodios de la historia de Escocia.⁶² El primero es la llamada *Cena negra*, acontecida en Edimburgo durante 1440 y en la que los miembros del clan Douglas fueron ejecutados por un clan rival, los Crichton, tras haber sido amablemente invitados a cenar en presencia del rey-niño Jacobo II Estuardo.⁶³ El segundo ejemplo, más alejado de la Edad Media al situarse en el año 1692, es la masacre de Glencoe, en la que de nuevo un clan escocés, los Campbell, no respetó las leyes de la hospitalidad debidas, acuchillando a los miembros del clan rival, los MacDonald, horas después de haber compartido con ellos mesa y mantel de forma falsamente amigable.⁶⁴

Una vez establecidas tales coordenadas, es sencillísimo relacionar la Boda Roja con la historia y la literatura medieval de España, pródigas en semejantes dramas y, además, con el interesante añadido de que nos han llegado por dos tradiciones culturales distintas. Por el camino occidental, no podemos olvidar que de unas “bodas y tornabodas”, las de Ruy Vázquez con doña Lambra, nacería una de las leyendas más importantes del imaginario medieval castellano: la de los Siete

60. Léanse al respecto las burdas excusas de uno de los guionistas de la serie televisiva *Isabel* recogidas por Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco; Abad Merino, Mercedes. “El pasado como producto de consumo en los medios de ocio”, *Historia y videojuegos: el impacto de los nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*, Juan Francisco Jiménez Alcázar, Íñigo Mugueta Moreno, Gerardo Fabián Rodríguez, eds. Murcia: Compobell, 2016: 9-30, especialmente 20.

61. Sobre la hospitalidad en la Castilla medieval, ver: Guglielmi, Nilda. *Marginalidad en la Edad Media*. Buenos Aires: Biblos, 1998: 70-72.

62. Casey, Dan. “George R.R. Martin Explains the Red Wedding’s Historical Roots”. *Nerdist. Online Magazine*. 5 Junio 2013. 21 Noviembre 2016 <<http://nerdist.com/george-r-r-martin-explains-the-red-weddings-historical-roots/>>.

63. Brown, Michael. *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in Late Medieval Scotland, 1300-1455*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998: 261-264.

64. Prebble, John. *Glencoe: The Story of the Massacre*. London, Penguin Books, 1968.



Infantes de Lara.⁶⁵ Como en los casos anteriores y como sucede en GoT, parece factible que el origen del enfrentamiento se hallara en algún tipo de enemistad entre dos clanes procedentes de sendos lugares asturianos, Salas y Lara,⁶⁶ que la leyenda ha amplificado tanto como diluido entre las nieblas del mito hasta el punto de dudar sobre la historicidad de los eventos.⁶⁷ Sin embargo, el paso de los materiales del romance popular a obras historiográficas, sobre todo a la *Primera crónica general* y a la *Crónica de 1344*,⁶⁸ nos garantiza que, al menos durante la Baja Edad Media hispánica, la narración era tenida por verídica.

Fuera como fuese, la leyenda establece que durante el enlace entre Ruy Vázquez y doña Lambra tuvieron lugar los acostumbrados bohordos,⁶⁹ el juego caballeresco de habilidad más frecuente de la época,⁷⁰ y allí fue donde surgió el enfrentamiento, tal como se narra en el conocido romance:

– Doña Lambra con fantasía	grandes tablados armara.
Allí salió un cavallero	de los de Córdova la llana,
cavallero en un cavallo	y en la su mano una vara.
Arremete su cavallo	al tablado la tirara,
diziendo: - ‘Amad, señoras	cada cual como es amada,
que más vale un cavallero	de los de Córdova la llana,
más vale que cuatro ni cinco	de los de la flor de Lara’. ⁷¹

La tragedia se desencadenó cuando Gonzalo González, el menor de los infantes de Lara, quiso probar a aquel caballero y a doña Lambra cuán equivocados estaban, demostrando a su vez lo duchos y buenos bohordadores que eran todos los hermanos. Pero esta acción motivó que la dama se declarase deshonorada, por lo que su marido, Ruy Vázquez, entregaría al padre de los infantes, Gonzalo Gustioz, al temible caudillo musulmán, Almanzor, mientras los siete hijos de aquél perecieron asesinados en una emboscada. Andando el tiempo, un octavo hijo, Mudarra, engendrado por Gonzalo Gustioz en su breve cautiverio islámico, acabará vengando a sus hermanos al capturar a Ruy Vázquez sin olvidar que “la trayción [...] que él fiso fue començada [...] en Burgos, quando él casó con doña Lambra”.⁷² El hecho de que, en la serie, una determinada melodía, *The Rains of Castamere*, sea ejecutada por los músicos que amenizan la boda como preludio de la traición es un magnífico hilo conductor para trabajar la leyenda de los Siete Infantes de Lara en clase, enfatizando

65. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*. Madrid: Gredos, 1971, especialmente 302-312.

66. Pedrosa, José Manuel. “Los siete infantes de Salas: leyenda, épica, romance y lírica reconsiderados a la luz de fórmulas y metros”. *Memorabilia*, 16 (2014): 86-130.

67. Lacarra Lanz, Eukene. “Sobre la historicidad de la leyenda de los ‘Siete Infantes de Lara’”, *Historicist Essays on Hispano-Medieval Narrative in Memory of Roger M. Walker*, Barry Taylor, Geoffrey West eds. London: Maney Publishing for the Modern Humanities Research Association, 2005: 201-227. De igual forma, el número 36 de la revista *Cahiers d’études hispaniques médiévales* (2013) es un monográfico dedicado a debatir sobre esta leyenda. Justel, Pablo, ed. *Cahiers d’études hispaniques médiévales* [Les sept infants de Lara: l’histoire face à la légende], 36 (2013): 11-255.

68. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *La leyenda...*: 304.

69. Agudo Romeo, María del Mar. “Notas en torno a un juego medieval: los bohordos”. *Aragón en la Edad Media. Homenaje a la Profesora Emérita María Luisa Ledesma Rubio*, 10-11 (1993): 17-29.

70. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “Bofordar en el siglo XIII castellano: entre el entrenamiento militar y el espectáculo caballeresco”, *El mundo urbano en la Castilla del siglo XIII*, Manuel González Jiménez, ed. Sevilla: Fundación El Monte-Ayuntamiento de Ciudad Real, 2006, 2: 247-255, especialmente 251-252.

71. Tomo el texto de Di Stéfano, Giuseppe. *El romancero*. Madrid: Narcea, 1973: 245-246.

72. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *La leyenda...*, p. 312.



el paso de estos mismos sucesos desde la literatura oral, desde el romance, a los textos cronísticos y,⁷³ a través de ellos, a la propia historiografía.⁷⁴

No obstante, las querellas nobiliarias y dinásticas en la formación de los territorios feudales castellanos en la Alta Edad Media no es el único tema que se puede estudiar con relación a la secuencia de la Boda Roja en GoT. Partiendo de un prisma cultural si no oriental, al menos sí orientalizante, debemos recordar un enfrentamiento similar en el complicado mundo de la Granada musulmana previa a su conquista por los Reyes Católicos.⁷⁵ Tenemos aquí los mismos elementos constitutivos de la trama: dos linajes enfrentados, Sigríes y Banu Sarrach —castellanizados en cegríes y abencerrajes—, más una dama, la bella Jarifa, que desencadenará una tragedia romeo-julietesca entre ambos.⁷⁶ La novela histórica de Ginés Pérez de Hita, titulada *Historia de los bandos de los Zegríes y Abencerrajes, caballeros moros de Granada* y publicada por vez primera en 1595, fue el desencante de la fama universal de una leyenda que ya existía antes en el romancero,⁷⁷ y que nos conduce, de nuevo, a un paralelismo claro a la hora de utilizar la serie en nuestras clases de Historia y Literatura.⁷⁸

La traición, de hecho, es un elemento recurrente en toda la narrativa de Martin y, por supuesto, a su alrededor se construyen bastantes de los episodios más brillantes, en términos de narrativa audiovisual, de GoT. No creo equivocarme mucho si doy por sentado que cualquier espectador de la serie estará de acuerdo en que, en términos narrativos, el punto de inflexión de la primera temporada fue sin duda la traición del personaje apodado *Littlefinger*, Lord Petyr Baelish, al idealista y fiel a sus principios Ned Stark,⁷⁹ perfidia que acabará con el señor de Winterfell decapitado en una de las más impactantes escenas jamás emitidas en la pequeña pantalla. De nuevo el mérito de Martin y de los guionistas es el de escoger la traición como hilo conductor de la trama, pues las traiciones son esenciales en la creación de los mitos identitarios de todas las civilizaciones occidentales.⁸⁰ El precedente más famoso es, como muchos lectores recordarán, el asesinato de Cílón ordenado por el posteriormente denostado y desterrado linaje de los Alcmeónidas en la incipiente Atenas,⁸¹ pero está igualmente en la guerra de Troya, en la violenta muerte de Remo a manos de su hermano Rómulo y, en general, en cualquier fundación mítica que se precie, sobre todo las que tienen como objetivo cimentar la identidad nacional.⁸²

73. Como expresa Lathrop, Thomas A. *The Legend of the Siete Infantes de Lara (refundición toledana de la 'Crónica de 1344' version)*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972: 15-16.

74. Gómez Redondo, Fernando. "Fórmulas juglarescas en la historiografía romance de los siglos XIII y XIV". *La Corónica*, 15 (1986-87): 225-239.

75. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *La guerra de Granada, 1482-1491*. Granada: Diputación de Granada, 2001: 15-19.

76. Analizada por Gimeno Casaldueño, Joaquín. "El Abencerraje y la hermosa Jarifa": composición y significado", *La creación literaria de la Edad Media y del Renacimiento. Su forma y su significado*. Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1977: 83-112.

77. Carrasco Urgoiti, María Soledad. "Apuntes sobre el mito de los Abencerrajes y sus versiones literarias". *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebreos, Sección Árabe-Islam*, 47 (1998): 65-88.

78. Consúltase al respecto el trabajo de Mimura, Tomoko. "La causa morisca en 'Guerras civiles de Granada': un estudio comparativo entre la primera y segunda parte". *Anales del Seminario de Historia de la Filosofía*, 23 (2006): 165-180.

79. Hahn, David. "The Death of Lord Stark: The Perils of Idealism", *Game of Thrones and Philosophy: Logic Cuts Deeper than Swords*, Henry Owen Jacoby, ed. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2012: 75-86.

80. Ben-Yehuda, Nachman. *Betrayals and Treason: Violations of Trust and Loyalty*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2001: 11-12.

81. Brook Manville, Philip. *The Origins of Citizenship in Ancient Athens*. Princeton: University Press, 1997: 73-78.

82. Coates, Geraldine. *Treacherous Foundations. Betrayal and Collective Identity in Early Spanish Epic, Chronicle, and Drama*. Woodbridge-Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2009: especialmente 19-37.



La lista de textos y eventos de la España medieval que pueden ser utilizados aquí es bastante amplia. En mis clases funcionó muy bien el análisis histórico y literario de algunas obras centradas en la legendaria traición del Conde de Tarifa, el famoso Don Julián. Como es bien conocido, el noble decidió vengarse del rey Rodrigo porque éste violó a su hija, Florinda, más conocida por su apodo de *La Cava*.⁸³ Al margen de profundizar en la concepción misógina de estas leyendas medievales,⁸⁴ las diferentes partes del romance, desde la violación hasta la venganza y consiguiente pérdida de España,⁸⁵ establecen las coordenadas de la invasión musulmana de la península ibérica en 711 como castigo a la perfidia del último monarca visigodo, causante de la debacle de la pérdida de la supuestamente primigenia identidad hispánica.⁸⁶ Pero, obviamente, solo se trata de un ejemplo entre los muchos con los que se puede trabajar. En cuanto a traiciones se refiere, la realidad histórica es infinitamente superior a cualquier ficción, de forma que mis colegas bien podrán elegir a su antojo, o en función de los objetivos del programa, los textos literarios y/o documentos históricos a utilizar en sus clases.

4. La peligrosa vida de los juglares medievales

En los últimos tiempos, las series o películas ambientadas en la Edad Media suelen prestar bastante atención a los componentes musicales y literarios, tal vez porque existen pocos elementos que puedan transmitir mayor autenticidad que estos y que, por lo tanto, puedan cimentar, para bien o para mal, la correcta ambientación de la época en que se quiere enmarcar la filmación.⁸⁷ Aunque los resultados cosechados por la industria audiovisual sean bastante desiguales,⁸⁸ en GoT hay que reconocer que funciona como un elemento de cohesión entre las diferentes tramas y que, desde luego, el impacto de algunas de sus escenas más famosas, como la ya mencionada Boda Roja, se basa precisamente en el adecuado y correcto acompañamiento musical a la acción que se visualiza en la pantalla.

Gracias a la profusión en los últimos tiempos de películas y series ambientadas en la Edad Media, tanto la pequeña como la gran pantalla han comenzado a hacer justicia a juglares, bardos y ministriles, a trovadores y a poetas, y, en general, a cualquiera que pueda identificarse mediante cualquier otra denominación con los compositores, recitadores y cantores de lírica en los tiempos medievales.⁸⁹ Todos ellos desempeñaron un papel esencial en la transmisión de la cultura, papel que a veces es ciertamente difícil explicar a los estudiantes debido a la lejanía de nuestros tiempos

83. Ratcliffe, Marjorie. "Víctima histórica y víctima literaria: La Cava Florinda", *Mujeres épicas españolas: silencios, olvidos e ideologías*. Woodbridge-Rochester: Tamesis, 2011: 17-62.

84. Hilo conductor del estudio de Drayson, Elizabeth. *The King and the Whore: King Roderick and La Cava*. Nueva York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

85. Todos estos textos se pueden leer en Di Stefano, Giuseppe. *El romancero...*: 223-232.

86. Davis, Elizabeth B. *Myth and Identity in the Epic of Imperial Spain*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000: 176-177.

87. Haines, John. *Music in Films on the Middle Ages: Authenticity vs. Fantasy*. New York: Routledge, 2013: 14.

88. Traté brevemente este asunto en mi blog personal: Perea, Oscar. "Música en las series históricas: ¿adorno de rigor prescindible?". *Harto de tanta porfía...* 17 Octubre 2013. 19 Enero 2017 <<http://opr71.blogspot.com.es/2013/10/musica-en-las-series-historicas-adorno.html>>.

89. En la línea de lo definido por Lacarra Lanz, Eukene. "Espectáculos de la voz y la palabra. Juglares y afines", *Historia de los espectáculos en España*, Andrés Amorós, José Manuel Díez Borque, eds. Madrid: Castalia, 1999: 405-418.

con aquellos.⁹⁰ Una idea que intento siempre transmitir en mis clases, sobre todo en lo que respecta a la poesía de cancionero castellana producida entre los siglos XIV y XVI, es precisamente que, aunque mucha de la lírica de la Baja Edad Media y del temprano Renacimiento hoy se estudie como literatura, en realidad el enorme caudal de la misma que hemos conservado induce a pensar que su impacto fue mucho más parecido al que actualmente tiene la música,⁹¹ pues de otra forma no se explica su altísima popularidad.⁹²

En GoT, tal como se corresponde a una serie enmarcada en los tiempos medievales, podemos ver a un juglar llamado Marillion que, en principio, parece que va a ocupar un papel anecdótico en el devenir de la trama, pero más tarde tiene su pequeño momento de gloria... si es que se puede llamar así a su hasta ahora última, e impactante, aparición en escena. La primera vez que lo vemos (SE01EP04) se encuentra en uno de los ámbitos de acción típicos de su oficio, una taberna, en la cual ofrece sus servicios a Lady Catelyn Stark y a su acompañante, Sir Rodrik Cassell. Esto sucede poco antes de que el capítulo finalice con una otra escena cumbre: los aliados del linaje Stark presentes en esa misma taberna, ofreciendo el feudal *auxilium* a sus señores ante la petición de Lady Catelyn,⁹³ hacen prisionero a Tyrion Lannister, acusado de idear el accidente que dejó malherido a Bran Stark, hijo de la dama y de Ned Stark. En esta primera escena el bardo Marillion no llega a cantar, sino solo muestra la precariedad de su oficio: el juglar ofrece su arte a cualquiera, a unos y a otros, aunque sean enemigos —como lo son los Stark y los Lannister—, solicitando a cambio unas monedas, pero también alimento o bebida, si así fuera la voluntad del pagador. Como para cualquier medievalista es ya obvio tras leer estas líneas, el último aspecto cincelado alrededor de Marillion, el de la alegre mendicidad juglaresca menendezpidaliana,⁹⁴ recuerda de forma inmediata a aquel “vaso de bon vino” que Gonzalo de Berceo creía merecer por haber compuesto sus versos en “román paladino”.⁹⁵

En el siguiente capítulo (SE01EP05), la aparición de Marillion nos muestra otro aspecto fundamental de los poetas medievales: su doble capacidad de ser tanto testigos de importantes sucesos de sus tiempos como narradores de los mismos. La escena nos sitúa a Tyrion Lannister, encapuchado y maniatado, siendo conducido a caballo por Lady Stark y su séquito de hombres armados hacia el lugar donde sería juzgado por las graves acusaciones hechas contra él. Mientras los guerreros afilan sus armas y se preparan para afrontar las peligrosas jornadas que les esperan escoltando a

90. Para primeras aproximaciones de estudiantes no hispánicos a estos temas, es de bastante utilidad el estudio de Herrero Massari, José Manuel. *Juglares y trovadores*. Madrid: Akal, 1999.

91. Gómez-Bravo, Ana M. “‘Dezir cançones’: The Question of Genre in Fifteenth-Century Castilian ‘Cancionero’ Poetry”, *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context*, William D. Paden, ed. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000: 158-189.

92. Mayor explicación de estas cifras en Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “Pedro I y la propaganda antipetrista en la génesis y el éxito de la poesía cancioneril castellana (I)”. *La Corónica*, 45/2 (2017): 109-132, especialmente 117-119.

93. Discutido aspecto en la Castilla medieval, como explica Valdeón Baroque, Julio. “Sobre el feudalismo. Treinta años después”, *Estudios sobre señorío y feudalismo: homenaje a Julio Valdeón*, Esteban Sarasa Sánchez, Eliseo Serrano Martín, eds. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2010: 9-25.

94. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Poesía juglaresca y juglares. Aspectos de la historia literaria y cultural de España*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1962: 11.

95. Berceo, Gonzalo de. *La vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, ed. Brian Dutton. London: Tamesis Books Limited, 1978: 35. No me convence la idea de que sea una alusión pura y dura a la Eucaristía, pero sí creo probable que Berceo plantee un juego bisémico, uniendo la bebida ociosa y la bebida religiosa para crear complicidad con su audiencia. Gutiérrez Cuadrado, Juan. “El vaso de vino de Berceo (‘Santo Domingo’, 2d)”, *Estudios filológicos en homenaje a Eugenio de Bustos Tovar*, José Antonio Bartol Hernández Javier de Santiago, Juan Felipe García, eds. Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad, 1992: I, 423-432.



tan ilustre prisionero, Marillion ofrece un divertido contraste: él está afinando su instrumento musical de cuerda, con el que ensaya la letra de una canción inspirada en los eventos que acaba de presenciar, es decir, la captura de Tyrion Lannister, a quien despectivamente se refiere con el apelativo de ‘enano’.⁹⁶ Un repentino ataque de las tribus salvajes de las montañas interrumpe el afinamiento musical del trovador, que recibe una pedrada enviada por una honda al inicio de una pequeña escaramuza, quién sabe si como broma de los guionistas basada en la conocida costumbre teatral que hacía a los espectadores susceptibles de arrojar hortalizas a los artistas en caso de que su actuación no fuera de su agrado.⁹⁷

Si en aquella ocasión el juglar solo recibió un golpe por haberse atrevido a ser testigo fidedigno de lo que acababa de presenciar, la siguiente vez que lo vemos entrar en escena (SE01EP10) es para asistir a su pequeña tragedia personal. El punto de partida es el evento que preside la resolución del final de la primera temporada: el deceso del rey Robert Baratheon, tras un desgaciado accidente de caza en el que fue herido mortalmente por un jabalí.⁹⁸ Dejando de lado la cadena de traiciones y muertes que se siguen, en la escena vemos a Marillion, sentado en medio de la gran sala del Trono de Hierro, cantando una canción mientras toca su instrumento musical. Enfrente del nuevo rey, Joffrey Baratheon, sucesor de quien todos creen su padre —aunque la audiencia de la serie ya sabe que esto no es cierto—, escucha atentamente una canción que nuestro juglar compuso con ocasión de la muerte del anterior monarca y que, al parecer, cantó en una taberna para jolgorio de la plebe:

*The boar's great tusks, they boded ill,
for good King Robert's health;
and the beast was every bit as fat
as Robert was himself.
But our brave King cried: 'Do your worst!
I'll have your ugly head!
You're nowhere near as murderous as
the lion in my bed!'
King Robert lost his battle
and he failed his final test:
the lion ripped his balls off
and the boar did all the rest.⁹⁹*

Aunque el pérfido Joffrey finge con su aplauso haber disfrutado de esta canción, y pese a que Marillion jura solemnemente no volver a cantarla en público, el pobre trovador va a pagar muy cara su osadía, no solo por haber compuesto un poema burlesco sobre la muerte del rey, sino por hacer culpable del fallecimiento de Robert Baratheon a la reina madre, Cersei Lannister —aludida

96. La letra dice: “On that eve, / the captive Imp / downwards from his horse did limp: / no more would he preen and primp / in garb of red and gold” (“En aquel día, / el cautivo Enano / de su caballería bajó a trasmano: / nunca más sería esquivo y ufano / en su casaca rojigualda”).

97. Costumbre totalmente en vigor durante los siglos XVI y XVII, y muy posiblemente antes también. Morales, Ramón. “Glosario de alusiones a vegetales en las obras completas de Cervantes”. *Anales Cervantinos*, 37 (2005): 267-295, especialmente 287-288.

98. Los deportes cinegéticos en GoT son motivos de fácil identificación con la Edad Media hispánica. Montoya, María Isabel. “La caza en el medievo peninsular”. *Tonos. Revista electrónica de estudios filológicos*, 6. 6 Diciembre 2003. 21 Abril 2017 <<http://www.um.es/tonosdigital/znum6/portada/Cazamur.htm>>.

99. “Dolor fueron los colmillazos del jabalí / en la salud de Robert, el buen rey; / casi tan gorda aquella bestia era / como el propio Robert fuera. / Mas nuestro bravo rey gritó: ‘¡Haz lo que debas! / ¡Tendré tu fea sesera! / No eres ni de lejos tan malvado como / el león en mi litera!’ / El rey Robert la batalla perdió y / no superó la prueba final: / el león las criadillas le cortó / y el puerco hizo todo lo demás”.

como ‘el león’, pues tal animal es el símbolo heráldico de su linaje. Así, toda la tensión larvada en la escena se transforma en tragedia cuando, a los pocos segundos del entusiasta aplauso, el lunático joven monarca —delante de la reina madre y sin que ésta interrumpa el cruel desenlace— pregunta al juglar por su preferencia en conservar la lengua o las manos; ante la respuesta de éste acerca de cómo todo hombre necesita sus manos, Joffrey decide que el verdugo Sir Ilyn Payne, delante de la corte y como escarmiento público por la ofensa cometida, proceda a cortarle la lengua a Marillion con un cuchillo de caza.

Quizá podríamos pensar que nos encontramos ante una escena exagerada, fruto del ingenio de unos guionistas imbuidos en la corriente de crudo realismo televisivo en el tratamiento de la Edad Media que algunos llaman “medievalismo sucio”.¹⁰⁰ Sería un craso error. En el medievo hispánico podemos encontrar textos y documentos que nos permiten establecer no solo comparaciones pertinentes entre la realidad histórica y la ficción televisiva, sino también concretar que la escena de la serie es muy apropiada para mostrar el peligro real al que se enfrentaban todos aquellos poetas, trovadores y juglares que osaran componer versos contra la Corona o cuestionar la política de las monarquías.

Por todos estos motivos, la representación del juglar en GoT se ajusta bastante a la realidad de los trovadores en los tiempos medievales, quizá solo igualada por la de la poco conocida película *El valle de las espadas* (1963),¹⁰¹ un relato en cinemascope algo *sui generis* de las leyendas sobre Fernán González, primer conde de Castilla.¹⁰² En este desigual filme, que tiene bastantes detalles de serie B, toda una estrella musical del rock norteamericano de la época, Frankie Avalon, da cuerpo a las vicisitudes de un juglar de nombre Jerifán, que interpreta diversas canciones con un simpático tono español y unas letras bastante pobres, por ser generosos. Lo que une en la ficción al pintoresco Jerifán con el osado Marillion es una realidad histórica incontestable: la ausencia de seguridad personal una vez que habían vivido en primera persona un acontecimiento de primera magnitud. Su oficio les forzaba a utilizar esos eventos famosos en sus composiciones con el fin de ganarse a su público, en esa frenética actividad de adaptación a los cambios de gusto constantes de la audiencia a la que nuestros juglares debían su manutención.¹⁰³ Pero el riesgo era bastante evidente, sobre todo si los protagonistas de esos mismos eventos, directos o indirectos, no estaban de acuerdo con la versión literaria de los acontecimientos narrados, como sucede con el vengativo Joffrey Baratheon y el pobre deslenguado —primero metafórica y luego literalmente— Marillion.

Escenas similares a la del salón del Trono de Hierro, aunque no formen parte, en general, de los planes de enseñanza ni siquiera en educación superior, son bien conocidas por los especialistas en la Edad Media hispánica. Por ceñirme solo a un par de ejemplos, mencionaré primero a un poeta, de nombre Hernando de Ribera, que acompañó a los ejércitos de los Reyes Católicos en las campañas de Granada con el objetivo de redactar una crónica en verso de lo que se preveía iba a ser una gloriosa victoria militar sobre el reino musulmán.¹⁰⁴ Uno de los episodios más destacados del inicio de

100. Elliott, Andrew B. R. “‘Our Minds Are in the Gutter, But Some of Us are Watching Starz...’ Sex, Violence, and Dirty Medievalism”, *Fantasy and Science-fiction Medievalisms: From Isaac Asimov to A Game of Thrones*, Helen Victoria Young, ed. Amherst-New York: Victoria Press, 2015: 54-63.

101. Originalmente titulada *The Castilian*. 21 Abril 2017 <<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0056646/>>.

102. Escalante Varona, Alberto. “La transmisión cinematográfica de la leyenda de Fernán González: ‘El valle de las espadas’, de Javier Setó”. *Cuadernos de Aleph*, 9 (2017): 33-60.

103. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares...*: 245.

104. Deyermond, Alan. “La historiografía Trastámara: ¿una cuarentena de obras perdidas?”, *Estudios en homenaje a don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz en sus 90 años*. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras-Instituto de Historia, 1986: IV, 161-



la guerra fue el asedio de la alquería granadina de Tájara (actual Huétor-Tájar), en la cual fue herido Enrique Enríquez, el tío materno de Fernando el Católico que, a la sazón, desempeñaba el cargo de Mayordomo mayor.¹⁰⁵ Al parecer, los versos escritos por Ribera para describir el suceso no fueron del agrado del noble, pues no destacaban suficientemente la valentía que el regio sirviente había mostrado en la escaramuza. De acuerdo al cronista Bernáldez, al despedido Enríquez no le tembló la mano en castigar la osadía del poeta, por lo que “imbió por la corónica, que estaba en un monasterio, y casi por la fuerza la sacó y quitó todo lo que quiso”.¹⁰⁶ El hecho de que no hayamos conservado ni versión manuscrita ni impresa de esta obra es buena prueba del celo con que el mayordomo del Rey Católico se tomó la afrenta. Y no fue el único caso: conocemos varios más de cronistas y autores del siglo XV que vieron sus obras defenestradas y fueron obligados a modificarlas.¹⁰⁷

La ausencia de datos biográficos sobre Hernando de Ribera nos impide certificar si, después de este incidente, pudo haber sufrido un destino similar al de Marillion. Pero no muchos años más tarde, también durante la época de la guerra de Granada, sí conocemos un caso en que los compositores de un poema acabaron muchísimo peor que nuestro bardo de GoT: el de los autores de las llamadas *Coplas del tabefe*,¹⁰⁸ compuestas hacia 1490 en Jerez de la Frontera.¹⁰⁹ A través de este poema, cincelado con una leve pátina satírica y aditamentos procedentes de la literatura pastoril,¹¹⁰ sus autores criticaban el excesivo gasto económico en las campañas militares contra los musulmanes y, en consecuencia, las penalidades que los concejos andaluces afrontaban para abastecer a las tropas que operaban en la zona,¹¹¹ como se puede leer en el siguiente extracto:

Abre, abre las orejas.
escucha, escucha, pastor;
di, ¿no oyes el clamor
que te hacen tus ovejas?

Sus voces suben al cielo
quejando su desconsuelo,
que las trasquilas a engaño
tantas veces cada año
que nunca las cubre el pelo.

Tienes tres trasquiladeros,
cada cual con su tijera,

194, especialmente 181-182.

105. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. *Estudio biográfico sobre los poetas del “Cancionero general”*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2007: 176-178.

106. Bernáldez, Andrés. *Memorias...*: 537.

107. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “‘Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos’: los conversos en los cancioneros castellanos del tardío medievo (1454-1504)”. *La Corónica*, 40/1 (2011): 183-226, especialmente 205-210.

108. Se trata del poema ID 0206 en la catalogación de Dutton, que es la numeración unánimemente aceptada por los expertos en poesía de cancionero para identificar las composiciones. Dutton, Brian. *El cancionero castellano del siglo XV* (c. 1360-1520). Salamanca: Ediciones de la Universidad, 1990-1991: II, 243.

109. Ferrer-Chivite, Manuel. “Sobre las coplas llamadas ‘del Tabefe’, su autor y sus avatares”. *Scriptura (=Letradura. Estudios de literatura medieval)*, 13 (1997): 151-172.

110. Elia, Paola. “Le ‘Coplas del tabefe’ una satira del XV secolo spagnolo”. *Studi e Ricerche*, 2 (1983): 137-183.

111. Sobre estos problemas financieros, González Jiménez, Manuel. “La guerra en su vertiente andaluza: participación de las ciudades, villas y señoríos andaluces”, *La incorporación de Granada a la Corona de Castilla*, Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, ed. Granada: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 1993: 651-674.

y dejas tales los cueros
que el ganado desespera;
y después que has trasquilado
alquilas todo el ganado
a peladores que van,
y si les ladra algún can,
arrójasle tú el cayado [...]

Has sacado tanta lana
que si dieres buena maña
hubieras hecho una manta
que cubrieras toda España;
mas como lo has repelado,
el viento te lo ha llevado,
que no era tu intención
dirigida a salvación
ni a provecho del ganado [...]

Es tan grande tu codicia
que no hay cosa que te harte,
mas venga de cualquier parte,
bien ganado o con malicia,
que todo cabe en tu seno,
lo mal ganado y lo bueno,
trasquilado o repelado,
mal ganado o bien ganado,
que sea tuyo o ajeno [...]

Si dices que fue tu empresa
por servicio de tu ley
y por aumentar tu grey
y acrecentar tu dehesa,
y que lo que has trasquilado
ha sido bien empleado,
pues que allanaste las sierras,
¿para qué quieres las tierras,
si destruyes el ganado?¹¹²

Los estudiantes de mi curso tenían que analizar de forma combinada estos dos poemas: el de la ficción compuesto por Marillion —tan hiriente contra los Lannister— y las *Coplas del tabefe*, que nos han llegado a través de diversas copias manuscritas, todas ellas no por casualidad bastantes tardías con respecto a su fecha de redacción.¹¹³ Al margen de verificar los usos metafóricos de animales y,¹¹⁴ sobre todo, la conocida representación figurada del rey como el buen pastor de su rebaño,¹¹⁵ de tanta importancia para la formulación de las teorías medievales del poder,¹¹⁶ lo que a los alumnos volvió a sorprender fue la atemporalidad de las críticas emitidas por este poema. Los análisis colec-

112. Tomo el texto del poema, una selección con las coplas I, II, IV y XIV, de mi trabajo: Perea Rodríguez, Oscar. “Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos’...”: 207-208.

113. Se puede acceder a todos los testimonios de este texto (Texid 10476), en la base de datos y en el proyecto de investigación que dirige Charles Faulhaber *PhiloBiblon*—BETA: *Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos*. 23 Febrero 2017 <http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/index_es.html>.

114. Martín Pascual, Llúcia. *La tradició animalística en la literatura catalana medieval*. Valencia: Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciencia-Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1996: 18-21.

115. Para los orígenes y extensión de la misma, véase Irigoyen García, Javier. *The Spanish Arcadia: Sheep Herding, Pastoral Discourse, and Ethnicity in Early Modern Spain*. Toronto: Toronto Iberic, 2014: 14-17.

116. Villacañas, José Luis. “Esferas de acción y sistema filosófico. El carácter imprescindible de la metáfora”. *Daimon: Revista de Filosofía*, 24 (2001): 111-126.



tivos en los seminarios pusieron de relieve que, en la primera estrofa, hay una queja de que el rey no presta oídos a las peticiones del pueblo llano, sobre todo los elevados impuestos que pagan para sostener las guerras; en la segunda, el mal empleo que se ha hecho de esos impuestos; en la tercera, la codicia de los gobernantes sobre la riqueza común; y finalmente, un cuasi pacifista alegato acerca del sinsentido de todas las guerras. Es suficiente darse un paseo por los titulares de cualquier periódico de nuestros días para observar cuán actuales pueden llegar a parecer los lamentos de un poema compuestos quinientos años atrás.

Con todo, lo que también se enfatizó durante las comparaciones en clase fue la ausencia en las *Coplas del tabefe* de mordacidad y, especialmente, de procacidad, sobre todo respecto a la mucha que contiene la lírica del trovador Marillion. El análisis de los estudiantes me ofreció la oportunidad de explicar que las literaturas hispánicas medievales son ricas en tales componentes, en especial los juglares gallegos y portugueses, que convirtieron “la difamación por medio de canciones” en un arte:¹¹⁷ el género literario que conocemos con el nombre de *cantigas de escarnio y maldizer*.¹¹⁸ En el caso de la lírica castellana de cancionero, les recordé la trilogía de poesía de protesta,¹¹⁹ aunque la etiqueta haya sido discutida,¹²⁰ que gozó de gran predicamento durante los dos reinados anteriores al de los Reyes Católicos: las *Coplas de la Panadera* (Dutton ID 1945), compuestas en época de Juan II, poco después de la primera batalla de Olmedo en 1445;¹²¹ y, por supuesto, las *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* (Dutton ID 2024) y las *Coplas del Provincial* (Dutton ID 4119), compuestas durante el reinado de Enrique IV y divulgadas con el claro propósito de socavar la autoridad del hermano de la futura Reina Católica.¹²² El tono de las *Coplas del tabefe* concuerda mucho con el contenido en las de *Mingo Revulgo*,¹²³ que son muy similares a las del *Tabefe*, mientras que las del *Provincial* son quizás las que más se parezcan, por su carácter irrespetuoso y contenido explícitamente sexual, a las de GoT.

No obstante, si nada parecido a las obscenidades de Marillion y de las *Coplas del Provincial* se puede hallar en el reinado de los Reyes Católicos es, sin duda alguna, por la fiereza y la determinación con las que Isabel y Fernando castigaron a cualquier trovador que se atreviese a criticar siquiera mínimamente sus acciones de gobierno. De hecho, los autores de las *Coplas del tabefe* conforman un magnífico ejemplo del uso implacable de la justicia en la Castilla del siglo XV, algo que sorprende porque una acción tan radical se puso en marcha ante unas burlas en verso bastante más inocentes que las que hemos visto en la ficción televisiva. Debemos recordar en este punto que existe otro texto de la época que, en cierto modo, alertaba a los Reyes Católicos de las dificultades económicas de la empresa granadina: un poco conocido escrito al que se le ha dado el título de *Consejos que*

117. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Poesía juglaresca y juglares...*: 160.

118. El estudio clásico es el Rodrigues Lapa, Manuel. *Cantigas d'escarnio e de mal dizer dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*. Lisboa, João Sá da Costa, 1995. Para su engarce con la tradición castellana, véase Paredes Núñez, Juan. *Las cantigas de escarnio y maldecir de Alfonso X: problemas de interpretación y crítica textual*. Londres: Queen Mary University, 2000.

119. Rodríguez Puértolas, Julio. *Poesía de protesta en la Edad Media castellana: Historia y antología*. Madrid: Gredos, 1968.

120. Di Camillo, Otavio. “¿Existe una literatura de oposición en la España de fines de la Edad Media?”, *Génèse médiévale de l'Espagne moderne. Du refus à la revolte: les résistances*, Adeline Rucquoi, ed. Niza: Université de Nice, 1991: 145-169.

121. Guglielmi, Nilda. *Marginalidad en la Edad Media...*: 443-456.

122. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “Enrique IV en la poesía de cancionero: algún ‘afán’ ignorado entre las ‘mil congoxas’ conocidas”. *Cancionero general*, 3 (2005): 33-71.

123. Paolini, Devid. “Los antecedentes bucólicos de las ‘Coplas de Mingo Revulgo’”. *La Corónica*, 38/1 (2009): 231-246.



dio el fraile Sanzones.¹²⁴ Se trata de un discreto memorial, apenas un ruego, con elementos muy polémicos en cuanto a espiritualidad se refiere,¹²⁵ presidido en todo momento por un tono de escrupuloso respeto y de ritual obediencia, tal como corresponde a su autor, miembro a la sazón del estamento eclesiástico.¹²⁶ Cualquier petición, en verso o en prosa, que se atreviera a ir más allá de este límite,¹²⁷ quedaba convertida de forma automática en un peligro inminente para sus autores, pues las leyes del reino protegían a difamados de difamadores y,¹²⁸ en el caso de que las burlas tuvieran como protagonistas a miembros de un estamento superior, el riesgo asumido por el poeta era todavía mayor, por mucho que intentase protegerse recurriendo a la oscuridad otorgada por el anonimato.¹²⁹

La acción inmediata de Isabel y Fernando ante la difusión de las *Coplas del tabefe* se produjo sin miramientos, pues ambos temían que se les volviera en contra un factor que había jugado a su favor en la guerra civil contra Enrique IV y su heredera, Juana la Beltraneja.¹³⁰ el peligro de la rapidez de difusión de poemas críticos como estos, pues, como explicaba otro conocido poeta del Quinientos, los versos “se asientan mejor e duran más en la memoria que las prosas”.¹³¹ Muy bien sabían los monarcas que el escarnio lírico era arma de primer orden en el terreno político y,¹³² de hecho, no sería la primera vez que tomasen cartas en asuntos de censura literaria con velocidad supersónica. Por ejemplo, el concejo de Burgos ha conservado un documento de 1492 en el que Isabel y Fernando, alertados de que en la villa burgalesa “con dañado ánimo e intención fazen coplas e dicen cantares e otras palabras desonestas públicamente” por el establecimiento del tribunal de la Santa Inquisición, no dudan en ordenar al corregidor de Burgos que “si alguno o algunos las fiziere o dixere [...] los fagades punir e castigar segund debáis de derecho”,¹³³ penalizando así tanto la composición como la difusión oral de estas maledicencias.

Por último, hay que recordar que más adelante en su reinado, en 1502, una Pragmática Sanción otorgaría a la Corona el control total sobre todo lo que se imprimía en sus reinos.¹³⁴ Así, la mano

124. Recientemente editado por Peinado Santaella, Rafael G. “Consejos que dio el fraile Sanzones a la reina Isabel I sobre cómo financiar la guerra de Granada (¿1482?). *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos del Reino de Granada*, 27 (2015): 197-203.

125. Azcona, Tarsicio de. *Estudio crítico de su vida y de su reinado*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993: 662-665.

126. No me parece factible que el autor del memorial sea fray Alonso de Burgos, obispo de Córdoba entre 1476 y 1482 (Peinado Santaella, Rafael G. “Consejos que dio el fraile Sanzones...: 197). Sospecho que tras el ‘Sanzones’ del texto subyace fray Juan de Sanzoles, monje trinitario de origen burgalés y capellán de los Reyes Católicos en las dos décadas finales del siglo XV. Remito a un futuro trabajo sobre el tema que estoy preparando ahora.

127. Fijado también en otro texto de la época, mezcla de prosa y poesía, del que me ocupé hace algún tiempo. Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “La utopía política en la literatura castellana del siglo XV: el ‘Libro de los Pensamientos Variables’ (BN, ms. 6642)”. *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies*, 2 (2002): 23-62.

128. Para casos de condenas en fueros por canciones con contenidos de difamación, ver: Guglielmi, Nilda. *Marginalidad en la Edad Media...*: 456-457.

129. Sobre este fenómeno, véase: Beltrán, Vicenç. “Anonymity and Opaque Attributions in Late-Medieval Poetic Compilations”. *Scriptorium*, 58 (2004): 26-47.

130. Suárez Fernández, Luis. *Claves históricas en el reinado de Fernando e Isabel*. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1998: 60-61.

131. Me refiero al poeta Gómez Manrique, que así lo expresaba en su prólogo en prosa a su *Regimiento de Príncipes* (Dutton ID 1872). Manrique, Gómez. *Cancionero*, ed. Antonio Paz y Melia. Madrid: Imprenta de A. Pérez Durrull, 1885: II, 167.

132. Como define Scholberg, Kenneth R. *Sátira e invectiva en la España medieval*. Madrid: Gredos, 1971: 261-262.

133. Perea Rodríguez, Oscar. “Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos...”: 209.

134. Moll, Jaime. “Problemas bibliográficos del libro del Siglo de Oro”. *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, 59 (1979): 49-107, especialmente 50-52.



de hierro censora de Isabel y Fernando es la responsable final de que, pese a la mucha y buena literatura escrita en su reinado,¹³⁵ no pueda ser tomada en cuenta seriamente para hacer historia social ni para emitir máximas referentes a historia cultural, pues, de hacerlo, estaríamos elevando a dato historiográfico lo que no es más que pura propaganda ideológica a favor del proyecto político de los monarcas.¹³⁶

De esta manera, y por increíble que pueda parecer, lo que une a los Reyes Católicos y al imaginario monarca de los Siete Reinos, el sanguinario Joffrey Baratheon, es la excesiva crueldad al juzgar a los trovadores. Los acusados de haber compuesto las *Coplas del tabefe* pertenecían a los estamentos de gobierno urbano de Jerez de la Frontera: un escribano público, Bartolomé de Ayala; un bachiller, de quien solo sabemos que se apellidaba Trujillo; y un regidor del concejo jerezano, Hernando de Vera. En cuanto los primeros ecos de las risas y los murmullos provocados por la recitación de las *Coplas del tabefe* llegaron a oídos regios, los dos primeros fueron detenidos, juzgados, declarados culpables y, conforme a las entonces vigentes *Siete Partidas*, ejecutados de forma inmediata como culpables de traición de lesa majestad.¹³⁷ No es castigo tan aparatoso como cortarles la lengua en la sala del trono delante de toda la corte, pero bastante más letal, sin duda.

Todavía hay una conexión más entre los Reyes Católicos y GoT en esta historia de juglares ajusticiados por sus críticas a la monarquía. El que, según las pesquisas y los indicios habría sido autor de la mayoría de los versos, el mencionado Hernando de Vera, fue el único de todos los implicados que salvó la vida, pero su historia es bastante rocambolesca.¹³⁸ Si no fue ejecutado como sus osados compañeros de fatigas líricas fue porque huyó de Andalucía cabalgando con nocturnidad por la ruta hacia Portugal.¹³⁹ En su camino, la furia de la Reina Católica lo persiguió con saña: Isabel llegó a ofrecer el perdón de deudas económicas y de crímenes cometidos a todo aquel súbdito que proporcionara una pista sobre el paradero del prófugo.¹⁴⁰ Solo la mediación del padre de Hernando, Pedro de Vera, hizo posible que el ocasional trovador pudiera acabar su forzado exilio portugués en 1497, pero haciéndole cumplir un castigo ejemplar: un año de servicio en las peligrosas galeras del estrecho de Gibraltar.¹⁴¹ Pedro era caballero de gran prestigio en la época, pues había sido uno de los conquistadores, primero, y gobernador después de las Islas Canarias.¹⁴² En definitiva, solo gracias a la intervención paterna el díscolo hijo pudo salvar la vida.

El lector interesado en historia medieval tal vez haya podido disfrutar de esta pequeña y no demasiado conocida anécdota. Y quien además sea seguidor de la serie televisiva, no habrá

135. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. *La España de los Reyes Católicos*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1999: 189-190.

136. Explico este concepto de forma más elaborada en mi trabajo: Perea Rodríguez, Óscar. “‘Este rastro de confeso’: Converso Poets and Topics in Medieval and Early Modern Spanish ‘Cancioneros’”, *Las ‘Obras de burlas’ del ‘Cancionero general’ de Hernando del Castillo*, Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, Marcial Rubio Áñez, eds. Santa Bárbara: Publications of eHumanista-University of California, 2015: 141-185, especialmente 167-170.

137. Perea Rodríguez, Oscar. “Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos...”: 207-208.

138. Explicada por Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. “Las coplas de Hernando de Vera: un caso de crítica al gobierno de Isabel la Católica”. *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, 14 (1968): 365-381.

139. Perea Rodríguez, Oscar. “Quebrantar la jura de mis abuelos...”: 208.

140. Ferrer-Chivite, Manuel. “Sobre las coplas llamadas ‘del Tabefe’...”: 157.

141. Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. “Las coplas de Hernando de Vera...”: 379-381.

142. Sancho de Sopranis, Hipólito. “La familia del gobernador Pedro de Vera”. *Revista de Historia. Universidad de La Laguna*, 75 (1946): 260-276.

tardado en reconocer —como mis estudiantes hicieron— otro de esos inesperados equivalentes entre el medievo hispánico y la fantasía medieval de Westeros: Hernando y Pedro de Vera son dos espejos castellano-medievales de Jorah y Jeor Mormont, también padre e hijo, en *Juego de Tronos*, con su historia de traiciones, destierros y despechos familiares incluida.

En el diseño docente de esta lección en concreto, la actividad en el aula dedicada a glosar la peligrosa vida de los juglares medievales finalizaba con la imagen reproducida a continuación, en la que se puede ver a los actores que caracterizan tanto a los dos monarcas de los Siete Reinos, Joffrey Baratheon y Cersei Lannister en GoT, como a los Reyes Católicos, Isabel de Castilla y Fernando de Aragón, en la exitosa serie *Isabel*.

La pregunta a los estudiantes ante esta foto es, después de haber comparado las historias de Marillion y de los autores de las *Coplas del tabefe*, razonar sobre a cuál de las dos parejas de gobernantes habría que calificar como más cruel y por qué, para después discutir la manera en la que estos dúos son presentados en cada una de las series. Al margen de alertarlos contra la caracterización de los personajes históricos en las series modernas,¹⁴³ las respuestas de los estudiantes sirven también para introducirlos de lleno en la comprensión de conceptos como historiografía y propaganda, así como la representación del poder y las consecuencias de la aplicación de las leyes contra las críticas a los gobernantes.¹⁴⁴ La deplorable mengua en los tiempos que vivimos respecto a la libertad de expresión, con titiriteros encarcelados por realizar obras de teatro supuestamente delictivas,¹⁴⁵ cantantes de *rap* juzgados por componer letras contra el mecanismo regidor de un estado,¹⁴⁶ y ciudadanos comunes y corrientes sentenciados a condenas privativas de libertad por hacer chistes sobre gobernantes fallecidos,¹⁴⁷ pondrá también su granito de arena para que los alumnos tengan todavía más materiales con los que analizar pasado y presente, ojalá que en la búsqueda busca de un mejor futuro para todos, ellos y nosotros.

5. A modo de conclusión

No acaban aquí las posibilidades de una serie como GoT, sino que sus muchos aspectos darían para ser glosados como alternativas docentes en mucho más espacio del que dispongo ahora.

143. Pues no todo uso del pasado me parece adecuado, sin distinción entre lo veraz y lo verídico, como mantiene, entre otros, Rosenstone, Robert. "The Historical Film as Real History". *Film Historia Online*, 5/1 (1995) <<http://revistes.ub.edu/index.php/filmhistoria/article/view/12244/14998>> (Consultado el 2 de Marzo de 2017).

144. Elliott, Andrew B.R. *Remaking the Middle Ages: The Methods of Cinema and History in Portraying the Medieval World*. Jefferson: McFarland & Co., 2011: especialmente 177-191.

145. Es el caso de los *Títeres desde abajo*, encarcelados en 2016 por su representación de *La bruja y Don Cristóbal*, basada en el *Retablillo de Don Cristóbal* de Federico García Lorca. Mesguer, Marina. "Los titiriteros encarcelados por enaltecimiento del terrorismo se inspiraron en una obra de Lorca". *La Vanguardia*. 8 Febrero 2016. 2 Marzo 2017. <<http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20160207/301972775526/titiriteros-encarcelados-enaltecimiento-terrorismo-inspiraron-lorca.html>>.

146. Como ocurrió con Pablo Hásel, César Strawberry y otros *Rimadores en el punto de mira*, como los denomina el periodista Cruz, Nando. "Rimadores en el punto de mira de la justicia". *El Periódico*. 21 Enero 2017. 3 Abril 2017 <<http://www.elperiodico.com/es/noticias/ocio-y-cultura/cesar-strawberry-pablo-hasel-ayax-prok-valtonyc-5771773>>.

147. La condena a un año de cárcel para la autora de unos mensajes en Twitter que provocó la unánime y sorpresiva mofa de la prensa extranjera sobre el "funcionamiento" de la "Justicia" en España. "Así ve la prensa internacional la condena a Cassandra por sus tuits sobre Carrero Blanco". *Eldiario.es*. 30 Marzo 2017. 21 Abril 2017 <http://www.eldiario.es/rastreador/condena-Cassandra-Carrero-Blancointernacional_6_627897220.html>.



Solo por señalar algunas más,¹⁴⁸ creo que las lenguas ficticias creadas *ex profeso* para la serie, el Dothraki y el Valirio,¹⁴⁹ ofrecen una inmejorable oportunidad de trabajar en clase la formación de las lenguas romances en la península ibérica, utilizando documentos tales como las Glosas emilianenses, la *Nodicia de kesos*, o las Homilias de Orgañá. En términos más históricos, todo lo que rodea a la Guardia Nocturna y al muro edificado en el norte para la contención de invasores ofrece un buen entorno para el estudio de las sociedades de frontera. Asimismo, los dos hermanos luchando por ceñir la corona, Renly y Stannis Baratheon, recuerdan el caso de la guerra civil castellana entre el pretendiente Enrique de Trastámara y el rey legítimo Pedro I. Las escenas de torneos y justas pueden usarse para hacer entender el complejo entramado de espectáculos medievales, utilizando textos como el afamado *Paso Honroso de Suero de Quiñones*, escrito por Pero Rodríguez de Lena. Y los libros de linajes de los Siete Reinos, que sirven para descubrir incluso incestuosas relaciones en la serie televisiva, nos conceden el marco apropiado para trabajar las *Generaciones y semblanzas* de Pérez de Guzmán, los *Claros varones* de Pulgar, y todas las crónicas y galerías de ilustres de la época medieval.

Superando los estrictos límites cronológicos de la Edad Media, la aplicación de GoT para el estudio de la cultura aurisecular hispánica es igualmente sencillo. Cómo no tener en cuenta que el personaje que en la serie representa Brienne de Tarth, es decir, la mujer guerrera, fuerte y ducha en el manejo de la espada que se salta todos los estereotipos prestablecidos para roles de mujeres medievales y renacentistas, tiene un directo equivalente en nuestra historia y literatura a través de Catalina de Erauso y Pérez de Galarraga y Arce, más conocida por su apodo de *la monja alférez*, el título de sus controvertidas memorias.¹⁵⁰

En resumen, aunque soy bastante más escéptico sobre los hipotéticos cambios en la investigación de la Edad Media que puedan derivarse de la popularidad de GoT,¹⁵¹ no me duelen prendas en reconocer que sus posibilidades educativas son muy numerosas y muy sugerentes. Solo hace falta un poco de imaginación y saltarse el tedio de la rutina. Quede claro que, desde luego, ningún académico lo es en menor grado si, por ejemplo, utiliza a Jack Sparrow, el protagonista de la más afamada saga de cine de aventuras de nuestros tiempos, como medio de explicar la piratería medieval.¹⁵² De hecho, en los últimos tiempos el análisis de elementos audiovisuales en el estudio y docencia de disciplinas académicas ha conocido algunos hitos importantes, sobre todo los relacionados con los videojuegos, tanto en lo aplicado a la Historia universal,¹⁵³ como

148. No documento textos ni eventos que enumero: confío en que el lector podrá hacerlo por su cuenta. Tan solo quiero limitarme a relatar unos cuantos ejemplos más, entre las muchas posibilidades a las que me refiero.

149. Que, de hecho, se pueden estudiar en el lugar de su creación, la Universidad de California en Berkeley, en una clase administrada por su mismo inventor, el lingüista David J. Peterson. Maclay, Kathleen. "Dothraki developer, invented-language leader to teach summer class". *Berkeley News*. 21 Abril 2017. 21 Abril 2017 <<http://news.berkeley.edu/2017/04/21/dotraki-developer-invented-language-leader-to-teach-summer-class/>>.

150. Mendieta Garrote, Eva. *En busca de Catalina de Erauso: identidades en conflicto en la vida de la monja alférez*. Castellón: Publicacions de la Universitat Jaume I, 2010.

151. Waxman, Olivia B. "Game of Thrones' Is Even Changing How Scholars Study the Real Middle Ages". *Time*. 14 Julio 2017. 22 Julio 2017 <<http://time.com/4837351/game-of-thrones-real-midieval-history/>>.

152. Tal como hizo Juan Leonardo Soler Milla en su ponencia titulada: "¿Es Jack Sparrow el modelo histórico de pirata? Mitos y realidades sobre la piratería medieval", *Seminario Internacional El Mar vivido. Perfiles sociales de las gentes del mar en la larga duración (siglos XV-XXI)*. Albacete: Facultad de Humanidades, 21-22 Octubre 2015.

153. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco; Mugueta Moreno, Íñigo; Fabián Rodríguez, Gerardo, eds. *Historia y videojuegos: el impacto de los nuevos medios de ocio sobre el conocimiento histórico*. Murcia: Compobell, 2016.

a lo específicamente medieval.¹⁵⁴ Como profesores, debemos ser conscientes de todas las posibilidades que se nos ofrecen y no desdeñar ninguna de ellas, pues por difícil y complicado que parezca, con el enfoque adecuado confiar en estos contenidos nos puede deparar un rotundo éxito en nuestra labor educativa.

No obstante, diseñar un curso como este tampoco es la panacea absoluta. Insisto en que sería aconsejable atreverse a trabajar más con materiales audiovisuales e industrias del ocio, y —tal vez sobre todo— perder de una vez por todas ese miedo —tan propio de la comunidad académica hispánica— a ser señalado por colegas y no colegas, bajo la burda acusación de querer hacerse el profesor moderno o el profesor-colega-enrollado con nuestros jóvenes estudiantes. Precisamente en relación a estos temores me gustaría ofrecer otro consejo: hay que ser absolutamente escrupuloso con el diseño académico de un curso basado en series televisivas. Configurar un curso con estas características ha de hacerse desde dentro hacia afuera, es decir, partiendo de la historia y la literatura española hacia GoT, o la serie o material audiovisual elegido por el maestro. Es lícito, como anteriormente mencioné, partir de la escena visualizada y buscar su equivalente en la historia y literatura hispánica; pero no puede hacerse a cualquier precio y, desde luego, uno debe contar con toda la certeza de que los ingredientes a explicar son los mismos en un sitio y en el otro, en la pantalla y en el texto o documento a trabajar.

Si hago tanto hincapié en este concepto es por un peligro concreto. No hay en la actualidad departamento universitario que no esté presionado por las autoridades para incrementar el número de estudiantes matriculados, conocido eufemismo que en realidad quiere decir que hay que aumentar el presupuesto departamental con el dinero procedente de matrículas. Por este motivo, decanos, vicerrectores y semejantes prebostes suelen en principio ser benevolentes con tales iniciativas de enseñanza, pensando en que la popularidad y actualidad del diseño curricular hará que los estudiantes se matriculen en ese curso, atraídos también por el uso de redes sociales como método de evaluación,¹⁵⁵ o cualquier otra novedad de similar calado.¹⁵⁶ Pero he de advertir a mis compañeros docentes de forma muy seria: si es el empuje de gerifaltes universitarios el único estímulo para embarcarse en un proyecto así, mejor no hacerlo. Hay dos razones muy sencillas para esta negativa: primero, que más pronto que tarde el inicial entusiasmo corporativo dejará paso a la pesadilla burocrática más recalcitrante, sobre todo si los números —una vez más, eufemismo de lo monetario— no son los esperados; segundo, que a nuestros estudiantes de hoy, nativos digitales todos ellos,¹⁵⁷ no se les puede engañar con facilidad en un terreno en el que ellos se mueven mucho más, y mucho mejor, que la mayoría de nosotros. Si el temario y los materiales se plantean desde afuera hacia adentro, aprovechándose del embriagante cascabel de

154. Jiménez Alcázar, Juan Francisco. "El otro pasado posible: la simulación del medievo en los videojuegos". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011): 491-517.

155. En este curso sobre GoT los estudiantes participan en debates a través de Twitter y son evaluados por ello. Estoy escribiendo un trabajo desgranando este aspecto, que será publicado con el título: "Using Social Networks in Higher Education: Twitter Assignments Will Not Make Disappear the Pillars of the Western Civilisation".

156. Por ejemplo, usar la aplicación de búsqueda por voz de los teléfonos Apple, Siri, para enseñar Historia. Lamar Prieto, Covadonga. "On Teaching the History of California Spanish to HLL using Siri: Methodology and Procedures". *New Approaches in Educational Research*, 5/2 (2016): 107-114.

157. Me acojo al sentido más amplio de este concepto, es decir, a las personas para las que Internet y las redes sociales no conforman algo novedoso, sino que forma parte de sus vidas desde que tienen uso de razón. Prensky, Marc. *Nativos e inmigrantes digitales*. Madrid: Cuadernos SEK, 2010: 5-6.



la novedad transmedia pero sin nada consistente que ofrecer en términos académicos, se estará condenando el curso al fracaso desde su mismo inicio.

Pese a esta advertencia, me gustaría finalizar enfatizando una vez más que las posibilidades para realizar cursos similares al que yo hice son muchas y muy atractivas, siempre que el diseño sea honesto y sincero, desde la historia, la literatura y el arte hacia el componente audiovisual. Animo a todos los colegas a que no tengan reparos en experimentar con cursos similares. Solo así podrán alcanzar la inmensa e impagable gratificación de ver a los estudiantes aprender divirtiéndose, mientras que son capaces de extender por sí mismos su aprendizaje dentro y fuera de los estrictos límites de aulas, libros y pantallas de televisión u ordenador.



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Cursente, Benoît. "Les montagnes des médiévistes", *Montagnes médiévales. XXXIV Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement supérieur public (Chambéry, 23-25 mai 2003)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004: 415-433.
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Doubleday, Simon; Gómez, Miguel, eds. "On (de)commemoration: rethinking the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa". *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 4/1 (2012): 1-134
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Homilies d'Organyà, ed. Joan Coromines. Barcelona: Fundació Revista de Catalunya, 1989: 38-40.
Troyes, Chrétien de. *Le chevalier de la charrette*, ed. Catherine Croizy-Naquet. Paris: Honoré Champion, 2006: 70.
Col·lecció diplomàtica de la casa del Temple de Barberà (945-1212), ed. Josep Maria Sans i Travé. Barcelona: Departament de Justícia de la Generalitat de Catalunya, 1997: 109 (doc. No. 33).
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- Aarab, Rachib. "Islam", *Enciclopèdia de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 2006: III, 94-95.
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Catalán, Diego. "La historiografía en verso y en prosa de Alfonso XI a la luz de nuevos textos. III: Prioridad de la Crónica respecto a la Gran Crónica". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 2 (1965): 257-299.
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